

Cu 1102251-2-P014602

THE
AMERICAN HISTORICAL
REVIEW

(32)

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VOLUME XXXVIII
OCTOBER, 1932 TO JULY, 1933

NEW YORK
THE MACMILLAN COMPANY
LONDON: MACMILLAN AND CO., LTD.

1933

p14602

THE WILLIAM BYRD PRESS, INC.
RICHMOND, VIRGINIA

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The

American Historical Review

GARIBALDI'S AMERICAN CONTACTS AND HIS CLAIMS TO AMERICAN CITIZENSHIP

THE three master minds which made Modern Italy were, in the formation of their oft conflicting political designs, profoundly influenced by foreign thought and environment. The vision of each was fundamentally and characteristically Italian, but had a wide international range gained from long, or repeated, residence abroad.

Cavour in the period of early manhood traveled, his keen eyes wide open, in France, England, and other European countries, and throughout his life went often to Switzerland where he visited Genevan relatives. He was always a close student and admirer of British forms of government. Mazzini spent most of his life in forced exile in France, Switzerland, and England, and with many of the citizens of those countries he lived in the greatest intimacy. Garibaldi roamed in both hemispheres, particularly in the Western Hemisphere, for twenty years, until he had reached middle life. During that period, as well as later, he established many important contacts with the United States and more than once he claimed the rights of American citizenship. These American experiences were closely interwoven in several of the most notable events of Garibaldi's life and it is here proposed, in the light of new documents, to consider a few of those which have been inadequately recorded by his biographers.

Colonel John Peard, "Garibaldi's Englishman" of the campaigns of 1859 and 1860, when asked by an American naval officer for an introduction to the general, professed to be glad to give it, "because he knew what affection Garibaldi had for Americans".¹ Peard might have added as another reason that in the course of many years Garibaldi had received varied and tangible proofs of the love and admiration of citizens of the United States.

¹ Unpublished letter of Peard, Apr. 23, 1865, presenting Thomas B. Ives to Garibaldi. Preserved among Garibaldi's papers in the Museo del Risorgimento in Milan.

Garibaldi's first recorded relations with a representative of the American government were of the year 1849, at the dismal close of Rome's heroic, ineffectual resistance against the overwhelming arms of France. On the day preceding that on which the victors entered the fallen city Garibaldi, who had directed the defense with extraordinary skill and energy, received the following note from the American vice consul:²

Citoyen Général:

Le soussigné a été chargé par Mr. Cass, Ministre Plenipotentiere des États Unis d'Amerique a Rome, de vous prier da passer chez lui dans la journée, mais le plus tôt possible, Hôtel de Russie, Via Babuino N. 9.

Ma commission remplié il ne me reste qu'a vous souhaiter santé et bonheur.

Du Consulat des États Unis d'Amerique,
Rome le 2 Juillet 1849.

A. Ardisson, Vice-Consul.

The little document is important as confirming statements made in Garibaldi's not always accurate *Autobiography*.³ The general lost little time in setting out for the Hôtel de Russie, but on the way he met Cass, who told him with great kindness that an American corvette was at Civitavecchia, the nearest large seaport, and would be held at his disposal if he wished to embark together with any of his friends who might be compromised. Garibaldi never forgot this first hearty American offer of help in a dark hour, though he refused it, preferring to march out from Rome that night at the head of some four thousand men in the hope of retrieving Rome's fortune in another part of Italy.

A few months later, as an exile to whom many countries refused admittance, he sought refuge at Gibraltar, but was ordered by the English governor to leave within a week. This "kick to the fallen", as Garibaldi termed it, cut him "to the heart",⁴ but he found consolation in the friendly attitude of American naval officers in the port who were so impressed with his strength and dignity in adversity that they offered to carry him off to the United States in a warship. Again, though grateful, he refused American assistance, being then unwilling to go far away from Italy where he hoped that the war for independence might soon be resumed. Leaving Gibraltar he found hospitality for six months under the Turkish flag at Tangier, and it was there that

² Unpublished. Preserved among Garibaldi's papers in the Museo del Risorgimento in Milan.

³ *Autobiography* (London, 1889), II. 20.

⁴ *Ibid.*, II. 51-52.

he addressed the following letter to the resident American consul general, whom he knew and with whom he was on the best of terms:

Tangier, 22nd. February 1850.

To the citizen T. H. Hyatt Esq.

U. S. Consul General in Morocco.

Sir:—

Finding myself banished, and in a strange country, I am desirous of resuming my former profession as a commander of a merchant vessel.

I beg your permission and protection to set up the North American flag on a vessel belonging to Mr. F. Carpanetto of Genoa, which is to be under my command; and I will strictly observe whatever instructions or regulations you may deem proper to impose for the purpose. I confidently appeal to the generous hospitality and proverbial courtesy which the United States Government and People so generously extend towards the proscribed friends of liberty of whatever nation they may be.

I remain, Sir,

Yours, etc.

G. Garibaldi.

On the battle-field Garibaldi had never been accustomed to count the enemy before attacking, and he had won so many victories against seemingly hopeless odds that he came to regard all obstacles in life as surmountable. This made him often impractical in political and diplomatic matters, and in private life led him to make suggestions, as in this letter, without giving much consideration to inherent difficulties. His request for authorization to fly the American flag on his prospective merchant vessel implied high respect for our colors, though the request was undoubtedly inspired by consideration of Carpanetto's commercial interests. It would seem that Hyatt, when previously appealed to in conversation, had pronounced the project feasible,⁵ but in his written reply the consul general made clear the difficulties:

Consulate General of the United States.

Tangier, February 23, 1850.

Sir:—

Your note of yesterday expressing a wish to adopt the Flag of the United States as your ensign and protection in sailing a merchant vessel, has been received. I shall be most happy to forward your views, and to render you any service in my power consistent with my duties to my own Government. But in order to entitle a vessel to all the protection and privileges of an American vessel, it must be owned by American citizens, registered at an American port and manned by a moiety, at least, of American seamen. Such are the regulations made imperative by our laws. Nevertheless, if our Government can consistently with its usages and settled policy, vary these

⁵ Garibaldi, *Scritti* (Rome, 1907), p. 51.

regulations to meet the exigencies of any individual case analogous to yours, I doubt not they will be disposed to do so on this occasion. For, while it is the desire and established policy of our Government to maintain with fidelity and integrity its good faith and amicable relations with all nations, yet the spirit of our People and the Genius of our Institutions, make it a duty incumbent upon us to succor and protect the oppressed and proscribed of all countries, who appeal to us for protection, and especially those who are the victims of tyranny and martyrs to freedom. With this view, I shall submit your application to the consideration of our Government at Washington, and doubt not it will meet a reception commensurate with its merits.

Very respectfully yours,

T. Hart Hyatt.

To Gen. Garibaldi, late Commander in Chief of the Republican Army of Rome, etc., etc., etc.

Two days later Hyatt forwarded Garibaldi's request to Washington with as hearty an indorsement as an able government official could give:

Consulate General of the United States.

Tangier, February 25, 1850.

No. 20.

Hon. J. M. Clayton, etc., etc., etc.

Sir:—

I have the honor herewith to transmit to you a letter from Gen. Garibaldi, late commander in chief of the republican forces of Rome, in which he solicits the privilege of sailing a merchant vessel under our National Flag, and also a copy of my reply to his application. Since the overthrow of the Roman Republic by the French, and the consequent dispersion of the Republican army of Rome, Gen. Garibaldi has been a proscribed and wandering exile from his country, and has been sojourning here for some three months past, and by his quiet, gentlemanly and amiable deportment has secured the friendship and good will of those who have made his acquaintance. His present application I believe to be made in good faith and with a single desire to pursue an honest calling that will afford him an independent livelihood. Mr. Carpenetti, the gentleman of Genoa who is to furnish the vessel for him, is a brother of the Sardinian Consul General who resides in Tangier,⁶ (and with whom Gen. G. is now living) and is, I understand, a gentleman of character and responsibility. Should you, on laying the matter before the President, decide that it would be possible and expedient to grant him the favor solicited, with such restrictions and safeguards as to preclude any possibility of the privilege being abused, you would undoubtedly be conferring a very great benefit upon an unfortunate patriot and a zealous and worthy champion of Liberty.

Very respectfully yours,

T. Hart Hyatt.

⁶ This was a mistake. Garibaldi's friend in Genoa was Francesco Carpanetto, while the name of the Sardinian consul general at Tangier was Giovanni Battista Carpenetti. In contemporary documents and letters both names were often misspelled.

The archives of the American legation at Tangier, from which these three unpublished documents have been obtained, preserve no reply from the Department of State to Hyatt. Whatever the answer may have been, if there were any, it cannot have been discouraging, for in June Garibaldi left Tangier for New York, via Liverpool. The merchant vessel which Francesco Carpanetto was to place under his command, was to be paid for by the subscriptions of Garibaldi's Italian friends, but the ship had not yet been secured and after much deliberation it had been decided to purchase or construct it in America under Garibaldi's personal direction. "As to the flag", he wrote to Carpanetto from Liverpool, "I think that there will be no difficulty."⁷

It was, then, the hope of being able to navigate "under the powerful flag of the United States", as he termed it, that led this most celebrated of Italy's emigrants to take passage at Liverpool for New York on June 27, 1850. The general's fame had preceded him, and on July 30 the New York *Tribune* contained the following paragraph:

The ship *Waterloo* arrived here from Liverpool this morning, bringing the world renowned Garibaldi, the hero of Montevideo and the defender of Rome. He will be welcomed by those who know him as becomes his chivalrous character and his services in behalf of Liberty.

A brilliant popular demonstration had been planned for the arrival of Garibaldi. He was to be met at the Battery by a great public procession, welcomed by Mayor Woodhull, and escorted by the procession to the Astor House where the management had invited him to be their guest. Later a banquet was to be tendered him at the same hotel.⁸ The modest exile, however, wished no such public honors and, furthermore, he had been seized on the voyage by a severe attack of rheumatism and was unable to walk. The organizers of the proposed procession and banquet wished to postpone both until he should recover, but the general in a letter⁹ full of dignity and grateful appreciation stood firm in his refusal to be fêted:

⁷ Garibaldi, *Scritti*, p. 63.

⁸ New York *Tribune*, July 26-30, 1850.

⁹ *Ibid.*, Aug. 8, 1850. The letter has remained unknown to Garibaldi's Italian biographers and is not included in his *Scritti*. French, German, and other republican and socialist exiles were to have participated in the procession with the clear understanding that they might display their red flags or badges, but in preparing for the event German workmen had engaged in excesses which it had been necessary to repress energetically. Garibaldi probably knew this, and a wish not to be implicated in possible disorderly demonstrations of a political character may have influenced him in his refusal of the proposed public honors. In adversity he was a consistent apostle of harmony.

Hastings; 7th August, 1850.

*To the Italian Committee:**Gentlemen:*

I regret being obliged to announce to you that my continued ill health will forbid my participating in your proposed demonstration of Saturday next. The slowness of my convalescence and the uncertainty as to the time when I may recover, will also put it out of my power to fix any day when I shall be able to meet you in compliance with your kind and very flattering invitation. I hope you will allow me to repeat to you, more earnestly if possible than before, the wish that I have often expressed, that the proposed demonstration may be altogether abandoned.

No such public exhibition is necessary to assure me of the sympathy of my countrymen, of the American people, and of all true Republicans in the misfortunes which I have suffered, or of the cause out of which they have flowed.

Though a public manifestation of this feeling might yield much gratification to me, an exile from my native land, severed from my children, and mourning the overthrow of my country's freedom by means of foreign interference, yet believe me that I would rather avoid it, and be permitted, quietly and humbly, to become a citizen of this great Republic of Freemen, to sail under its flag, to engage in business to earn my livelihood, and await a more favorable opportunity for the redemption of my country from foreign and domestic oppressors.

Next to the cause to which I have devoted myself, I value nothing so highly as the approbation of this great People, and I am convinced I shall enjoy that, when they become satisfied that I have honestly and faithfully served the cause of Freedom, in which they have themselves set so noble an example to the world.

G. Garibaldi.

This document contains the first intimation that we have of Garibaldi's desire to acquire American citizenship. The laws of the United States provided that the captain of a ship flying the American flag must be an American citizen, and it was probably this legal consideration which inspired his desire. But it should also be said that he was greatly impressed with the United States, and a few weeks after his arrival he wrote: "This nation is certainly superior to its reputation and will soon stand out as the first among the greatest."¹⁰

There has been considerable discussion among diplomats and historians as to whether or not Garibaldi actually acquired American citizenship; and his own statements in the matter at different times have been conflicting. There is no question that in 1851 he obtained an American passport, for it has been preserved among his papers and published in facsimile by G. E. Curàtulo, who strangely enough leaves

¹⁰ Garibaldi, *Scritti*, p. 68.

the question of citizenship open.¹¹ The passport was issued on April 2, 1851, by Mayor A. C. Kingsland under the seal of the City of New York and reads: "The bearer hereof, Joseph Garibaldi, *who has declared his intention to become a citizen of the United States of America etc. etc.*" The passport is the usual printed form of the time, but the words here given in italics were written in. Mayor Kingsland requests "friendly aid and protection" for Garibaldi as if he were an American citizen, but the words "*who has declared his intention to become*" would not have been inserted if citizenship had already been acquired by the bearer. Our naturalization laws required of applicants renunciation of citizenship in any foreign country and residence in the United States for five years. Garibaldi's residence was only for nine months, 1850-1851, and for four months, 1853-1854. It is clear that he never completed the process of naturalization, and even if he had done so his American citizenship would later have been tacitly renounced by his acceptance of a seat in the Italian parliament, to which he was repeatedly elected in and after 1861. This must be kept in mind in viewing the claims to American citizenship and protection which we shall see that Garibaldi afterward made.

- Garibaldi's sojourn in the United States was full of disappointment. Carpanetto was able to obtain in Italy the promise of only three of the necessary ten subscriptions of 10,000 lire each for the purchase of the proposed merchant vessel which Garibaldi was to command, and the project was consequently abandoned. In order to earn his bread the general took employment in a candle factory just established by one of his old officers, Antonio Meucci, who later contributed to the invention of the telephone. The factory was located on Staten Island, where Garibaldi lived in the family of Meucci, whose house has since been converted into a Garibaldian museum. Friends of the general tried, but unsuccessfully, to obtain for him a presidential appointment to a position in the Post Office Department.¹² His life at best was melancholy, yet he had many close Italian friends and many American well-wishers, while from various parts of the Union came letters of congratulation and sympathy for his patriotic action, past and future, and even love letters from feminine admirers. Everywhere he won respect by his modesty, simplicity, and thorough integrity of character, as well as by his pure patriotism and firm faith in the future of Italy. He was never

¹¹ G. E. Curàtulo, *Garibaldi, Vittorio Emanuele, Cavour* (Bologna, 1911).

¹² H. Nelson Gay, *Il Secondo Esilio di Garibaldi, 1849-1854, da Documenti Inediti*, published in the *Nuova Antologia* (June 16, 1910), and also separately.

greater than during those months of extreme adversity. Among the Americans whom he knew was Theodore Dwight, to whom he entrusted the manuscript of his memoirs,¹³ William Cullen Bryant, and Henry Theodore Tuckerman, who has left an excellent portrait of Garibaldi as he appeared in New York at that time.¹⁴ The scantiness of his knowledge of English prevented him from mixing freely with Americans, but his poverty and his unwillingness to receive for himself the bounty of strangers also restrained him.

While he was thus living in frugal retirement, despotic centers of Europe teemed with reports of his supposed presence and activities there. The Palermo police professed to be having his footsteps dogged in France and declared that under the pseudonym, John Lelong of Montevideo, he had obtained command of a North American merchant vessel, the *Sarat*, with which he proposed to visit Mediterranean ports and stir up insurrection. Warnings came from Naples of extended plots and phantom ships piloted by Garibaldi hovering about the coast. Other reports had it that he was near Geneva with ample means making extensive arrangements with Mazzini to revolutionize Italy in the spring.¹⁵ And on March 7, 1851, the New York *Tribune* published a little editorial:

Italy is in terror about Garibaldi, who is said to be at Genoa, ready to overturn the world. This will be news to him as he quietly reads his *Tribune* tomorrow morning at his home on Staten Island.

To Garibaldi it proved a welcome release when Carpanetto, who was an enterprising trader with important connections in South America, arrived in New York and sought to compensate for his failure to get a ship for Garibaldi, by taking him, on April 28, 1851, as his companion on a business trip to Peru. There the general was able to take out a skipper's license and was given command of an Italian-owned bark of 400 tons burden, the *Carmen*, with which he made a voyage to China and return, and then another voyage with a cargo of copper and wool from Peru and Chile to Boston. Early in 1854 his wish to command a ship flying the Star-Spangled Banner was fulfilled. A fine

¹³ Dwight, a decade later, published from this manuscript the first edition of Garibaldi's memoirs, now quite rare: *The Life of General Garibaldi, written by himself, . . . translated by his Friend and Admirer Theodore Dwight* (New York, 1859).

¹⁴ Tuckerman, apropos of William Arthur's *Giuseppe Garibaldi, North American Review*, January, 1861.

¹⁵ Unpublished police report dated Palermo, Sept. 17, 1850, in the Nelson Gay archives in Rome. Also article in the New York *Tribune*, Feb. 17, 1851.

sailing vessel, the *Commonwealth*, was placed by her owners under his orders, bound from Baltimore for Genoa, via London and Newcastle; but as he was not a citizen of the United States he was obliged to place an American captain in titular command.¹⁶

Garibaldi never returned to the United States. In 1855, with the savings of his maritime life added to a modest inheritance received from his brother, he purchased property on the rocky island of Caprera off Sardinia, and took up the life of a farmer, impatiently awaiting the time when on the battle-field another blow might be struck for Italian freedom.

In the campaign of 1859 against Austria, Garibaldi, as a major general, commanded a volunteer corps, "Hunters of the Alps", operating on the extreme left wing of the Franco-Italian armies. Neither in this victorious campaign, nor in the quiet years of farm life at Caprera which had preceded it, did he have any relations of importance with Americans. But such relations and, indeed, very important ones, were established the year following in the course of his Sicilian campaign. At the critical moment before the capture of Palermo, when the Garibaldians had scarcely a cartridge left, Captain Palmer of the American warship *Iroquois* transferred practically all the powder he had to an American merchantman and told Garibaldi to go and get it. The English minister accredited to Naples, Sir Henry G. Elliot, refers to Palmer in his diary as "a Yankee captain" who was an "out-and-out sympathiser" with Garibaldi. "It is a curious coincidence", continues Elliot, "that the American ship [*Iroquois*] which was at Palermo during the siege . . . is at this moment so short of powder that she cannot even fire a salute—or rather she was, as she has now borrowed from Admiral Mundy. Can you guess how this came about?"¹⁷

This Sicilian campaign of 1860, initiated by the famous Thousand, would have ended in disaster had not the first expedition of the Thousand been promptly supported by an expedition under Colonel Medici of nearly 2500 men with 8000 rifles, which landed in Sicily about a month later, from three ships flying the Star-Spangled Banner and commanded by American skippers, true or feigned—the ships being the

¹⁶ Garibaldi, *Epistolario di Giuseppe Garibaldi*, ed. by E. E. Ximenes (Milan, 1885), I. 47.

¹⁷ Sir Henry G. Elliot, *Some Revolutions and Other Diplomatic Experiences* (London, 1922), pp. 28, 39. The quotation from Elliot completes the story of this powder episode as given at greater length in H. N. Gay's article, Garibaldi's Sicilian Campaign as reported by an American Diplomat, *Am. Hist. Rev.*, XXVII. 219-244.

Washington, the *Franklin*, and the *Oregon*. W. L. Patterson, American consul at Genoa, had risked his position by transferring these vessels to the American register. They had been bought by the Garibaldians for the expedition and transferred to an American straw-owner, William De Rohan, who was a *bona fide* sea captain and commanded the flagship *Washington*. That the American De Rohan was thoroughly inspired with Garibaldian courage and spirit may be seen from the following instructions issued to his little fleet, which have been preserved in his own handwriting. "Our man of war" referred to in the instructions was, or at least De Rohan hoped that it would be, either the American warship *Iroquois*, or a Piedmontese warship.¹⁸

If Palermo be in possession of General Garibaldi, let the ships be steered for that place direct—all the ships keeping close together.

Let a man-of-war steamer keep in sight of us, but not so close that it be suspected she is *convoying* us.

If in day-time, the customary signal of distress will be made, which will be fully understood by *our* man-of-war.

By night signals to be arranged as follows, a lantern to be hoisted at the peak. Should a Neapolitan cruiser approach, the lantern will be hauled down.

If the Neapolitan send a boat on board, receive the officer at the foot of the ladder, *not allowing him to board the vessel*, for the law of wartime does not permit any man-of-war of one nation to board the vessel of another nation, without the consent of the persons in charge.

If the officer is not satisfied with the papers, order him off—if he do not go, *haul down immediately the peak lantern* as a signal to *our* man-of-war, the Captain of which then sends a boat on board.

When the boat from our man-of-war arrives say to the officer that we are Americans with all our papers *en règle* and that we ask him to protect us from an arrived vessel *which we do not know* to be a man-of-war of any nation and therefore have *a right to suspect to be a pirate or unlawful privateer*. We then formally invite the officer from our man-of-war on board (leaving the Neapolitan in his boat) to inspect our papers. We show them to him and he then descends the ladder and says to the Neapolitan: "All the ship's papers are duly authenticated by the American authorities, and you the Neapolitan cannot lawfully detain her."

If this be not satisfactory, then the Neapolitan to be warned to go away and if he do not, then our man-of-war *is to be formally requested to receive us under his protection we being rightfully under the American flag*. If the Neapolitan attempt to take us, we are to crowd on all steam, and also all sail if the wind be fair, toward Sicily.

If he overtake us, then we are to board him, bayonet in hand, all our vessels forming a circle around him, so as to scatter his fire.

¹⁸ This unpublished document and the unpublished Medici-De Rohan letters which follow have been communicated to me by Bruno Lido Guastalla from the papers of his father, Enrico Guastalla. A detailed account of the De Rohan-Medici expedition is given in H. N. Gay's article (*cit. supra*).

If it be a running fight, one half the men are to load and the other half to fire the muskets.

Any man disobeying an order or refusing to fight *to be shot on the spot*.

The flag never to be hauled down or the ships to be surrendered, but every man to board with the cry of "Garibaldi e Italia".

De Rohan.

Steamship Washington

Cagliari, 13 June 1860.

A copy of these instructions will be delivered to the Captain of each vessel.

The safe landing of this expedition and of a subsequent expedition of Colonel Cosenz, which De Rohan took out to Sicily from Genoa a month later, made it possible for Garibaldi to bring his campaign in the South to a triumphant conclusion. The following grateful letter (the original in Italian) from Colonel Medici was received by De Rohan shortly after the landing:

Few and free words will suffice for you, a free Citizen of the great American Union.

You have lent the glorious flag of your Nation to the ships *Washington*, *Franklin* and *Oregon* which have brought the second expeditionary corps to the South. Faith in the cause of Italy, in liberty and in your beautiful star-spangled banner has rendered the winds of fortune propitious. We have put foot on land, we have touched the soil of the heroic Island.

In our battles for the liberty and independence of Italy, and always, we shall think of you with particular regard, and of your Nation with gratitude.

Long live Italy! Long live the United States of America!

To this De Rohan replied:

Alcame.

20 June 1860.

Colonel,

I have the honor to acknowledge receipt of your very kind note of yesterday at Castellamare, and to offer my grateful thanks for the honor you pay me, although at the same time I cannot but feel that your generous feelings have placed far too high an estimate on the trifling service it has been my good fortune, for in that light I regard it, to render the cause of poor down-trodden "Italia". In anything I may have done of good, I have regarded only one guiding star, which I said to you when first you spoke to me, viz. that of being able to do some little act of value that would render me worthy of *one word* of appreciation from the lips of *Giuseppe Garibaldi*, the greatest man of the age whose whole life I reverence with the devotion of a religion, and to gain whose approbation I would risk everything. Yesterday the General more than paid me for my poor labor and I deem it the proudest act of my whole life to have been thanked and embraced by "Il Salvatore d'Italia". May the bright star of his mission which has thus far attended him never pale in its effulgence until Italy shall

rise once more erect and regenerated from amid the bloody oppression and tyranny which have prostrated her for five centuries!

May you also, my friend, be spared to be his right hand as you have so long been, and when the end of this *little dream of life* be over, may you find your reward in the long life of Eternal happiness beyond! . . .

To you I can hardly say enough for all your kind confidence and friendship, and hope that the opportunity may be granted me in some modest way by the General of doing whatever more I can.

Believe me, Colonel, with high esteem and respect,
Yours faithfully,

De Rohan.

Private Memorandum for Col. Medici

The rendezvous asked for with the American Corvette "*Iroquois*" is at or near *Maritimo* Island, by *Saturday, 12 o'clock*.

De Rohan was taking the empty ship *Washington* back to Genoa for more volunteers and requested Palmer to come with the *Iroquois* to see that Neapolitan warships did not attack him as he was leaving Sicily. Two days later he wrote again to Medici: "I shall be up to receive my last instructions from the General tomorrow about 4 P. M."

A small volume might be filled with letters of Americans who raised money for Garibaldi's cause in 1860, or who offered him their military services, or their sympathy. Two letters from Charles Eliot Norton to A. H. Clough are characteristic, revealing the spirit which inspired these American sympathizers. In June he wrote: "I have been at work to get up a public meeting in the hope of thus reaching the hearts and the pockets of the rich summer residents of Newport." And on September 24: "The progress of Garibaldi is just now even of greater interest to us than that of our election campaign. It is a fine thing to be living in times that can produce such a man, and in which such events as those in Italy are taking place. History was never more interesting than now. The new birth of Italy is already the greatest event of the modern period. It gives one fresh hope for the future,—and whatever disappointments may follow enough has already been done to confirm faith, and to make patience easy."¹⁹

At the close of his triumphant campaign of Sicily and Naples Garibaldi modestly retired to his farm at Caprera and it was there that President Lincoln, after the disaster of Bull Run in July, 1861, sent an official envoy to enlist his services for the North and offer him a major general's commission. Garibaldi refused Lincoln's offer because he felt that he could be useful only if he were given the supreme command of all

¹⁹ Charles Eliot Norton, *Letters*, I. 210.

the Northern forces, with the right, if conditions should prove propitious, to proclaim the freedom of the slaves.²⁰

His next important relations with representatives of the American government were of 1867. In September of that year he openly declared his intention of placing himself at the head of an army of volunteers to invade the Papal States and occupy Rome, in defiance of the Italian government which was bound by treaty with France to prevent any such undertaking. The government justly stigmatized his proposed action as that of a citizen who "placed himself above the law, supplanting the supreme power of the State, arbitrarily upsetting Italy in her difficult task of reorganization and involving her in grave complications". His arrest immediately followed and he was confined in the fortress of Alexandria. A few days later, on September 29, the American chargé d'affaires, Green Clay, sent to Secretary of State Seward the following dispatch, which is self-explanatory:²¹

As a part of the history of the arrest I think it may be of interest to inform you that two days ago I received from General Garibaldi a communication, in which he recounts that while enjoying the hospitality of a friend at Sinalunga he was arrested by an armed force, taken to the citadel of Alexandria and there forcibly confined in an unwholesome apartment—in which his health had already deteriorated—and as an American citizen, he invokes the protection of the United States from this unjust act committed against his person by the Italian government. This communication was accompanied by declarations on the part of his agent to the effect:—that the General is a native of Nice, was naturalized in the United States, and, it being doubtful whether he ever became a subject of Victor Emmanuel, and even now was engaged in no act hostile to his government—is in a position to avail himself of his American naturalization.

I explained satisfactorily and at some length the reasons why the Legation could not intercede officially in his behalf—that, though naturalized in the United States, he had returned to Italy and taken a prominent part in its political affairs, and was even without any intention of going back to America; that even acknowledging his American citizenship he would be equally, if not more rigorously, held to respect the public order of the Italian Kingdom—and of the exigencies of the public safety this government was the sole judge.

I promised, however, to call officiously on the President of the Council and to make known Garibaldi's complaint in regard to his health, and to use any opportunity I might have to procure an amelioration of his imprisonment. I afterwards did call upon Mr. Rattazzi and was informed by

²⁰ The unpublished documents revealing these negotiations were given by H. N. Gay in an article, Lincoln's Offer of a Command to Garibaldi, *Century Magazine*, LXXV. 63-74.

²¹ This and the following American diplomatic documents, all unpublished, are from the archives of the American embassy in Rome.

him that Garibaldi had that morning been liberated and was to go to Caprera. On my intimation that he had invoked the intercession of the Legation, he seemed very willing to recognize Garibaldi as an American citizen, and begged me to communicate officially the *reclamation*. This I refused to do, but contented myself with expressing the belief and hope that this decision of the Ministry would prove to be to the best interest of Italy.

The political friends of Garibaldi are divided into two camps, and the prestige of his name is contested between them; the parliamentary wing, headed by the leader of the Left in the House of Deputies, disapproved the late contemplated movement; the other, obeying more the occult influence of Mazzini, would welcome an uprising of the Romans only in the shape of a gain to the Republican cause. I suspected that it was while under the momentary influence of the latter party that Garibaldi—embittered by his arrest—decided to demand the protection of the United States, and by that means to render ignominious the King's government in the eyes of Italians and to break completely with the dynastic rule in Italy.

I made no written reply to Garibaldi's demand, but requested the person who was intrusted with the communication of it, to lay before him the views I had expressed. In case he insists on renouncing Italian allegiance and resuming his American citizenship, I expressed my willingness to receive any further communication he might wish to make to substantiate such intention.

This course I thought best to promote the harmony of our official relations and the glory and interest of the distinguished personage concerned.

The popular demonstrations have not been of the imposing character of manifestations of public opinion; nevertheless, the arrest of Garibaldi has created a profound emotion in the minds of the thinking and educated classes and has shaken monarchical faith itself in Italy.

Clay's analysis of the influences that had been brought to bear upon Garibaldi was accurate, and it was doubtless true that the general's motive in claiming American citizenship was to discredit the king's government which had thwarted him. On the other hand, Rattazzi's willingness to recognize this citizenship would indicate that he felt that Garibaldi in renouncing Italian allegiance would bring more discredit upon himself than upon the government. Furthermore, as a foreigner, Garibaldi would be less justified in embarrassing the Italian government in the future by rash revolutionary movements to solve the Roman Question. Each side was ready to use the issue of American citizenship as a political weapon against the other. As to Garibaldi's actual naturalization in the United States Clay soon afterward revised his opinion, writing to the Department of State on October 7: "It has come to my knowledge that in all probability Garibaldi's naturalization in the United States was never perfected; in that case his leaving the country was *prima facie* abandoning any inchoate rights of citizenship."

It is curious to note that before appealing to the American legation

Garibaldi had sent the following note to the British legation at Florence:²²

Citadel of Alexandria.
September 25, 1867.

Mr. Ambassador:

Having the honor of being a British subject—I demand your high protection—in view of the unjust act committed against my person by the Italian Government.

Yesterday morning while enjoying the hospitality of one of my friends in Sinalunga, I was arrested by an armed force—conducted to this citadel—and lodged in a dirty apartment—where my health has already suffered.

This is the reason for my being obliged to appeal to you—declaring myself, with respect

Your devoted

G. Garibaldi.

To the Ambassador
of His Britannic Majesty
at Florence.

On what Garibaldi based his claim to be a British subject is not clear. Probably he had in mind the citizenship of London offered to him as a courtesy at the Guildhall when he had visited England in 1864. In his political ingenuity he seemed not to realize—indeed, to have forgotten²³—that in claiming American or British citizenship he was renouncing allegiance to Italy. Why should he not be a citizen of Italy, England, and the United States at one and the same time, claiming the protection of whichever country suited him best at any given moment? It was a triple claim more complicated even than the dual citizenship frequently assumed by Europeans, which has caused so many difficulties to the American Department of State in recent decades.

An Italian fleet blockaded Caprera after its owner's return, but less than a month later Garibaldi eluded its vigilance and escaped to the mainland, placing himself at the head of volunteer forces in what proved to be a disastrous campaign against Rome, ending in defeat by French and papal troops at Mentana. Retreating to Italian territory he

²² Unpublished. British Museum, 35,251, f. 22. Here translated from the original French.

²³ In a letter to his close friend, C. A. Vecchi, written many years before, on Mar. 9, 1855, Garibaldi had clearly stated that he had "in vain attempted to acquire American citizenship . . . though he had lived in the United States almost a year in the course of two sojourns, had navigated under the American flag, and had enlisted on behalf of his efforts for citizenship all the acquaintances and friends that he had been able to make in the country. The law for naturalization requires . . . renunciation, under oath, of citizenship in any foreign state." Garibaldi, *Epistolario*, I. 47.

was again arrested by the Italian government and was confined at Varignano near Spezia, notwithstanding his protests made "as an Italian deputy and a citizen of the United States". On November 11, a week after his arrest, Garibaldi wrote a note to William T. Rice, American consul at Spezia, asking him to come to Varignano, and stating that "as a citizen of the United States he wished to return to Caprera under protection of the American flag". Rice, who was an old friend of the general, proceeded to bombard the American legation in Florence with telegrams and letters asking that a government permission for him to visit Garibaldi be obtained and that the latter's request for American protection be granted. The consul wrote on November 16:

I have just received a visit from Mr. Canzio, son in law to General Garibaldi, who has been a prisoner with the General . . . I have no doubt that should the Italian Government set Garibaldi free he would wish to return to Caprera in one of our Vessels. Cannot you Mr. Marsh arrange it? As it is evident, he will not be confined much longer. In my opinion it would not do for us to refuse the only request Garibaldi has made of us, nor do I think that the American Government or people would approve of it, provided the Italian Government did not object. *You* could request the Captain of one of our vessels to proceed here, and let the said Captain take the responsibility should the request be renewed when the General is a free Agent.

This presumptuous letter crossed one addressed to Rice on November 14 by our sagacious minister to Florence, George P. Marsh:

I regret to be obliged to say that such information as I can obtain without formal application for permission for you to visit Gen. Garibaldi leads me to believe that such an application would not be granted, and I must therefore decline preferring a request to that effect.

With regard to General Garibaldi's desire to be conveyed to Caprera in an American ship of war, in case he is released by the Italian government, it is to be observed that the Legation has no control over the subject, and as such an act by officers of our navy would be considered a political demonstration, it is probable that the commander of any ship, who should be applied to for that purpose, would think it his duty to ask instructions from the admiral commanding the squadron, who again might perhaps feel himself bound to refer the question to the government at Washington. Under these circumstances, though I should personally be happy to show any proper respect to this distinguished patriot and soldier, yet I do not feel at all at liberty to encourage him in the belief that a ship of war would be put at his disposal for the object in question.

I observe that Genl. Garibaldi claims the right of American citizenship by naturalization. It is proper to remark that this Legation has no evidence that the legal steps required by our laws for the naturalization of aliens were ever taken by Genl. Garibaldi. We are informed, indeed, that the declara-

tion of intention was made by him, but this is unavailing unless it was followed up by further proceedings, of which no proof has ever been furnished us. The question of citizenship often involves nice points of law, and though we are not now called upon to decide on its merits, it is proper that you should be informed that the Legation does not at present consider itself authorized to recognize Gen. Garibaldi as an American Citizen.

Begging you, if opportunity offers, to present to Gen. Garibaldi my best respects and to express to him my regret that my views of official duty do not enable me to meet his wishes now fully, I am etc.

G. P. Marsh.

The Italian government in the meantime had decided to remove restrictions as to Garibaldi's receiving visitors, and on November 19, Rice replied to Marsh as follows:

On Sunday I went to Varignano and was allowed to see the General, and had quite a long private conversation with him. I told him exactly what you said in yours, and explained the reasons why you could not accede to his wishes. He replied that at present it was of no consequence, as the Italian Government are making overtures to him. I could see, however, that he was slightly annoyed. At last he asked me if should the worst come to the worst and he be willing to give up the position of Deputy, allegiance, Country, everything in short, would the American Government recognize him as an American Citizen. I was obliged to speak plainly, as after your two letters I had no alternative. He understands your motives and feelings towards him, and desired to be warmly remembered to Mrs. Marsh and Yourself.

He informed me (as I presume you already know) that he filed his intention to become an American Citizen, and remained long enough in America, and under the flag to have taken out his papers; but from some oversight or other the final steps were not taken.

The Government offered him the privilege of returning to Caprera if he would give his parole, but this he refused to do. Now he tells me their plan is to give him a war steamer, and let him cruise where he likes, not I presume in Italian waters, however.

His position has been greatly ameliorated within a few days; he can walk out in the grounds without being accompanied by an officer should he desire it, and he tells me that should he request to be permitted to go up to Spezia for a few hours, it would probably be granted, but he will neither ask for nor accept anything.

If he greatly wishes to see any particular person, and mentions it to the Colonel in charge, the permission would be most probably granted.

Garibaldi's reiterated requests for an American warship were perhaps inspired by his recollections of the offer of one made to him by Cass in 1849, and by the American naval officers at Gibraltar in that same year. His irritation against the Italian government had now reached the point where he contemplated renunciation of allegiance to

Italy which he had at last come to admit was implied in assuming American citizenship. The lengths to which he seemed prepared to go became known to many of his friends, and General Niccolò Fabrizi, who had been his chief of staff in the recent Roman expedition, wrote on November 13, in grief and astonishment to Canzio, to prevent, if possible, what seemed to him an immense catastrophe. His letter reveals that in the proposal as considered by the Italian prime minister, Menabrea, the American warship was to take Garibaldi not to Caprera, where he would remain a constant threat of fresh revolutionary movements against Rome, but to the United States. If Rice had at first encouraged this idea, he had not revealed it to Marsh.²⁴

Florence, 13 November, 1867.

Dear Canzio:

I cannot express to you the pain it causes me to hear that the General is to consent to his own ostracism in America. Above all, that this is to be under the claim of American citizenship. In my opinion this would be our real and only defeat. . . . This solution would be the more unfortunate inasmuch as his American citizenship today would be interpreted by most people as an insult to his Italian citizenship, which would implicitly be discarded and rejected. I consider this matter to be grave in its political consequences, since our position is based on the General as an Italian and in Italy.

I said this to Menabrea when he mentioned to me the arrangement by which the General might decide to go to America²⁵ as discussed with the American consul. General Garibaldi cannot now for us be other than an Italian and in Italy. A conversation followed in which I ceded no ground. He must not leave his friends, who have not left him, and who never will leave him. Affectionately,

N. Fabrizi.

Fabrizi did not exaggerate the gravity of the step which Garibaldi contemplated. His renunciation of "the position of Deputy, allegiance, Country, everything" would have caused an enormous scandal and widened the existing breach between the hot-headed party of the Left which was impatient to obtain Rome even at the risk of a disastrous war with France, and the equally patriotic party of the Right which placed the authority of the state above the impulses of Garibaldi, and with cooler judgment hoped to obtain Rome later without a clash with France. In serving his own government with prudence Marsh per-

²⁴ Unpublished. The Italian original preserved among Garibaldi's papers in the Museo del Risorgimento in Milan.

²⁵ Garibaldi may have thought that a declared intention of returning to the United States would help his claims to American citizenship in the eyes of the American legation at Florence.

formed an immense service both to the Italian government and to Garibaldi himself. The great Italian patriot, now sixty years of age, was in a nervous state that at once clouded his memory and made it impossible for him at the moment to exercise the calm, conciliatory judgment which had characterized the supreme decisions of his life. It was evident also that he was under the immediate influence not of his wisest councilors, but of extremists.

The episode, which narrowly escaped smirching Garibaldi's escutcheon, ended in his returning to Caprera in an Italian warship. An open break between him and the monarchy with which in the past he had worked so successfully for Italian unity was avoided, but the danger of the break had been even greater in 1867 than five years before at Aspromonte. Of his claims to American citizenship nothing more was heard, nor in the remaining years of his life had he other important contacts with representatives of the American government.

H. NELSON GAY.

Rome.

THE ANGLO-SAXON PRESS IN MEXICO, 1846-1848

THE story of the Anglo-Saxon press in Mexico during the Mexican War not only recalls the military steps by which the southwestern boundary of the United States was pushed to the Rio Grande and the Pacific Ocean, but serves as an introduction to the history of the press in the Southwest in the subsequent decade. Incidentally it illustrates some of the methods by which enterprising journalists endeavored, during that era, to turn to their own ends that elemental instinct—curiosity. From the time that secret orders were delivered to General Taylor to proceed to Texas and there place his army in position for such action as circumstances might render advisable, all eyes were turned to the Mexican border; and to that region newspaper men rushed, some as correspondents for the important papers of New Orleans and of Northern and Eastern cities, others as volunteers in the army.

Almost overnight the comparatively unsettled border regions of Texas became the scene of action. Troops and supply trains blazed trails through vast uninhabited stretches and established camps in somnolent Mexican villages. Corpus Christi was the first of these to profit from the increased activity; and there, on soil still vigorously claimed by Mexico, the first "war" newspaper, the *Corpus Christi Gazette*, came into existence with the issuance of its first number on January 1, 1846.¹

One of the publishers of this pioneer sheet was himself a figure of interest. A Bostonian by birth,² Samuel Bangs could claim the distinction of having printed at Galveston on February 22, 1817, the first document printed on the soil of Texas—a proclamation of General Mina, of whose expedition he was a member.³ When the party left by Mina at Sota la Marina was captured, he would have been executed had he not been needed to operate the press which Arredondo transported to Monterey. After many years spent as a printer in Mexico and Texas, in 1845 with war imminent, Bangs saw an opportunity, secured a press at Galveston, reached Corpus shortly after General Taylor, and there formed a partnership with George W. Fletcher, a local physician, with

¹ *New Orleans Daily Picayune*, Jan. 6, 1846; *Austin Texas Democrat*, May 6, 1846.

² Probate Records, Suffolk County, XCVIII. 696. For further details concerning Bangs's career, see the writer's article, Samuel Bangs: the first Printer in Texas, in the *Hispanic American Historical Review*, XI. 248-258.

³ Carlos M. Bustamante, *Cuadro Histórico* (Mexico 1844), IV. 317-323.

whom he became joint owner of the new paper. As editor, José de Alba, one of the most important members of the Spanish speaking colony at Corpus, was secured.⁴

The Corpus Christi *Gazette* was no "two-by-four" newspaper; it was a full-sized sheet with four pages to the issue.⁵ The type was new and good, woodcuts adorned the advertisements, and the whole paper bore evidence of the hand of an experienced printer, which Bangs certainly was. As an index to life in Corpus at the opening of 1846, the issues of the *Gazette* are priceless. For the little Mexican town was gay beyond belief. With the choice of the Ethiopian Serenaders or *Richard III.* at the Army Theater, and "Blackeyed Susan" at the Union, and all the "comforts, conveniences, and luxuries" of which Corpus was "susceptible" offered by the Kinney House, while the Kilgore Oyster Parlor was a lively competitor in the "vinous" line, none needed to be dull. Bakers, butchers, and candlestick makers were at hand; lawyers, doctors, barbers, and hairdressers offered their services, while the confectioner and photographer supplemented the list. Everything from hair mattresses, carved furniture, music boxes, and jewelry, to shoe strings and handkerchiefs was offered to the public in the pages of the *Gazette*. Of news of the outside world, it contributed excerpts from the New York *Sun*, the *National Intelligencer*, and the *Daily Picayune*. In politics its policy was declared to be neutral.

But the days of prosperity for Bangs in Corpus were numbered. During two months the *Gazette* sold well; but by the time business was in full swing, General Taylor had recommended the removal of the troops to the Rio Grande. Upon the receipt of orders to move forward, preparations for the march were begun early in February; and by the end of the month all was in readiness. Day by day the population of Corpus dwindled until, after seeing the last of the troops under way on March 11, Taylor ordered headquarters to follow shortly. On April 2, in an almost deserted town, the fourteenth and last number of the Corpus Christi *Gazette* was issued.⁶ No longer was Corpus the center of interest; all eyes were now directed to the lower Rio Grande. And in that same direction did Bangs shortly turn his steps. After securing a new partner, he loaded his press on an oxcart and moved on to the Matamoras region, then the center of military activity.

⁴ Prospectus of the Corpus Christi *Gazette* published in the *Texas Democrat*, May 6, 1846.

⁵ Vol. I., no. 7, is in the library of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin; no. 12 is in the archives of the war department in Mexico City.

⁶ No. 14 is in the library of the American Antiquarian Society.

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In the meantime other printers had reached the scene and sensed the opportunity at hand. Among the first troops to arrive in Texas were the Louisiana Volunteers, of whom one company was composed almost entirely of printers.⁷ As these men had enlisted for only six months, their term of service expired and they were mustered out before the army crossed the Rio Grande. The occupation of Matamoras on May 17 made it possible for an enterprising printer to secure the use of a Mexican press, for the town had boasted of a dozen different newspapers in the preceding decade. As a result, on June 1, 1846, the first number of the *Republic of the Rio Grande*, presenting leading articles in both Spanish and English, made its appearance from the press of the former *Boletín*. The new paper was printed on a letter sheet by J. N. Fleeson, a printer from New Orleans, and edited by Hugh McLeod, whose object, as indicated by the title of the paper, was to establish an independent republic out of the four northern states of Mexico—a republic which he, no doubt, planned to have annexed later by the United States.⁸ But the title as well as the editorials proved so offensive to the military officials that only a few numbers were issued before McLeod was forced to retire from its management and the name changed to the *American Flag*,⁹ under which title the paper became one of the best known and most important of the Rio Grande region. At the retirement of McLeod, the management was taken over by John N. Peoples, another New Orleans printer, who, in turn, was succeeded by J. R. Palmer. In many respects the *American Flag* fully deserved the title conferred upon it—"the pioneer of Anglo-Saxon periodical literature in Mexico"¹⁰—and many journals depended upon it, throughout the period of the war, for news of happenings at the front.

In the same month in which the first issue of the *Republic of the Rio Grande* was published, another paper, the *Rio Grande Herald*, was announced as shortly to be established at Matamoras by Bangs, of the

⁷ *Daily Picayune*, May 6, 1846.

⁸ New Orleans *Weekly Delta*, June 15, 22, 29, July 13, 1846; *Daily Picayune*, June 14, 16, 21, 24, 1846.

⁹ *Houston Democratic Telegraph and Texas Register*, July 29, 1846.

¹⁰ *Weekly Delta*, July 20, 1846; Feb. 8, 1847. The issues of Nov. 28, 1846, and Apr. 28, May 5, June 2, Aug. 11, 18, Sept. 8, 11, Oct. 2, 6, 13, 16, 23, and Nov. 20, 1847, are in the library of the Western Reserve Historical Society; that of Aug. 28, 1847, is in the library of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin; and those of Nov. 14, 1846, and Apr. 24, 1847, are in the library of the American Antiquarian Society. While all copies seen indicate that it was published semiweekly, it may at times have appeared triweekly, as is stated in *Sketches of the Campaign in Northern Mexico in 1846 and 1847* (New York, 1853), p. 60.

defunct *Gazette*, and Gideon Lewis, an editor of the *Galveston News*. The *Herald* never materialized, but, in its stead, on June 24 the *Matamoras Reveille* appeared.¹¹ This paper, frequently confused with the *St. Louis Reveille*, from which it probably borrowed its title, was at first issued as a semiweekly in both Spanish and English. The Spanish section was, however, soon dropped, and a separate paper in Spanish issued from the same press by different publishers.¹² As the result of an objectionable article which appeared in the foreign paper, the office was closed in August by order of General Taylor and no trace of later issues has been found, although, after the publishers of the English *Reveille* had disclaimed all responsibility for the offensive article which sustained the claims of Mexico, permission to resume publication in English was given.¹³ But the main body of the army was already being rapidly thrown forward toward Monterey; and Matamoras, while still a base for operations, was no longer a profitable location for two newspapers. After lingering there several months in hopes of the return of the army, Bangs sold his press and quit the field.¹⁴

By the time the *Reveille* had expired, representatives of the United States government had gained control of California; and there, in a spot far distant from the Rio Grande, the first issue of the next Anglo-Saxon newspaper appeared. On August 15, 1846, Walter Colton, the chief magistrate, who had come into possession of a Spanish press found in a mission cloister, began, with Robert Semple, the publication at Monterey of the *Californian*, whose avowed purpose was making English the language and the United States the ruler of California.¹⁵ By using cigar wrapping paper and utilizing, until additional type could be secured from the Sandwich Islands, two *v's* for a *w*, as the Spanish alphabet boasted no such letter, these enterprising gentlemen set on foot a paper whose vigorous editorials, denouncing allegiance to Mexico and upholding the supremacy of the United States, were noteworthy. A few columns of each issue were printed, as propaganda, in Spanish. Colton withdrew from the management on April 16, 1847, and the publication in Monterey ceased with the issue of May 6. The paper was then removed to San Francisco, and there conducted, from May 22, 1847, successively by Robert Semple, B. R. Buckelew, and Robert Gor-

¹¹ *Daily Picayune*, June 14, 1846. Vol. I., no. 1, is in the library of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin.

¹² *Daily Picayune*, July 16, 1846.

¹³ Clarksville (Texas) *Northern Standard*, Sept. 5, 1846.

¹⁴ *Weekly Delta*, Mar. 22, 1847, quoting the *Galveston News*.

¹⁵ A file from Aug. 15, 1846, to May 6, 1847, is in the Library of Congress.

don; then again by Buckelew until May 17, 1848, from which time until September 9, 1848, it was published by J. D. Hoppe and Company, and edited by H. L. Sheldon.¹⁶ How far separated from the outside world California then was is shown by the fact that Taylor's report of May 17, 1846, did not appear in the Monterey paper until November 28. It was this paper, in its issue of March 15, 1847, which gave to the world the first news of the discovery of gold in California.

Before the *Californian* had removed to San Francisco, a weekly journal, the *California Star*, began publication at Yerba Buena, as the town on the site of the later city was called. The small but neat sheet first issued in January, 1847, was owned by Samuel Brannon—the Mormon leader who had been brought up by Joseph Smith—and was edited by E. P. Jones, who was no less insistent than Colton upon the rule of the United States.¹⁷ The paper was still in existence in September, for receipt of an issue dated the 18th of that month was acknowledged by the Philadelphia *Ledger* of December 20.

The capture of Monterey, Mexico, and the armistice period which followed, brought a force of 6000 into an inland town which offered few forms of amusement and little contact with the outside world. As the lack of a newspaper was keenly felt by the troops, application was made to General Worth for permission to publish one in English, but the request was refused on the ground that it would be in violation of the wishes of the government at home. Nevertheless, pressure to that end continued to be exerted, and in February it was reported that a new paper, the *Mountain Warrior*, was shortly to appear. So far as is known, the *Warrior* never materialized, but by February 15 the *American Pioneer*, "a small sized journal", was being published by William S. Goff and J. D. Onslow.¹⁸ Issues of this paper continued until the close of the year, for with a letter from that city, dated January 1, 1848, a few numbers "of our Monterey papers" were sent. In referring to them the writer said, "They are poor productions but you will be able to glean some news from them". The associate editor and publisher of the *Pioneer* was, until August 4, 1847, Durant Da Ponte, the son of the librettist of Mozart's opera *Don Giovanni*.¹⁹ The other paper referred

¹⁶ *Annotated Catalogue of Newspaper Files in the Library of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin* (Madison, 1911). In that library are vol. I., nos. 3-33; vol. II., 45 nos.; and vol. III., 6 nos.

¹⁷ *Californian*, Jan. 23, 1847; *Weekly Delta*, July 26, 1847.

¹⁸ *Weekly Delta*, Nov. 9, 1846; Mar. 8, Apr. 5, 1847. The issue of Mar. 22, 1847, is in the library of the Western Reserve Historical Society.

¹⁹ Philadelphia *North American and United States Gazette*, Feb. 8, 1848. *Weekly Delta*, May 17, 1847.

to was the *Monterey Gazette*, which was being published as early as October 24, 1847, and as late as February 19, 1848.²⁰

At Tampico, to which the main body of the army was transferred en route to Vera Cruz, the *Sentinel* was established on February 6, 1847, by J. R. Barnard and William Jewell, newspaper men from New Orleans, and edited for a time, it is said, by F. A. Lumsden, formerly one of the editors of the *Picayune*.²¹ At the end of March, when the army moved south for the attack on Vera Cruz, these gentlemen sold to John G. Gibson, formerly of the New Orleans *True American*, their interest in the paper, which continued to be issued as a weekly until May 3 of the following year. On its pages were published resolutions in Spanish and in English upon the death of J. Q. Adams.²²

Still another paper printed in English came into existence in central Mexico during 1847—the *Picket Guard*, which was owned by W. and M. Osmon and published at Saltillo. Of this there are records of issues from April 14 to July 2.²³

With the capture of Vera Cruz, John N. Peoples of the *American Flag* and Barnard and Jewell of the Tampico *Sentinel* joined forces and began on April 2, 1847, less than a week after the United States troops entered the port, the *Vera Cruz Eagle*, a semiweekly which continued until the last day of June of that year, when it was suspended until the middle of September. Although it was promised in the last number that the paper would be continued, "materially improved, with augmented interest imparted to its editorial column", the *Eagle* failed to soar again.²⁴

By April 19 the advance divisions of the army were in Jalapa and before the last of the troops had entered the town "a regular out and out American paper was established". The first number, "abounding in interesting and important intelligence", was issued on the 25th by the publishers of the *Vera Cruz Eagle*, who followed the practice of "foraging on the enemy" by taking over the press and materials of a former Jalapa paper.²⁵ The *American Star* continued from April 25 until May

²⁰ *Weekly Delta*, Nov. 29, 1847; *Daily Picayune*, Mar. 12, 1848; Philadelphia *North American*, Mar. 21, 1848.

²¹ *Daily Picayune*, Feb. 18, 1847. Robert Anderson, *An Artillery Officer in the Mexican War*, p. 37.

²² *Weekly Delta*, Mar. 29, 1847. *Daily Picayune*, Mar. 28, May 14, 1848.

²³ *Weekly Delta*, May 17, June 7 and 21, 1847; *Daily Picayune*, May 23; Philadelphia *Public Ledger*, Aug. 20, 1847.

²⁴ J. J. Oswandel, *Notes on the Mexican War*, p. 103; *Weekly Delta*, June 12, 1847. Vol. I., no. 2 (Apr. 6, 1847), of the *Eagle*, is in the Durrett Collection, University of Chicago.

²⁵ *Daily Picayune*, May 6, 1847.

13, on which date the publishers pushed forward to Puebla. There the first number of the second *American Star* was issued on June 12, after *y's* were filed down to *v's*, two *v's* substituted for *w's*, and the necessary army blanks supplied. It was indeed a "locomotive" concern, for it lasted only until the seventeenth number, which was dated August 7, and again took up the march.²⁶ While Jewell was left in Vera Cruz to look after the *Eagle*, Peoples and Barnard added to their group Callahan, the *Picayune* correspondent "C. C.", who continued to take an active part in newspaper-making during his stay in Mexico.

It was Peoples and Barnard who began on September 23, 1847, the publication of the first newspaper in English in the City of Mexico. After the battles of Contreras and Churubusco, as General Scott wanted the armistice printed, Peoples entered the city before the army, printed the articles of the convention, and smuggled them through the streets to the military headquarters in Tacubaya. The *American Star*, at first a triweekly, then a semiweekly, and after October 12 a daily, was the most important organ in Mexico for the circulation of news of the United States Army. In its issues, which continued until May 30, 1848—longer than was really profitable to its managers—appear official proclamations of the military commanders, personal items of those who played a part in the drama being enacted, news of happenings near and far, and articles addressed directly to the Mexicans.²⁷ Since the editor of the *Star* regarded the press as a possible means of influencing the Mexican mind, a part of each issue was published in Spanish, and in that language the viewpoint of the United States in regard to disputed issues, the justice of its policy and acts, and especially the advantages of a free press, were set forth. With the aid of these appeals, it was hoped that the press might be active in completing the work begun by the sword.²⁸

But not even for eight months could such a newspaper be published without difficulties. Paper had to be secured from the factory at Puebla or at San Angel, type was available but expensive, and printers, recruited from the ranks, were constantly being shifted by army orders. So long as the government furnished work, such as the printing of forms and proclamations, the expense of issuing the paper was met; but with the ratification of the treaty of peace those contracts ceased,

²⁶ Oswandel, *Notes*, p. 145; Anderson, *An Artillery Officer*, p. 212; *Weekly Delta*, July 12, 1847; *American Star* (Mexico City), May 30, 1848.

²⁷ Complete files in the National Library of Mexico, the Library of Congress, and the British Museum.

²⁸ Editorial, *American Star*, Mar. 7, 1848.

and the managers were constrained to appeal to their subscribers for the \$2500 to \$3000 then overdue but much needed in order to meet the expenses of publication. Little of this amount was, however, ever collected.

During the period of its publication, the *American Star* was managed by Peoples and Barnard—jointly until December, 1847, by Barnard alone until February, 1848, and by Peoples alone after that time. From the first there were competitors in the field, and toward one of these, the *North American*, the *Star* had anything but a kindly feeling, and to this attitude gave rather free expression.

While the United States Army remained in Mexico, other newspapers in English were numerous. At Puebla, Governor Childs discovered a Howe press, from which the owner had issued, during the siege of the city, a large number of inflammatory handbills urging the Indians to rise up and cut the throats of the six hundred sick Yankees.²⁹ After being captured by Pennsylvania troops, this press was put in charge of John Kritser, a member of the Second Volunteers, one company of which was composed entirely of printers. From it there was issued a small sheet, the *Flag of Freedom*, twice a week from October 20 until December 25, 1847, and weekly thereafter until March 4, 1848.³⁰ In addition to the official proclamations in Spanish and English and local news, the *Flag of Freedom* offered to its readers more material of a literary character than any paper so far mentioned. On its pages appear a number of poems, some by W. F. S. [William F. Small, a Philadelphia poet] and some by J. Barnwell Haynie; dramatic notes and reviews; and articles on Mexican history and customs. The price of each issue was "half a dime".

Another paper, also the product of the Pennsylvania mind, was the *North American*, of which seventy-seven numbers, dating from September 29, 1847, to March 31, 1848, were printed in Mexico City under the supervision of William C. Toby, a correspondent of the Philadelphia *North American* known to the general public as "John of York".³¹ The first number received favorable comment from the *Star*, but by the time the second was off the press, Mr. Peoples's paper was referring to its rival as an unreliable "scooper" of news. Almost every issue in November contained some unpleasant reference to the *North American*; in January, the relations between the two papers were openly dis-

²⁹ Oswandel, *Notes*, pp. 356-357.

³⁰ *Daily Picayune*, June 17, 1846. A complete file is in the library of the Pennsylvania Historical Society; the file in the British Museum lacks no. 69.

³¹ File in the library of the Pennsylvania Historical Society.

cussed; by February, the *Star* suggested that the rival sheet was owned by foreigners who kept in the background to give the impression of American ownership; and Freamer, of the *Delta*, was reported later to have been offered, but to have refused, the editorship. A temporary suspension followed; when publication was resumed the sheet appeared without the name either of editor or publisher. Early in March it was reported to have come out again, "after another day's rest", in new dress, new series, and managed by a new firm. But in reality Toby was again in charge, and with him was associated Callahan, who had lately been with Peoples. The *North American*, like the *Flag of Freedom*, presented much material of a literary nature, many articles on Mexico by Toby, and dramatic news, and reviews. When patronage waned, the publication was stopped; but Toby stayed on in Mexico City until he received a commission which had been promised him.³² On his return to Philadelphia with the Pennsylvania troops on July 25, 1848, he again joined the staff of the Philadelphia paper whose name he had borrowed for his publication in Mexico. The esteem in which he and his work were held by brethren of the craft was well voiced by George Wilkins Kendall, of the *Picayune*, when he said that "John of York" was one of the most piquant writers of the country and that the *North American* was a beautiful sheet worthy to bear the name of its Philadelphia model.³³

Among the other ventures in Anglo-Saxon newspapers in and around Mexico City must be mentioned "a shilling weekly hebdomadal", *Yankee Doodle*, "which changed hands for a picayune" on November 18, 1847. The publisher was H. R. Courtney, who issued his paper both in Spanish and English from the office of the *North American*. At least six numbers were published; on December 11, *Yankee Doodle* was advertising in the *Star* for a wood engraver; and on the 20th a number was issued.³⁴ Courtney was probably ordered to move forward with the detachment of troops destined for the occupation of Toluca, for at that place on March 4 the first number of the *Outpost Guard* was published both in Spanish and English under his direction.³⁵ At Jalapa, during the period of withdrawal of the troops from the capital, John Shea, a New Orleans printer, published *The Watch Tower*, a "fine-looking paper, superior in appearance to most of the Yankee papers

³² Philadelphia *North American and United States Gazette*, Mar. 31, May 6, 1848.

³³ *Weekly Delta*, Nov. 8, 1847.

³⁴ *North American* (Mexico City), Nov. 19, Dec. 21, 1847. No. 4, dated Dec. 6, 1847, is in the New York Public Library.

³⁵ *American Star* (Mexico City), Mar. 5, 1848.

started among the Mexicans". The first issue of the paper is mentioned by the *Picayune* of March 12, 1848, and its publication continued at least until April 2.³⁶

At Vera Cruz, the port of entry for all the troops and supplies used in the capture of the capital, four newspapers in English were published for various intervals. Of the *Vera Cruz Chronicle* only one issue, that of April 26, 1847, has been noted.³⁷ The *Sun of Anahuac*, published by a Cuban, R. Valdés Alfonso, continued from June 16, 1847, until August 25.³⁸ The reason for its demise is not clear; it may have shared the fate of some of its successors. At any rate, by September 25 a new paper by the name of the *Genius of Liberty* had made its appearance under the management of Messrs. Mathewson and Quinn. Its career was brief. After being fined \$200 by the American governor of the state of Vera Cruz for certain statements in an earlier issue, Dr. Quinn printed on November 12 some "pertinent interrogatories", which so outraged the governor that he closed the office and imprisoned the offending editors. So died the *Genius of Liberty*.³⁹ In its place there came into existence during the same month the *Free American*, under the guidance of De Villiers, another New Orleans printer and quondam editor. For six months he managed to maintain friendly relations with the "powers that be", but he, too, finally became entangled in difficulties with the governor and was ordered on May 28, 1848, to leave the city within twenty-four hours. The *Free American* was finally suspended on June 9, 1848.⁴⁰

Even before Vera Cruz was captured by the United States Army, troops moving westward from St. Louis had entered Santa Fe, and there on September 4, 1847, the *Santa Fe Republican* began publication.⁴¹ The press utilized may have been the old government printing press found in the town, or it may have been the press shipped in 1846 by A. P. Ladew to Santa Fe for the use of the provisional government.⁴² According to Nicolas Wochner, who wrote to the editor of the *Tägliche Anzeiger des Westens* at St. Louis, the *Republican* was published in English and Spanish by Hovey and Davis, but news from the States

³⁶ *Daily Picayune*, Apr. 14, 1848.

³⁷ *Houston Democratic Telegraph and Texas Register*, May 17, 1847.

³⁸ *Weekly Delta*, June 28, Sept. 6, 1847.

³⁹ *Weekly Delta*, Oct. 11, Nov. 29, 1847.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, June 19, 1848.

⁴¹ R. E. Twitchell, *Old Santa Fe*, p. 455, n.

⁴² H. O. Ladd, *History of the War with Mexico*, p. 97; *Weekly Delta*, Nov. 23, 1846, quoting the *St. Louis Reveille*.

was scarce.⁴³ This paper continued in existence for many years after the war period.

Shortly after the capture of Santa Fe, Doniphan was sent into Chihuahua, where a newspaper called the *Anglo-Saxon* was published in both English and Spanish almost six months before the *Republican* came into existence. In the first number, dated March 13, 1847, Colonel Doniphan published a proclamation in Spanish requesting the people to continue at their usual occupations. This paper, about eight by twelve inches in size, was printed on a press which had been taken to Chihuahua some twenty years earlier for the publication of government decrees. The editor of the *Anglo-Saxon* was Lieutenant Charles Kribben, a St. Louis newspaper man, and the publisher was John S. Webb. As in California, "the fonts of type were as barren of *w's* as a cockney's pronunciation, and the publisher was forced into the double cockneyism of using two *v's* as a substitute". Only a few numbers of the *Anglo-Saxon* appeared, for Doniphan's men were ordered forward to join General Taylor's force in the interior.⁴⁴

With the withdrawal of the United States troops from Mexican territory, the presses which had been employed in the publication of the various papers in English were returned to their owners. But the spirit of adventure awakened in the hearts of many of the journalists who promoted the *Anglo-Saxon* press in Mexico during the war was too strong; they were unwilling to return to their former homes and duties. Instead, new presses were ordered westward, and new papers sprang up in various towns of the Southwest. In Texas alone the number increased from fourteen weekly and two semiweekly publications in February, 1846, to more than thirty by September, 1849, and some of these were the direct outgrowth of papers published in Mexico during the war. The *American Star* of Mexico City was reestablished by its editor, Peoples, at Corpus Christi in 1848. When the gold fever seized him, as it did many editors in the Southwest, he sold the paper to his partner, Callahan, who in turn transferred it to Barnard. Under the name of the *Nueces Valley*, it continued publication from 1850 until the Civil War period. The *American Flag*, published in Matamoras by Fleeson and Palmer during the war, removed at its conclusion to Brownsville, where it continued, with E. B. Scarborough as editor, for more than a decade. Hugh McLeod, the first editor of the *Republic*

⁴³ *Tägliche Anzeiger des Westens*, Nov. 18, 1847. The letter was dated Santa Fe. Sept. 23, 1847.

⁴⁴ *Daily Picayune*, May 11, 1847; *Tägliche Anzeiger des Westens*, May 17, 1847. The issue of Mar. 26, 1847, is mentioned in the *Philadelphia Public Ledger*, July 1, 1847.

of the *Rio Grande*, became one of the owners of the *San Antonio Ledger*, which was published long after the Civil War. The *State Gazette*, established at Austin in 1849, was edited by the former chief of the *Genius of Liberty* at Vera Cruz, R. C. Mathewson, who later started the *Public Balance* at San Francisco. The *Free American* of Vera Cruz was transformed into the *Texas Ranger*, which began publication late in 1848 at Point Isabel. In New Mexico, the *Republican* continued until Civil War days when its title was changed to the *New Mexican*, which continued for many years to be the leading publication in the territory. Many of the other papers established in the Southwest during the next decade were edited by men who had been attracted to the region through their military experience. Others, such as George Wilkins Kendall, returned to the Southwest to make their permanent homes.

Clearly, the Anglo-Saxon press in Mexico served several definite purposes. During the war, it was a means of satisfying the craving for news both among the men at the front and the public at home; it furnished to soldiers and civilians, both English and Spanish speaking, the orders of the military commanders; and through the editorials, in both languages, it afforded a possible means of influencing the public, and especially the Mexican, mind. While the career of many of the sheets was transient, all fulfilled to some extent one or more of these purposes; several became journals of permanent usefulness. At the close of the war, it was the men who had promoted the Anglo-Saxon press in Mexico who introduced into the Southwest many of the best traditions of the journalistic craft, and by their efforts and influence helped, through succeeding years, to mold the thought and direct the energy of the eager pioneers who came to seek in those regions health, homes, and happiness. To that extent the story of the Anglo-Saxon press in Mexico may be said to be but a page in the yet unwritten history of the press in the Southwest.

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Austin, Texas.

GERRIT SMITH AND THE JOHN BROWN RAID

FOR a period of more than forty years prior to his death in 1874, Gerrit Smith of Peterboro, New York, was one of the most conspicuous and best known men in the United States, in every sense of the word a national figure. Inheriting abundant means, as fortune's went in his day, he devoted his talents, financial and intellectual, to the causes of philanthropy and reform. His generosity was gratefully acknowledged by colleges as far apart as Middlebury and Oberlin, and by several others in between; as a dispenser of private charity he made his name a household word; as an Abolitionist he was just as prominent as his good friend William Lloyd Garrison; he spoke oracularly and wrote often and at length on almost every subject of popular interest, particularly on peace, slavery, temperance, religion, and politics. If in discussing these matters he revealed a tendency toward dogmatism and an uncritical acceptance of certain premises, he at least possessed the flawless logic of the true dialectician. He was withal a warm-hearted, genial gentleman of high moral character, admired by his acquaintances, loved by his friends and his family. That this man should have been partner in a criminal enterprise with an irresponsible zealot like John Brown is one of the peculiarities of a strange period in American history.

John Brown's seizure of the Federal arsenal at Harper's Ferry was the extraordinary act of a fanatic, if not of a psychopathic crank, but the help given to him by his financial and moral backers of the North, who were supposedly sane, was more extraordinary still. In general, the part played by Brown's accomplices has been described before, particularly in the writings of Sanborn and Villard.¹ There are, however, various matters in connection with the background of the raid, with Smith's insanity following it, and with his subsequent denials of complicity concerning which it is possible to give additional information of considerable significance.²

The origin of Gerrit Smith's connection with the raid at Harper's Ferry must be sought in the Kansas-Nebraska Act of 1854, and in the

¹ F. B. Sanborn, *Recollections of Seventy Years*, vol. I.; Oswald Garrison Villard, *John Brown, 1800-1859: a Biography Fifty Years After* (Boston, 1910).

² Some of this material is in the collection of Smith manuscripts presented to the library of Syracuse University by Mr. Gerrit Smith Miller of Peterboro, New York, grandson of Gerrit Smith.

subsequent disorders and civil war in Kansas Territory; or, to put it more accurately, in the impressions made by these episodes on the already highly sensitized minds of the Abolitionists. The violence in Kansas, looked upon by the anti-slavery group as another inevitable manifestation of the criminal intentions of the "slave power", filled Northern philanthropists and reformers with intense and bitter wrath. As they saw it the illegal and violent acts of the pro-slavery party not only justified, but demanded, violence in return. So it happened that during the period of hostilities in Kansas, men of the best character gave moral and financial aid to free-soil warriors operating beyond the Missouri border. After this sort of work it was comparatively easy for them not only to condone, but to approve almost any scheme for setting slaves free, no matter how illegal.

The process of "saving Kansas" involved the raising of substantial sums of money, something which could be most easily effected through organizations especially created for the purpose. Smith's active connection with this particular line of work began at Albany. At the call of the local "Kansas Aid Committee", which had been organized on February 18, 1856, a convention met at Albany on March 13, "to concert such measures as may be deemed expedient for the protection of the citizens of Kansas from the ruffian incursions of the Missouri Borderers".³ On this occasion, at the request of the chairman of the Albany committee, Smith made a speech which attracted considerable attention. On March 18 there was a large Madison County Kansas meeting at Peterboro.⁴ By April 3, 1856, there was a Madison County Kansas Committee, actively at work in enrolling and equipping emigrants for Kansas.⁵

Smith threw himself into this work with unusual enthusiasm, doing all he could for Kansas, as he wrote his friend Charles Sumner. "I am making speeches for Kansas, and I continue to give money for her—all the money I can."⁶ The demands upon him on this account were so great that when he was asked to help defray the expenses of the celebrated Auguste Comte's visit to Albany, he replied: "I haven't a spare dollar. I am using all the money I can lay hold of to send good families to Kansas, and help secure that Territory to Freedom."⁷ More specifically, at Albany, according to report, Smith gave \$3000 to the Kansas

³ Printed circular of the committee, dated Feb. 29, 1856, copy in Smith MSS.

⁴ Smith to Sumner, Mar. 20, 1856, original in Smith MSS.

⁵ Memorandum, Smith's hand, June 19, 1856, Smith MSS.

⁶ Smith to Sumner, Mar. 20, 1856, Smith MSS.

⁷ Smith to R. B. Miller, Apr. 10, 1856, copy in Smith's hand, Smith MSS.

cause, and in addition he promised to defray the expenses of a hundred emigrants to Kansas from Madison County. To the Madison County Kansas Committee itself he gave \$1000.⁸ On May 31, 1856, on the occasion of a Kansas Aid meeting in Syracuse, he pledged \$10,000 more to the same cause. And in December of the same year, in a letter to his friend Samuel J. May, the Syracuse Abolitionist, he said: "My efforts to save Kansas to Freedom have exhausted my current means. . . ."⁹

Smith's own correspondence and that of others show that he was widely recognized as one of the outstanding leaders in the effort to send free state men to Kansas. Furthermore, he did not blind himself to the necessities of the situation. Although he was a leader in the peace movement of his time, and for years vice president of the American Peace Society, he was entirely ready to sanction violence in behalf of the free-soil campaign. When he heard rumors of an impending attack by Missouri desperadoes on the town of Lawrence, Kansas, he sent Amos A. Lawrence of Boston, for whom the town was named, \$250 for the cause (January 25, 1856). Four days later Lawrence acknowledged the contribution with the following comment: "I have thought that the money spent in rifles has done the most good thus far, and may appropriate yrs in that way, unless you object." Smith replied with an authorization to use the money as Lawrence thought best. "Much as I abhor war", he wrote, "I nevertheless believe, that there are instances in which the shedding of blood is unavoidable."¹⁰ Smith expressed similar sentiments in a letter to the Syracuse Kansas Convention, referred to above. He was willing, he wrote, to go with the convention "in putting slavery to a violent death". He hoped the convention would organize the state, raise a million dollars, and enlist a thousand men. "I could not have encouraged others to fight, had not slavery invaded the free State of Kansas. . . . Hitherto I have opposed the bloody abolition of slavery. But now, when it begins to march its conquering bands into the Free States, I and ten thousand other peace men are not only ready to have it repulsed with violence, but pursued even unto death, with violence."¹¹ These sentiments were not the products

⁸ Bradburn to Smith, Mar. 30, 1856, Smith MSS. Memorandum, Smith's hand, June 19, 1856, Smith MSS.

⁹ G. Smith, letter to the Kansas Convention in Syracuse, printed in *Syracuse Journal*, May 31, 1856, quoted in Octavius Brooks Frothingham, *Gerrit Smith: a Biography* (New York, 1878), pp. 232-233. Smith to May, Dec. 22, 1856, Smith MSS.

¹⁰ Smith's two letters are in the Lawrence Letters, vol. XIII., nos. 151 and 162, in the Massachusetts Historical Society. Lawrence's letter to Smith is in the Smith MSS.

¹¹ Quoted in Frothingham, pp. 232-233.

of any mere temporary excitement, but the results of leisurely reflection on Smith's part, views which he continued to hold, at least for the next few years. On May 24, 1858, he delivered the address at the thirtieth anniversary meeting of the American Peace Society, in Boston. On this occasion he referred to the necessity of setting up a new government in Kansas, when the regular one failed in its obligations. "I add that the irregular but righteous government which such an emergency calls into being is worthy to be sustained by good men the earth over—by their prayers, their contributions of food, clothing, money, and, if need be, of 'Sharp's rifles' also."¹² If these views were somewhat out of harmony with the avowed purpose of the meeting, they at least show where Smith stood on the subject of war against slavery.

In this armed conflict neither Smith nor his fellow Abolitionists found the Missourians the only enemies to be defeated. They came to look upon Federal officials and even Federal troops in the territory as legitimate objects of armed attack. On November 1, 1856, after returning from a visit to Kansas, the Rev. Thomas Wentworth Higginson, then of Worcester, wrote to Smith that both in and out of Kansas men were better prepared for revolution than they had been a short time ago. In Kansas particularly, he wrote, he observed an absence of "that spirit of blind, superstitious loyalty to the U. S. government which I feared to find. On the contrary, *the people of Kansas are just as ready to fight the U. S. government as the Missourians*, so far as feeling is concerned. Only as a matter of policy they do not wish to do it, except at a favorable crisis."¹³

On the basis of these observations Higginson proposed the following Kansas policy, for general adoption: (1) He would have the governors of the free states join in a formal protest against the course of the United States officials in Kansas. (2) These governors should issue a call for volunteers, in case of another invasion of Kansas by Missourians, or in case of another interference by the United States officials with the rights of the free-soil settlers in Kansas. (3) The free state legislatures should appropriate funds for the protection of their citizens in Kansas, such funds to be spent at the discretion of the respective state governors. (4) Private companies of volunteers should be organized, and kept ready to respond to any call of the governors. On the following Wednesday, he continued, there would be an important meeting on Kansas, at the Marlboro Hotel, for the discussion of this proposed program. Smith was earnestly urged to attend.

¹² G. Smith, *Peace better than War*, p. 13.

¹³ Higginson to Smith, Nov. 1, 1856, Smith MSS.

Smith seems to have been included in this invitation because of his known readiness to encourage violence against Federal officials in Kansas. In his speech at the Albany meeting, of March 13, 1856, referred to above, which received wide publicity at the time, he had declared that the Kansans must not submit to the territorial government, even though the Federal authorities should insist upon such submission. "They must resist it, even if in doing so, they have to resist both Congress and President. And we must stand by them in their resistance."¹⁴

In Vermont Higginson's proposal was in part adopted. On November 4, 1856, Governor Ryland Fletcher wrote to Gerrit Smith that the legislature had under consideration a bill appropriating \$20,000 for the relief of emigrants from Vermont in Kansas. The governor was inclined to doubt the propriety of the measure, on the ground that it was outside the proper field of state action, and that it might provoke counter legislation in the South. He would regret, he wrote, to see his state take a course from which she might be compelled to recede, perhaps not honorably. He did not wish to err, however, in such an important crisis, and he asked for advice. "If you would give me your opinion upon this subject at your *earliest* convenience, you would confer a great favor on your friend and humble servant."¹⁵

Smith replied to this unusual communication with advice more unusual still. "The great mass of good and wise men will rejoice to see your Legislature vote the \$20,000." The people of Kansas should be protected by the Federal government, he continued, but the Federal government has not only failed to give protection, but it "openly tramples upon the Constitution by openly allying itself to the Missouri invaders and oppressors of Kansas". Smith declared that "the Governments of the Free States are bound to afford protection to the people of Kansas". "It is not to be disguised that we are in a state of revolution. The Missouri Ruffians (so far as overt acts are concerned) began the revolution: and the Federal Government, instead of suppressing it, has joined these Ruffians." Smith believed, he wrote, that Vermont could, by setting a prompt example, save Kansas and the whole country. "This salvation might cost some blood and the downfall of all American Slavery. But it would be a salvation worth all its cost." Vermont could assist in this salvation by sending to Kansas an army of perhaps five hundred of her "brave sons". Other Northern state governments

¹⁴ Quoted in Frothingham, p. 232.

¹⁵ Fletcher to Smith, Montpelier, Vt., Nov. 4, 1856, Smith MSS.

would be quick to follow the example. "I thank you for the honor you have done me in asking my opinion. I have said enough to indicate my belief, that nothing short of the presence of an army of freedom in Kansas can save Kansas and the Nation. The Federal Government will not supply that army. The State Governments must."¹⁶

The Vermont legislature appropriated the money, and by so doing "occasioned painful anxiety" to Governor Fletcher, as that executive confided to Amos A. Lawrence.¹⁷ Dr. Samuel Gridley Howe—another one of John Brown's intimates—was selected to work on the Massachusetts legislature, in the hope of securing funds in connection with Higginson's plan. He hoped for an appropriation of \$100,000, or \$200,000, he wrote, to be used in case of invasion or other calamity in Kansas.¹⁸

But the free states did not respond as Higginson had hoped, and by November 22, 1856, he was at work on another project for saving Kansas. He intended, he wrote to Gerrit Smith, "to start a *private* organization of picked men, who shall be ready to go to Kansas in case of need, to aid the people against *any* opponent, state or federal". He did not contemplate a large organization, but he did wish "to involve *every* state in the war that is to be". He hoped to get about a hundred men from Massachusetts, and fifty each in the other New England states, and to have them drilled and organized. Once started, this army could be increased by accessions from other states. "The scheme is approved by all the best men, but nobody seems disposed to lead in it unless I do." Higginson then urged Smith to help in making the enterprise a success.¹⁹

Smith's reply to this letter, if he did reply, has not been found. But there is no doubt that he continued to approve of treason in this particular cause. In a letter to Thaddeus Hyatt, July 25, 1857, in connection with affairs in Kansas, he wrote: "We must not shrink from fighting for Liberty—& if Federal troops fight against her, we must fight against them."²⁰

In addition to advocating armed attack upon Federal authorities in Kansas, Higginson made a vigorous effort to promote the Garrison project of dissolution of the Union, in order to separate the free states

¹⁶ Smith to Fletcher, Nov. 8, 1856, copy, Smith MSS.

¹⁷ Fletcher to Lawrence, June 11, 1857, Lawrence Letters, vol. XV., no. 165.

¹⁸ Howe to Lawrence, Dec. 22, 1856, and Jan. 8, 1857, Lawrence letters, vol. XIV., no. 216; vol. XV., no. 23.

¹⁹ Higginson to Smith, Nov. 22, 1856, Smith MSS.

²⁰ Quoted in Villard, p. 287.

from the slave. In this letter of November 22, 1856, referred to above, he earnestly begged Smith to come to a "disunion convention" in Worcester, to be held sometime in the next two months. Smith did not attend this gathering, but he was by no means shocked at Higginson's proposal. Writing to his friend May, he expressed the hope that Garrison and Phillips would be invited to attend the approaching anti-slavery convention in Syracuse. "I very much wish to hear the plans of such men . . . and to hear their plans defended by themselves. I am not yet a disunionist—but perhaps they will make me one. I have none of that wretched stuff in me called 'Patriotism'—and hence I have no *patriotic* horror of disunion." May was not a disunionist either, but, as he wrote Higginson, he was glad to hear arguments on the disunion side. "There is an idolatry of the Union which ought to be rebuked and ridiculed. The worthlessness of the Union to all who love liberty and hate oppression ought to be shown up."²¹

Gerrit Smith, then, was not only not opposed to the use of armed force, but he expressly and emphatically urged war in Kansas, and that, too, against the Federal government itself. To be sure the more intimate, incipiently rebellious, correspondence just quoted of Lawrence, Fletcher, May, Higginson, and Smith was not made public. This has marked historical value, in showing precisely how these bellicose reformers sought to resolve their purposes into concrete, detailed plans of action. But, important as these details are, they were not essential to a public understanding of Smith's doctrines. His general principles were not confined to secret correspondence with a few congenial friends, but, at least in the Albany and Syracuse meetings, proclaimed openly, to all who would listen or read. It may be argued that all this was nothing more than mere philosophic radicalism, something abstract and academic, because, in spite of the belligerency of his words, Smith did not actually participate in any fighting. This objection might hold good, if it were not for the private letters quoted above, and for Smith's own heavy expenditures in the cause. By the end of 1857, therefore, when John Brown began to plan definitely for his project of freeing slaves in Virginia, Gerrit Smith had already demonstrated his readiness to underwrite violence, if directed against slavery, treasonable violence too, if it seemed necessary. On the strength of known facts, any Abolitionist whose work seemed likely to promote the cause of freedom had every right to expect from Smith not only a cordial wel-

²¹ Smith to May, Jan. 24, 1857, Smith MSS. May to Higginson, Mar. 16, 1857, Higginson Papers, box 4, no. 589, Widener Library, Harvard University.

come and a sympathetic hearing, but moral and financial support as well. It was therefore no unfounded hope which at that time turned John Brown in the direction of Gerrit Smith's Peterboro home.

There he arrived, February 18, 1858, and spent a week.²² Before his arrival he had already divulged to a few intimate friends in the West his plan for "an incursion into Virginia", which he confidently expected to undertake in the spring.²³ He had also carried on an active correspondence with the men who subsequently became his financial backers: Higginson, Frank B. Sanborn of Concord, Dr. Samuel G. Howe and George L. Stearns of Boston, and Gerrit Smith.²⁴ Although in these letters he did not reveal any details of his project, he wrote enough to give Sanborn at least the impression that he was planning an uprising of slaves. Brown had planned this visit to Smith's home in order to secure financial support; to this end he had asked the New England friends named above to meet him there. The proposed gathering, it should be observed, was no casual, informal affair, as Smith subsequently described it, but something very much out of the ordinary and something carefully planned in advance. Although Sanborn alone came, the cooperation of the others were secured later.

In the genial, hospitable atmosphere of Smith's home Brown became more communicative as to his purpose. Apparently he said enough to convince Gerrit Smith of the wisdom of the project, because on February 20, 1858, Brown wrote to his son, John, that their good friends, Gerrit Smith and his wife, "I am most happy to tell you, are ready to go in for a share in the whole trade. I will say (in the language of an-

²² Diary of Gerrit Smith, quoted in Frothingham, p. 237. Smith's acquaintance with John Brown—whom he characterized as "the Great & Good!"—had begun in 1848; subsequently he knew something of Brown's career in Kansas, and contributed money to his work. In 1857 Brown was trying to buy a farm, for the support of his family, and he asked Amos A. Lawrence of Boston for help. Lawrence was not able to advance the thousand dollars needed at the time, but he learned that the farm which Brown wanted, at North Elba, New York, belonged to Gerrit Smith. Lawrence offered to pay Smith \$600 toward the farm, and he proposed that Smith take a mortgage of Brown for the remainder. (Lawrence to Smith, Apr. 30, 1857, Smith MSS.) In the Smith papers is a note for \$100, written in Smith's hand, and signed by John Brown, dated May 15, 1857. This note may have been a part of this transaction.

²³ 36 congress, 1st sess., Reports of Committees, no. 278, p. 92. Cited hereafter as Mason Report. Testimony of Richard Realf.

²⁴ Brown kept a record of this correspondence in his Diary, vol. II. See especially the entries for June 9, 11, 16, 21, 1857; Aug. 13, 14, 27, 1857; Feb. 10, 12, 17, 1858. Some of this correspondence may be found in the Higginson Letters relating to John Brown, in the Boston Public Library, cited hereafter as Higginson Letters. See especially Brown to Higginson, Feb. 2, 12, 1858; Sanborn to Higginson, Feb. 11, 1858; Higginson to Brown, Feb. 8, 1858. The Diary is in the Boston Public Library.

other) in regard to this most encouraging fact, 'My soul doth magnify the Lord'. I seem to be almost marvelously helped; and to His name be praise!"²⁵

On the evening of the 22nd, after Sanborn's arrival, Smith, Brown, Sanborn, and Edwin Morton, a classmate of Sanborn, then acting as tutor to Smith's son, talked over the whole plan. According to Sanborn's *Recollections*, which were compiled largely from documentary evidence, and which are surprisingly accurate at most points where corroborative evidence is available, Brown explained what he intended to do and also read to them the constitution for his proposed commonwealth, which he had previously prepared at Rochester. On the following day the discussion was resumed, and Smith and Sanborn talked over plans for raising money for the enterprise. Then, on February 24, 1858, Brown wrote enthusiastically to his wife and family: "Mr. Smith & family go *all* lengths with me."²⁶ A few weeks after this meeting, and obviously as a result of it, Sanborn wrote to Higginson with reference to the details of raising money: "Mr. Stearns is Treasurer of the enterprise for N. E." And, he added, "The enterprise still looks very hopeful to speculative people."²⁷

In some respects this Peterboro conference was the climax of Brown's preparatory work. Here Brown disclosed his plans for setting slaves free, somewhere, and there is no reason for thinking that he failed to mention Virginia as his field of action, although the precise point of attack had probably not been determined. In view of the frankness with which Smith had already written about fighting the United States in Kansas, it would be absurd to assume that there was any reticence over place, purpose, or methods. Brown had not come to Peterboro to discuss abstract philosophical propositions. He wanted action, and money to make action possible. And there could be no doubt that action meant fighting. Even a casual reading of the constitution which he framed at Rochester would show this.²⁸ Therefore, when Gerrit Smith gave his assurance, with no qualifications or reservations, that he endorsed the project to the full, he did so with a reasonably clear notion of Brown's purpose.

²⁵ Brown to John Brown, jr., Feb. 20, 1858, quoted in Sanborn, I. 142.

²⁶ Sanborn, I. 144-145; Villard, pp. 320, 321.

²⁷ Sanborn to Higginson, Mar. 21, 1858, Higginson Letters. After the Peterboro meeting, Brown went to Boston for personal conferences with Stearns, Theodore Parker, and Howe, all of whom were interested in his plans, although they had not been present at Peterboro.

²⁸ This constitution is printed in full in Mason Report, pp. 48-59.

The significance of Smith's approval can hardly be overestimated. His backing carried substantial weight, giving, as it did, not only the guarantee of financial support, but moral standing as well. Under the circumstances, it is not at all surprising that Brown's laconic reports to his son and his family should have revealed his elation, and that he should have given thanks to the bloody-minded deity from whom he derived sanction for his work.

As the foregoing account shows, Brown had expected to begin operations some time in the spring of 1858. The postponement to October, 1859, was due to the defection of one of Brown's own band, Colonel Hugh Forbes, the military drillmaster. Highly eccentric, if not insane himself, he turned bitterly against Brown, and proceeded to reveal all he knew of the plans to some prominent members of Congress. These disclosures were gravely disquieting. Sanborn immediately declared that the enterprise must be postponed. Forbes knew "what very few do—that the Dr. [Howe] and myself are informed of it—How he got *this* knowledge is a mystery".²⁹

Gerrit Smith was even more disturbed. Writing to Sanborn of his brother's death, which had just occurred in Springfield, Massachusetts, he said: "This bereavement troubles my spirit scarcely as much as does your letter. Is it possible that Colo. F is to prove himself such a traitor?" Smith also referred to a letter just received from Brown. Continuing, he wrote: "It seems to me that in these circumstances he must go no further—and so I write him. I never was convinced of the wisdom of his scheme. But as things now stand it seems to me it would be madness to attempt to execute it. Colo. F would make such an attempt a certain and most disastrous failure. I write Brown *this evening*."³⁰

To Higginson, who had far more boldness than his partners in Brown's affairs, and who argued vigorously for continuing the enterprise, Sanborn wrote two letters, insisting on postponement, and fortifying his arguments by citing the opinions of Smith and Stearns, who agreed with him. The decisions of these men, "who are such large stockholders", he said, must prevail, especially the opinion of Gerrit Smith, "who *does* count".³¹

It so happened that Smith had to be in Boston on May 24, 1858, to

²⁹ Mason Report, pp. 100-101; Sanborn to Higginson, May 5, 1858, Higginson Letters.

³⁰ Smith to Sanborn, May 7, 1858, Higginson Letters.

³¹ Sanborn to Higginson, May 11, 18, 1858; Higginson to Theodore Parker, May 18, 1858, Higginson Letters.

deliver the address referred to above at the thirtieth anniversary of the American Peace Society. This furnished an opportunity for a meeting of what Sanborn described as "the secret committee of six", namely, Howe, Parker, Smith, Stearns, Higginson, and Sanborn. This took place in Gerrit Smith's room in the Revere House. Here the conspirators ratified the decision which Sanborn, Smith, and Stearns had already reached, namely, that Brown must wait until the danger from Forbes's disclosures had passed. They also agreed to raise \$2000 more, for Brown's use the following year. In the meantime, Brown was to return to Kansas, in order to cast doubt on the reliability of the Forbes story. The property in Brown's hands was to be transferred so as to relieve his backers of responsibility, and in the future they were not to know his plans. These decisions were put in a letter to Brown, which he showed to Higginson, when they met in Boston on June 1, 1858. Higginson embodied the essential parts of this letter, and some of Brown's comments, in a memorandum.³²

This simple device under which Brown's sponsors sought to shield themselves from future trouble impressed Brown very much as it impresses most people who read it to-day. These men who urged delay, he told Higginson, "*were not men of action*". "G S he knew to be a timid man." But, so the prudent old warrior confided to Higginson, he did not make any such remarks in the presence of the men themselves, and he did not wish Higginson to tell them what he had said. They had the money, and without their help he would be powerless.³³

In a letter to Sanborn, July 26, 1858, Smith himself corroborated a part of the Higginson memorandum. "I have great faith in the wisdom, integrity, and bravery of Captain Brown. For several years I have frequently given him money toward sustaining him in his contests with the slave-power. Whenever he shall embark in another of these contests I shall again stand ready to help him; and I will begin with giving him a hundred dollars. I do not wish to know Captain Brown's plans; I hope he will keep them to himself."³⁴

Brown went back to Kansas and distinguished himself once more, this time by running off a number of slaves from Missouri. But at the end of the winter, he was again at work on the project which actually culminated at Harper's Ferry. On March 4, 1859, Sanborn wrote

³² Sanborn, I. 155. Higginson was not present at the meeting on May 24 even though Sanborn had sent him an urgent telegram to attend, Higginson Letters. Memorandum of June 1, 1858, Higginson Letters.

³³ Memorandum of June 1.

³⁴ Sanborn, I. 160-161, quoting letter, Smith to Sanborn, July 26, 1858.

Higginson that Brown was then renewing his preparations and was coming East for that purpose. "Mr. Smith proposes to raise \$1,000 for him, and to contribute \$100 himself."³⁵ From April 11 to April 14, 1859, Brown was once more at Gerrit Smith's Peterboro home. Edwin Morton was fortunately moved to write a vivid account of one meeting there, on the afternoon of April 13, 1859. "You must hear of Brown's meeting this afternoon—few in number, but the most interesting I perhaps ever saw. Mr. Smith spoke well; G. W. Putnam read a spirited poem; and Brown was exceedingly interesting, and once or twice so eloquent that Mr. Smith and some others wept. . . . A paper was handed about, with the name of Mr. Smith for four hundred dollars, to which others were added. Mr. Smith, in the most eloquent speech I ever heard from him, said: 'If I were asked to point out—I will say it in his presence—to point out the man in all this world I think most truly a Christian, I would point to John Brown.' I was once doubtful in my own mind as to Captain Brown's course. I now approve it heartily, having given my mind to it more of late."³⁶

Late in May, and again on June 4, 1859, Smith wrote to Brown, in response to urgent appeals for funds. This latter letter was subsequently found with Brown's effects at his headquarters near Harper's Ferry. "I have done what I could thus far for Kansas, and what I could to keep you at your Kansas work. Losses by indorsement and otherwise have brought me under heavy embarrassment the last two years, but I must, nevertheless, continue to do, in order to keep you at your Kansas work. I send you herewith my draft for two hundred dollars. Let me hear from you on the receipt of this letter. You live in our hearts, and our prayer to God is that you may have strength to continue in your Kansas work. My wife joins me in affectionate regard to you, dear John, whom we both hold in very high esteem."³⁷ Whether Smith knew of the actual place selected by Brown for his attack on the slave power at this time is not clear, nor does it greatly matter. In August John Brown, jr., traveling as John Smith, visited Rochester, Syracuse, and Boston. At Rochester he saw Edwin Morton. Morton wished for a copy of one of his letters, "to show our friend at 'Pr.,' who, Mr. M. says, *has his whole soul absorbed in this matter*."³⁸

³⁵ Sanborn to Higginson, Mar. 4, 1859, Higginson Letters.

³⁶ Morton to Sanborn, Apr. 13, 1859, quoted in Sanborn, I. 161-162.

³⁷ Brown, Diary, II., May 16, 21, 1859. Smith to Brown, June 4, 1859, quoted in Sanborn, I. 165-166.

³⁸ Mason Report, pp. 68-69, quoting letter of John Smith (John Brown, jr.) to J. Henrie (J. H. Kagi), Aug. 11, 1859.

In this same connection there is part of a letter published in Dr. Howe's *Letters and Journals*, undated, but written about May 15, 1859, which intimates strongly that Howe knew of Brown's plans. "If you would like to hear an honest, keen, and veteran backwoodsman disclose some plans for delivering our land from the curse of slavery, the bearer will do so. . . ." He will ask, so Howe continued, nothing but a pledge to keep secret what he may say.³⁹ This was written in a letter introducing Brown to John M. Forbes. It shows at least that Brown was prepared to talk about his plans, even at that late date, only a few months before the raid itself, and it implies that Dr. Howe was well informed.

One more letter, found with Brown's papers at Harper's Ferry, shows that his supporters were still in correspondence with him and with each other as late as August 30, 1859. This was unsigned, but Brown had endorsed on it the initials of the writer, "F. B. S.", in other words, Frank B. Sanborn. Sanborn sent him \$50, said that Dr. Howe had already sent \$50; "and G. S. of P., writes me he has sent, or will send, one hundred dollars. . . I have sent your letter to G. S."⁴⁰

The evidence thus far given with reference to Smith's connection with the John Brown raid proves: that Brown had had in mind an attack upon slavery since 1857; that in 1858 his plans, so far as they had then matured, were revealed to Gerrit Smith and to others; that there were three important meetings, planned in advance, of some of Brown's associates, two at Smith's home in Peterboro, and one in Smith's room at the Revere House in Boston; that from 1857 to the late summer of 1859 there was an appreciable amount of correspondence between Brown and his sponsors; in other words, the preparations for this spectacular attack upon slavery were not confined to offhand, informal discussions, but were carefully prepared and protracted over two years. If any member of the so-called "secret committee", Gerrit Smith for example, did not know all that Brown had in mind, it was solely because of the dictates of strategy. But, it may be observed, when a man backs a criminal enterprise, his purposeful ignorance does not free him from responsibility in the premises. If the Virginia courts were right in pronouncing Brown a murderer and a traitor, Gerrit Smith was a criminal accomplice, or, as the newspapers said at the time of the raid, an accessory before the fact.

From the nature of the situation none of the men associated with Brown during these years from 1857 to 1859 would have been so utterly

³⁹ Howe, *Letters and Journals*, II. 436.

⁴⁰ Mason Report, p. 68.

rash as to proclaim his intentions to the country at large. But on August 27, 1859, Smith did write and publish a most extraordinary document, in reply to an invitation from the "Jerry Rescue" anniversary committee, the significance of which was not so apparent before as after the affair at Harper's Ferry. In the course of this letter he had much to say about the probability of violent uprisings against slavery, a prophecy which seems to have been not unrelated to his knowledge of what John Brown was then on the very point of attempting in Virginia.⁴¹

In this letter Smith referred to views which he had expressed, on previous occasions, that it was too late to bring slavery to an end by peaceful means.

No wonder then is it that in this state of facts which I have sketched, intelligent black men in the States and Canada should see no hope for their race in the practice and policy of white men. No wonder they are brought to the conclusion that no resource is left to them but in God and insurrections. For insurrections then we may look any year, any month, any day. A terrible remedy for a terrible wrong! But come it must unless anticipated by repentance and the putting away of the terrible wrong.

• It will be said that these insurrections will be failures—that they will be put down. Yes, but will not slavery nevertheless be put down by them? For what portions are there of the South that will cling to slavery after two or three considerable insurrections shall have filled the whole South with horror? And is it entirely certain that these insurrections will be put down promptly, and before they can be spread far? Will telegraphs and railroads be too swift for even the swiftest insurrections? Remember that telegraphs and railroads can be rendered useless in an hour. Remember too that many, who would be glad to face the insurgents, would be busy in transporting their wives and daughters to places where they would be safe from that worst fate which husbands and fathers can imagine for their wives and daughters. I admit that but for this embarrassment Southern men would laugh at the idea of an insurrection, and would quickly dispose of one. But trembling as they would for their beloved ones, I know of no part of the world where, so much as in the South, men would be like, in a formidable insurrection, to lose the most important time, and be distracted and panic-stricken.

These remarks might perhaps be a key to some of Smith's unreported conversations with John Brown.

• John Brown began his attack on the night of October 16, 1859. During the day of the 17th there was fighting between Brown's men, who had been driven into the engine house at the arsenal at Harper's Ferry, and the Virginia militia forces. On the 18th Brown was cap-

⁴¹ Printed copy in Smith MSS.

tured. He was placed on trial at Charles Town, Virginia, October 25, in a state court; declared guilty on October 31; sentenced to death on November 2; and executed December 2.

The first reports of the raid were published in the newspapers of October 18, 1859. In the New York *Herald* there was an editorial, in which the writer quoted extracts from the above letter, and asked: "Is this the first act in that programme?—and are those white abolitionists spoken of in our despatches emissaries of the peaceful Gerrit?" Two days later the *Herald* news columns declared that Gerrit Smith, Joshua R. Giddings, and Frederick Douglass were implicated in the raid, and that Smith had supplied "the sinews of war". In this issue the *Herald* printed Smith's Jerry Rescue letter and Brown's constitution in full, in close juxtaposition, and reported the discovery of Smith's letter of June 4 to Brown. The letter itself was printed the next day.⁴² On October 21, the *Herald* declared editorially that enough evidence had already been discovered to warrant a demand by Governor Wise of Virginia for the delivery of Smith and Douglass for trial, "as accessories before the fact". This statement was repeated on October 24 and on the 26th the papers printed a report from Richmond that Smith's extradition would be sought.

After the raid some of Brown's financial backers prudently sought refuge in Canada or in England. Sanborn destroyed most of the letters in his possession bearing upon the raid. Then he urged upon Higginson the necessity of secrecy concerning the relations of Brown and his associates. "I do not think the time has yet come for declaring the whole truth about Brown; better the numbers, the names and the plans of his accomplices should be unknown, for then they can work in the same way hereafter, if they choose. I don't see why it is any worse to conceal the facts *now* than before the outbreak. . . . What has been prudence is prudence still. . . ." In another letter to Higginson, Sanborn said it was unwise for any of those who knew anything of consequence about Brown's work to go before the Senate committee appointed to investigate the raid. "I hope you will burn all my letters about these things." And in a third letter, written from Montreal, where he had gone, as he said to avoid trouble, he wrote: ". . . and I regard the *keeping back of evidence*, as too important to run any risks about. I am more and more convinced of this. If you and Dr. Howe and one or two others stay away [from the Senate committee], no new light can be thrown on the matter. . . . The few who really engineered

⁴² New York *Herald*, Oct. 18, 20, 21, 1859.

this matter—those still living, have no particular public function at present; silence is their prudence. . . .”⁴³

These remarks by Sanborn furnish a fairly complete index to the extent of the conspirators’ prior knowledge of Brown’s plans. So too do Higginson’s replies. Higginson, however, unlike the others showed no sign of cowardice. When Dr. Howe published a statement asserting complete ignorance of Brown’s intentions, Higginson was moved to wrath over such a palpable lie. It would be, he declared, “the extreme of baseness in us to *deny* complicity with Capt. Brown’s general scheme—while we were not, of course, called upon to say anything to *criminate* ourselves”. This much he actually sent to Howe. He also wrote a long letter, which he did not send, expressing his feelings more freely. Howe’s published statement he said, was a very clever thing, seeming to deny complicity. “Since language was first invented ‘to conceal thought’ there has been no more skilful combination of words. But the universal interpretation of all intelligent readers, not previously enlightened, *must* be—that you disclaim all knowledge not merely of the precise time and place and opening of John Brown’s great drama—but of *the enterprise itself*.” Howe’s letter to the newspapers, Higginson concluded, ranked with Gerrit Smith’s insanity as the two most unfortunate aspects of the whole affair.⁴⁴

To Sanborn Higginson wrote, but did not send, a letter similar in tone to that to Dr. Howe. He would expostulate no further, he said, but “as to my *opinion* of the course pursued by you and Howe, I have not fully uttered it, even to you; still less to your friends. . . . I should be sorry that your pupils should not think better of your present policy than I do.”⁴⁵ In other words, Higginson, Howe, and Sanborn had known pretty definitely what Brown was about; and if they knew, there can be little doubt that Gerrit Smith was equally well informed.

Almost immediately after getting news of the attack on Harper’s Ferry, Gerrit Smith, like Sanborn, took the precaution of destroying incriminating evidence. Sanborn makes this statement in his *Recollections*, and on the same page he quotes from a letter from Mrs. Smith, written to him in 1874, when he was planning to publish a full account of the raid. “Immediately after the Harper’s Ferry affair Mr. Smith destroyed all the letters touching Brown’s movements which he had received in any degree privy to those movements; and he took it for

⁴³ Sanborn, I. 151, note. Sanborn to Higginson, Nov. 17, Dec. 25, 1859, Jan. 29, 1860, Higginson Letters.

⁴⁴ Higginson to Howe, Nov. 15, 1859, Higginson Letters.

⁴⁵ Higginson to Sanborn, Feb. 3, 1860, Higginson Letters.

granted that his own similar letters to others had been destroyed.”⁴⁶ According to Sanborn, Charles D. Miller, Smith’s son-in-law, went to Boston and Ohio soon after the raid to make sure that evidence involving Smith was destroyed.

How much evidence was lost in this way cannot be determined, but there are some references which show what letters ought to be in the Smith files. Between June, 1857, and June 9, 1859, John Brown referred to twelve letters which he wrote to Gerrit Smith, giving the date in each case. Smith himself referred to letters received from Brown, Sanborn, and Stearns, while Sanborn reported sending one of Brown’s letters to Smith.⁴⁷ Smith was careful to preserve his correspondence, and the files for 1858 and 1859 are especially full, containing at least eight hundred letters. But there is not a single one in the lot from Brown, or Sanborn, or Stearns. This destruction of evidence is proof of the significance which Smith himself attached to these letters, and of the importance of the information which they might have revealed.

In the Smith papers there are several letters to him after the raid, some of which have more or less general interest. George E. Baker of Albany proposed that Smith publish an address to the people in order to create sympathy for Brown throughout the North. Leonard Gibbs, of Greenwich, New York, a reformer and politician, suggested that Smith take charge of an attempt to rescue Brown. J. M. Sterling of Cleveland, Ohio, wrote that he expected soon to hear of Smith’s indictment for treason, and of demands for his delivery over to the authorities of Virginia. “My brother, I do hope that this may be the case and that you thus, may have a chance to *talk eloquently* to the whole nation.” One more of these must have given Smith some sensations which were not at all pleasant. “What a stir the Harper’s Ferry affair is causing. But I suppose that you are rejoicing in the experience . . . and I suppose the stir raised against you affects you about as much as they do the everlasting hills.”⁴⁸

Gerrit Smith was not rejoicing over the stir, and his steadfastness was not of the everlasting hills. On the contrary he was on the very

⁴⁶ Sanborn, I. 168-169.

⁴⁷ Writing to Sanborn on May 7, 1858, Smith referred to a recent letter from Brown (Higginson Letters). In another letter to Sanborn, July 26, 1858, Smith referred to one he had just received from Sanborn (Sanborn, I. 160-161). And in Smith’s letter to John Brown, June 4, 1859, Smith referred to a recent letter from Stearns (*ibid.*, I. 165-166). Finally, in Sanborn’s letter to John Brown, Aug. 30, 1859, Sanborn wrote that he had sent Brown’s letter to Gerrit Smith (Mason Report, p. 68).

⁴⁸ Baker to Smith, Oct. 22, 1859. Gibbs to Smith, Oct. 27, 1859. Sterling to Smith, Oct. 21, 1859. Wm. H. Fish to Smith, Oct. 25, 1859. All in Smith MSS.

verge of a serious collapse which left him mentally incapacitated for about three weeks, and from which it took him several months to recover. There is no doubt that he was temporarily insane. Charges made later that he feigned insanity, as an easy means of avoiding possible prosecution, instead of going to Canada, as the others did, have no foundation. While the fact of this illness is easy to establish, the cause, or causes, are not so clear. Neither is it possible to state definitely when his illness began. While not exactly a valetudinarian, throughout his adult life he frequently complained of poor health. In 1858 he had a serious attack of typhoid fever, but he seems to have recovered his strength as quickly as could be expected. At least he was able to undertake an active campaign for the governorship in 1858, and he was as busy as ever in writing. So far as one may judge from the evidence of his correspondence and the amount of work he did, he would seem to have enjoyed what was for him a normal state of health down through September, 1859. On the 29th of that month, Hiram Corliss, who had just been a guest in Smith's home, wrote him a pleasant letter, expressing his gratitude for Smith's hospitality.⁴⁹ In this there is nothing to indicate that as a guest he had been aware of his host's illness. Smith's health was a subject of such importance in his own mind that when he was ill, he and his friends usually had much to say about it.

The first definite indication, on the basis of reliable evidence, that he was not well appears in his correspondence files of letters received, and, curiously enough, this evidence coincides precisely in time with the first published reports of the John Brown raid at Harper's Ferry. Almost invariably Smith endorsed each letter received with the name of the writer. These endorsements continue regularly in Smith's own hand until letters of the date of October 17, 1859, the day of the battle at Harper's Ferry. Smith did endorse one letter of the 18th and one of the 21st. His next endorsement appears on one of December 5, after he had begun to improve. But for weeks after October 17 the letters are endorsed in the hand of Caleb Calkins, Smith's assistant in his office. J. B. Edwards, Smith's business agent at Oswego, and an intimate friend, did not hear of the illness until the first of November.⁵⁰

The files contain a letter dated October 28, 1859, from Dr. John McCall of Utica, with whom Smith was in the habit of consulting. In this letter the doctor said he had just had a talk with Judge Savage,

⁴⁹ Corliss to Smith, Sept. 29, 1859, Smith MSS.

⁵⁰ Edwards to Smith, Nov. 2, 1859, Smith MSS.

who told him that Smith was in no way implicated in the Harper's Ferry insurrection, and that he had no reason to be disturbed over it. Dr. McCall continued: "Now my friend your trouble of Brain, in not being able to rest at night was occasioned mainly by the constipated state of your bowels;"—a condition almost chronic with Smith. The doctor gave him advice as to diet, exercise, and medicine, and advised him to be cheerful.⁵¹

At the end of October the New York *Herald* sent a special correspondent to Peterboro, a man who had met Smith during his campaign the year before, to learn what he could about the raid and Smith's connection with it. His findings were published in the *Herald* of November 2, in a two and one third column front page story.⁵² On his way to Peterboro, the reporter questioned a tavern keeper at Oneida. The man replied that Smith was greatly disturbed, and that "He is telegraphing from here all the while". The correspondent reached Peterboro October 30, and found the whole village highly excited; the impression prevailed that Smith was to be kidnapped, and carried to Virginia. Smith's anxiety was a matter of common talk. Then he went on to the Smith home, where he found the reports of Smith's excitement well founded. The agitation following the raid, so the reporter believed, "has not only impaired his health, but is likely to seriously affect his excitable and illy-balanced mind. *He is a very different man today from what he was twelve months since.* His calm, dignified, impressive bearing has given place to a hasty, nervous agitation, as though some great fear was constantly before his imagination. His eye is bloodshot and restless as that of a startled horse. He has lost flesh, and his face looks as red and as rough as though he had just returned from one of old Brown's Kansas raids."

The reporter found it impossible to get any information concerning the raid. Smith said he could not say a word about it. "I am going to be indicted, sir, indicted! You must not talk to me about it." "If any man in the Union is taken, it will be me." The reporter found that Charles B. Sedgwick and Timothy Jenkins, Smith's attorneys, had been constant visitors at Peterboro since the raid, and he attributed Smith's refusal to talk to the pressure applied by these men.

⁵¹ This letter was written two days after the New York *Herald* published the report that Governor Wise of Virginia would seek to bring Smith to Richmond for trial, as one of Brown's accomplices. Cf. letter, F. M. King to Smith, Oct. 28, 1859, Smith MSS.

⁵² New York *Herald*, Nov. 2, 1859, "Gerrit Smith and the Harper's Ferry Outbreak", dated Peterboro, Oct. 31.

I sum up my experiences at Gerrit Smith's home thus: He is in evident alarm and agitation, inconsistent with the idea that his complicity with the plot is simply to the extent already made public. *I believe that Brown's visit to his house last spring was intimately connected with the insurrection,* and that it is the knowledge that at any moment, either by the discovery of papers or the confession of accomplices, his connection with the affair may become exposed, that keeps Mr. Smith in constant excitement and fear.

This correspondent's shrewd guess was entirely in harmony with the actual facts. At the time, however, Smith's friends who had not seen him since the raid, simply could not believe this newspaper statement. One of these, Sandford of New York, wrote to him about this very article, urging him to sue the editor, and to make him "prove his lies".⁵³

On November 2, 1859, John Brown was sentenced to death. Five days later Gerrit Smith was taken to the New York State Asylum for the Insane at Utica. According to a dispatch from Utica, published in the New York *Herald* of November 12, 1859, Smith's case was "one of decided lunacy", and his mind was "considerably disordered". According to a private letter quoted by this writer, Smith was "quite deranged, intellectually as well as morally; and he is also feeble physically". But the case was not hopeless, and the doctors expected a cure. Strategy had been necessary to get Smith to the asylum. Ever since the raid, he had been "haunted with the idea that he was culpably responsible for all the lives that have been and will be sacrificed" on account of the raid. He had felt under obligations to go to Virginia, to surrender to the authorities, and when he set out for Utica he did so, thinking he was on his way to Charles Town, where Brown was awaiting execution.⁵⁴

This newspaper report is substantiated by a manuscript affidavit, in the hand of Caleb Calkins, with reference to Smith's illness. Smith "became wild—was determined to go to Virginia and to be with John Brown in Charlestown—left his home for that purpose—talked repeatedly with Deponent about it—determined to suffer if necessary, with Brown—Went off with the undoubting expectation of going to Virginia."⁵⁵

These various statements suggest that Smith was suffering from an extreme case of what moralists call a guilty conscience and from a terrific nervous strain resulting therefrom. Being a strongly religious man, he felt that he deserved punishment for his wrong doing, and it is not entirely improbable that he shrank from this punishment.

⁵³ Sandford to Smith, Nov. 2, 1859, Smith MSS.

⁵⁴ New York *Herald*, Nov. 12, 1859, citing Utica despatch, Nov. 11, 1859.

⁵⁵ Smith MSS., undated, but apparently written in 1867.

Then, as a man of deep loyalty to his friends, he felt a heavy sense of personal responsibility for Brown's fate, a responsibility in direct ratio to the help which he had rendered. Smith's illness immediately following the news of Brown's capture, and his insanity at news of his sentence indicate how intimately the whole chain of these late events in Brown's career affected his thought and emotions. Delirium was the only escape from this tangle of conflicts.

A contemporary medical diagnosis of Smith's case is to be found in a letter from Dr. John P. Gray, who was then in charge of the State Asylum at Utica, to John Cochrane, Smith's nephew, December 16, 1859.⁵⁶

The fact is the cause or causes of his present attack go back beyond the Harper's Ferry affair. That shock was but "the last straw". He never fully recovered from the attack of fever in New York. Following convalescence there he had dropsical limbs and other indications of impaired Constitution—The swelling of his limbs subsided and in a few months returned and gave him trouble. The part he took in the last gubernatorial contest imposed upon him for months, excessive labor, and immediately afterward he was attacked with serious indigestion and sympathetic disturbances of the action of the heart. He, however, rather increased than diminished his labors, both physical and mental, and aggravated dyspepsia and greater impairment of health was the consequence. He realized his depreciating strength but not the probable end. For months before he came here he had periods of depression and intellectual exaltation only to be accounted for on the theory of then existing cerebral disturbance and the approach of serious brain trouble. Indeed in carefully reviewing his case and condition I am inclined to think the Harper's Ferry shock only hastened the development of a disease which at no very remote period would have appeared in a more unfavorable form.

This theory of an inevitable collapse might perhaps now be regarded as a sort of *post hoc propter hoc* fallacy. It is possible, and perhaps probable, that Smith would not have suffered this temporary eclipse of his reason, had it not been for the tremendous strain imposed by the circumstances attendant upon the raid. And if the organic weakness had been as serious as Dr. Gray said it was, it is difficult for the layman to explain, or to understand, the very rapid recovery. In less than three weeks after he entered the asylum, Smith was able to have his wife as his guest at Thanksgiving dinner. In a month his friends were congratulating him on the prospect of his speedy recovery. In six weeks he was able to walk or to ride out, daily, and he was gaining strength slowly. On December 19, Dr. Gray reported to Mrs. Smith that her

⁵⁶ Smith MSS.

husband had slept every night since the last report.⁵⁷ Ten days later he returned to Peterboro. On June 7, 1860, Gerrit Smith wrote to his friend Charles Sumner: "I have gone thro' a sickness not so protracted as yours—but more prostrating. Now, through great mercy, I am in good health."⁵⁸

Although genuine and not feigned, there is no doubt that this illness did save Smith from further embarrassment on account of his complicity in Brown's work. On December 14, 1859, the United States Senate appointed the so-called Mason committee to investigate the Harper's Ferry affair, and to determine if possible whether the attack was made under the auspices of any organized group. If such an organization were discovered, the committee was instructed to look into its character and importance, and to determine "whether any citizens of the United States not present were implicated therein, or accessory thereto, by contributions of money, arms, munitions, or otherwise". The members began work on January 4, 1860, and finished on the following June 14. On January 11, 1860, the chairman was authorized to summon, among others, F. B. Sanborn, Edwin Morton, Dr. S. G. Howe, and Gerrit Smith. Some two months later Smith's nephew, John Cochrane, then a member of Congress, wrote his uncle about private conferences with the committee. The members agreed that Smith should not be summoned without previous notice to Cochrane. On March 21 Smith himself wrote that he would be entirely willing to appear before the committee at any time, provided that, after consultation with Dr. Gray, the members should think it proper to call for him. Dr. Gray, however, declared (April 9, 1860) emphatically that Smith's health would not admit of his going to Washington. On May 24, 1860, Chairman Mason announced to the committee that the summons issued for Morton and for Gerrit Smith had not been served, because Morton could not be found—he had fled the country—and because "Mr. Smith's health was such as to render it improper to bring him here".⁵⁹

It is perhaps only a coincidence that the complete rehabilitation of Smith's health came with the conclusion of the committee's work.

⁵⁷ A. Becker to Smith, Dec. 8, 1859, Smith MSS. Dr. Gray, *op. cit.*

⁵⁸ Smith to Sumner, June 7, 1860, original in Smith MSS., copy in Widener Library.

⁵⁹ The members were James M. Mason, chairman, Jefferson Davis, G. N. Fitch, J. Collamer, and J. R. Doolittle. Mason Report, pp. 1, 29-30, 38. Cochrane to Smith, Mar. 17, 1860; with this is the draft of Smith's reply, in the third person, but in his own hand, Mar. 21, 1860; Dr. Gray's opinion was given in a letter to C. D. Miller, Apr. 9, 1860, Smith MSS.

Two weeks after the committee had decided not to summon him he informed Sumner of his recovery. Five days after the committee concluded its labors, Cochrane expressed his delight at Smith's "entire restoration to health".⁶⁰ This is perhaps not surprising. The news of the John Brown raid, with the resulting fear of being caught as an accomplice, had been the immediate cause of Smith's collapse; as this danger receded, recovery progressed.

It is obvious that the Mason committee had no genuine, earnest desire to investigate the work of those men who really knew something about Brown's conspiracy. This conclusion is suggested by the committee's chivalrous consideration for Smith's health, and also by its attitude toward the other accomplices. Dr. Howe, who had gone to Canada to avoid disclosing too much, and who on one occasion had characterized the committee as "extra-judicial, inquisitorial, illegal, as I believe, and infernal in its objects and purposes as I know", finally testified before it. On closer acquaintance he found it not so bad as he had feared; "no one is obliged to volunteer any information to the Investigating Committee," he wrote. "He has only to answer their questions. In my case they were very unskilful and failed to get out of me some information which they might have been glad to have."⁶¹ Higginson, who was never even summoned, inferred that the committee purposely overlooked him, because he had made no pretence of hiding. He was convinced that the committee did not wish to probe too deeply, because of fear of the effect on the country if the John Brown affair were given any further publicity. Mason, he said, did not wish to have Brown defended by his friends.⁶² Apart from the practically fruitless investigation of this committee, the Federal government made no attempt whatever to investigate the Harper's Ferry affair. Inconceivable as it may seem, no Federal grand jury proceedings were instituted, although enough documentary evidence was found on Brown to warrant them, and no one but Sanborn was ever subjected to the slightest inconvenience by Federal authorities. This degree of consideration for the conspirators was probably due, as Higginson suggested, to the fear of raising any more stir over Brown, and to a realization by the authorities of the danger of making any more martyrs to the anti-slavery cause.

One of the most baffling aspects of Smith's connection with the

⁶⁰ Smith to Sumner, June 7, 1860, Smith MSS. Cochrane to Smith, June 19, 1860, Smith MSS.

⁶¹ Howe, *Letters and Journals*, II. 441: Howe to Higginson, Feb. 16, 1860, Higginson Letters.

⁶² Higginson to Sanborn, Feb. 3, 1860, Higginson Letters.

Harper's Ferry incident was his subsequent denial, emphatic and repeated, of any real complicity in the enterprise; baffling because the denial is so patently at variance with the facts, and because of Smith's well-founded reputation—in all other activities throughout his life—for absolute candor and frank, open dealing.⁶³ In brief, after he recovered his reason, he consistently held that his part in the affair had been entirely casual and insignificant. He admitted that he knew John Brown, and that he had on occasion given him small sums of money, but after the manner of Dr. Howe, he most indignantly repudiated the idea that he had known of Brown's plans, and that he had had an important part in the attempted execution of them.

At first this denial of knowledge and participation seemed to be the simple and perhaps entirely comprehensible result of the brief attack of insanity. Naturally in retrospect the attendant circumstances would appear a bit blurred. Writing on March 21, 1860, Smith said that he had "but a hazy view of nearly the whole of 1859". Not long afterwards it would appear that he wrote to Sanborn, asking for some reminders as to what had gone on. In any case Sanborn wrote Smith: "I trust the Committee will see that it is the part of prudence not to summon any more witnesses, and so will not call on you. I do not see how your testimony can be of much service to them, nor is it worth while for me to refresh your memory as to the events of '57, '58, and '59." And in Smith's letter to Sumner, referred to above, he had written: "Much of the year 1859 is a black dream to me; and much of it hazy and uncertain."⁶³

Obviously, Smith could have cleared away some of the blackness, and refreshed his own memory of those years, had he not taken pains to destroy all his correspondence bearing upon the matter. He had been sane enough to see to that after news of the raid reached him. Nor was this destruction of evidence confined to October, 1859. As late as June 18, 1860, somebody, presumably Smith himself, tore out a sentence from one of Sanborn's letters referring to the Mason committee.⁶⁴

In February, 1860, when there was every probability that Smith would be called before the Mason committee, Charles D. Miller published an elaborate denial of Smith's knowledge of and partnership in the Brown enterprise. This was done with Smith's full knowledge and approval, and under such circumstances as to attract widespread

⁶³ Smith, draft of letter to Cochrane, Mar. 21, 1860. Sanborn to Smith, May 10, 1860. Smith to Sumner, June 7, 1860. All in Smith MSS.

⁶⁴ Sanborn to Smith, June 18, 1860, Smith MSS.

attention. Replying to a charge by a group of New York Democrats, the Vigilant Association, published in the New York *Herald* and in other newspapers, that Gerrit Smith had been intimately concerned in the Brown plot, and that he had been a member of the central organization which sponsored Brown's work,⁶⁵ Miller denied that his father-in-law belonged to any central organization for destroying slavery, and asserted that Smith condemned "all shedding of human blood, save by Government". Miller also said that Smith had never heard of Brown's constitution until within a few weeks, and that he had had no idea of the nature or character of Brown's proposed government. In a letter of February 26, 1860, to S. L. M. Barlow, one of the officers of the association, Miller wrote: "No one feels deeper sorrow than does Mr. Smith, that his precious, nay idolized friend, was led into the mistake of shedding blood in his last attempt to help slaves get free. Indeed, it was that mistake which completed the prostration of the miserable health of Mr. Smith's body and brain."⁶⁶

The manner of the charge against Smith, particularly the assertion that he belonged to a central association, the purpose of which was the violent abolition of slavery, was not entirely true, unless the little group of Smith and his New England associates, whom Sanborn described as the "secret committee", could be dignified with this title. But Miller's vigorous assertion that Smith was opposed to the use of force against slavery was based upon a complete failure to appreciate the significance of his speeches and letters with reference to Kansas, and to his ignorance of Smith's relations with Brown. However, late in February, 1860, suits in behalf of Gerrit Smith were instituted against three members of the Vigilant Association, claiming damages to the amount of \$50,000 in each case.⁶⁷ By this means public attention could be sharply focussed on Smith's innocence.

Shortly after these libel suits were started, Smith had a pamphlet published, containing notice of the prosecution, and the essential correspondence which led up to it. Smith himself wrote out a list of names and addresses to whom the pamphlet should be sent. According to this record, three copies went to President Buchanan, two copies to each member of Congress—this in the midst of the Mason committee's work—and copies to men who might be interested, not only in New York, but in a number of states, including among others Pennsylvania, Ken-

⁶⁵ New York *Herald*, Oct. 19, 27, 1859.

⁶⁶ "Gerrit Smith and the Vigilant Association," pp. 3-4, 8

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 3; also Syracuse *Journal*, Feb. 29, 1860.

tucky, Wisconsin, and Missouri. The total number of copies called for on this account was over two thousand.⁶⁸

Smith followed this denial with one of his own, dated May 1, 1860, more definite and precise, and more vigorous in its denunciation of those whom he charged with wrecking his reputation. In this vitriolic attack he found fault with the New York *Herald* as well as with the Vigilant Association. He accused the *Herald* of seeking to "make the exasperated South believe that the Harper's Ferry affair was concocted under my roof. . .". Then he went on: ". . . John Brown was at my house but once in the year 1859, and then only for a day and a half. He was on his way from Kansas to his home. It was his custom to call on me in his journeys from the one to the other. At the time of his last visit he was sick with fever and ague, and so deaf as to make conversation with him difficult." No other persons visited the house during the time. "But I never knew from what persons, except my neighbors and myself, he received moneys, and astonished was I at learning, after the collision at Harper's Ferry, that the arms of the Kansas Committee were in Virginia." He complained that the Vigilant Association had been unfair to him in publishing an alleged plan for the forcible abolition of slavery along with his letter of June 4, 1859, to John Brown. This letter, considered in the light of the so-called plan, naturally aroused suspicion against Smith, and made people believe that he actually had participated in the Harper's Ferry outbreak. Then, in a fine passion, he declared "that among all the meanest, nakedest, and most atrocious lies, this manifesto [of the Vigilant Association] has the preëminence".⁶⁹

It is obvious that these denials convey a false impression of Smith's relations with John Brown and his conspiracy; it is also obvious that they were submitted to the public before the Mason committee had reached a decision as to whether or not Smith should be brought to Washington. Shielded by Dr. Gray, Smith was finally spared the danger of testifying before the committee; so far the secret of his dealings with Brown was safe. But there still remained the embarrassing possibility that the libel suits against the three members of the Vigilant Association, if actually brought to trial, would elicit the truth. In fact, one of Smith's own lawyers, Lysander Spooner of Boston, specially retained for this particular litigation, seriously disturbed the equanimity

⁶⁸ Memorandum in Smith's hand, Mar. or Apr., 1860, Smith MSS.

⁶⁹ Letter of Gerrit Smith to the editor of the New York *Principia*; published in the New York *Herald*, May 22, 1860.

of his client by suggesting this very thing. Spooner thought it would be desirable to discover in advance of the trial whether or not the defendants had any real evidence in support of their charges. Although their statements about a central association were false, nevertheless, Spooner said, "if you have been an accomplice in any insurrectionary proceedings of a similar character, that fact could be used in mitigation of damages", with the result that the suits already begun, and others in contemplation, would end in failure. "If there has been anything at all, on your part, which either the law, or a jury, could construe into complicity in insurrectionary proceedings, I shall, of course, wish to know it fully."⁷⁰

Spooner received no light on this matter from Smith. But on a visit to New York, as he explained to his client, he did learn that the defense expected to prove that Smith "had counselled, or participated in, acts, which came nearly or quite up to those charged in the manifesto". In writing to his nephew about this very correspondence, Smith said: "I am greatly embarrassed by that part of it which speaks of his [Spooner's] interviews with members of the Committee, as you will see, when you have read it, I may well be." His embarrassment may have been due to the willingness of the defendants to settle out of court, or, and this is more probably the case, it may have been caused by the fear of disclosures of the real facts. In any case the letter reveals Smith's serious perturbation. He probably did not feel any easier when Spooner reverted to the matter again, in making suggestions about ending the suits. "This advice is given distinctly upon the supposition that no other evidence can be produced against you, than is given in Barlow's answer."⁷¹ Spooner seems to have suspected more than he actually admitted, and these suspicions left Smith uneasy. In November the libel suits were settled out of court, so Smith again was saved from the danger of having his record laid bare.

After the Civil War was over, from 1865 to 1867, Smith was engaged in another controversy, which in the end involved charges similar to those made by the Vigilant Association. In June, 1865, the *Chicago Tribune* published an insulting editorial attack upon him. "Gerrit Smith stands indebted to his sire for a feeble intellect and a large fortune." But, the writer went on, he was lacking in courage, and he had "none of the stuff of which men are made". On receiving the

⁷⁰ Spooner to Smith, Aug. 29, 1860, Smith MSS.

⁷¹ Spooner to Smith, Oct. 11, 12, 28, 1860. Smith to Cochrane, Oct. 17, 1860, Smith MSS.

news of John Brown's arrest he "became insane, took refuge in a lunatic asylum and remained there until Lincoln was inaugurated". When Smith called upon the *Tribune* for a public retraction, Horace White, the editor, refused to make it, whereupon Smith sued him for libel. In 1867, however, the *Tribune* did publish a retraction, and Smith dropped the suit; but White declared that he had in his possession evidence which proved Smith's intimate and detailed knowledge of Brown's plans and purposes.⁷²

Smith's reply to this charge was another denial. He admitted a long-standing friendship with Brown, and he mentioned Brown's visits to Peterboro in 1848, and again in April, 1859. He omitted entirely any reference to the all important visit of February, 1858. "John Brown talked to me—but he never counselled with me—respecting his plans for freeing slaves." Brown confided his plans to others, but not to Smith. However, Smith learned enough to suspect that Brown planned to go to some place in the mountains and to encourage slaves to come to him. They would then be armed, to enable them to resist capture. Brown left Peterboro in April, 1859; "I never saw him again; and never again had I any communication with him, direct or indirect, touching his plans or movements." After this time Brown wrote him only one letter. Smith had no knowledge of Brown's plan to attack Harper's Ferry.⁷³

To the end of his life Smith persistently held that he had neither been implicated in nor acquainted with Brown's plans. But it is significant that in 1872 when Sanborn proposed to publish a full account of the affair, Smith became highly nervous, and suffered from loss of sleep, as he had done after Brown's capture. This condition became so serious that he and his family feared a return of his insanity, and both Smith and his wife begged Sanborn to refrain as far as possible from using Smith's name in his narrative. Smith showed similar symptoms again in 1874, when Sanborn pressed him for a statement regarding his connection with Brown. Smith gave the statement, but like the others, it conveyed a false impression.⁷⁴

Sanborn could never understand Smith's pretended ignorance about John Brown. Inasmuch as the parties directly concerned never made any explanation of Smith's course in this respect, any attempt to make one now must be based solely on inference. The simplest guess is that, because of illness, Smith actually did forget practically all about his

⁷² Chicago *Tribune*, July 22, 29, 1867.

⁷³ This statement, dated Aug. 15, 1867, is printed in full in Frothingham, pp. 253-259.

⁷⁴ Sanborn, I. 230-238, quoting the essential correspondence.

relations with Brown. There is no way of proving that he did not. It is, however, significant that he forgot apparently nothing else of consequence during that period, and that he was still destroying evidence as late as June, 1860, a procedure suggestive of neither ignorance nor innocence. Then, too, his evident uneasiness over Spooner's letters, and his obvious desire to avoid actual court proceedings, after he had gained the advantage of using the libel suits as an excuse to proclaim his innocence all over the country, would make the theory of complete forgetfulness of the past a bit tenuous, to say the least.

It may be that the members of Smith's family were responsible for his attitude. They naturally were gravely concerned for his health, and they desired to shield him so far as possible from worry over the circumstances which preceded his collapse. From this point of view it was necessary above everything else to keep him away from the Mason committee. The safest way to do this was to convince the country of his innocence, and by so doing make it unnecessary for the committee to devote any consideration to him. Then, once this air of complete innocence had been assumed, the family could hardly do otherwise than persist in it, for obvious reasons. Hence the suggestions made to Smith that his own recollections of the affair were erroneous, and even wild, as he said. His own haziness regarding the last stages of Brown's operations, due partly to lack of familiarity with final details, and partly to his own insanity, made it easy for these suggestions to take hold of his mind.

This episode in the life of Gerrit Smith shows that he was an advocate of and contributor to rebellion in Kansas, and that he was an accessory before the fact in Brown's triple crime of conspiracy, murder, and treason. Then his insanity clouded the whole record, so that it is impossible now to determine absolutely whether he was honestly forgetful of his treasonable rôle, whether he was ashamed of it, and so sought to cover it up, or whether, because of fear of the consequences, he deliberately deceived the public. In any case, from 1859 to 1874, whenever a situation arose which might have resulted in the discovery of his close connection with Brown's work, he took every possible precaution to make disclosures impossible. It was this seeming lack of candor which so distressed the Reverend Octavius B. Frothingham, Smith's biographer. But perhaps "old Brown" may have furnished the best clue to the mystery: "G S he knew to be a timid man."

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NOTES AND SUGGESTIONS

DOCUMENTS AVAILABLE FOR RESEARCH ON THE MODERN HISTORY OF CHINA

THE World War and the Russian Revolution led to the opening of certain archives in Europe which would otherwise have remained closed to the scholar for an indefinite period. A parallel event in China was the political revolution of 1911, which resulted in the opening of the imperial archives of the Manchu dynasty. The passing of the Manchus and the transformation of the imperial palaces of Peking (Peiping) into museums and libraries have made available for scholars an unprecedented wealth of documents. It will be possible to derive from a critical use of this material a more detailed and accurate picture of China in modern times (c. 1620-1911) than for any other period of the empire's long history. Modern republican China has nothing to fear from any revelations which may result from an uncensored perusal of these documents. In recent years considerable effort and money have been expended in their preservation, cataloguing, and publication.

The bulk of this material is located in the following places in Peking:¹ (1) in the Historical Museum at the Wu Men or South Gate of the Forbidden City; (2) at the Sinological Research Institute of the Peking National University; (3) at a number of places in the Palace Museum located in or near the Forbidden City, such as the Shih Lu Ta K'u, which houses the daily accounts of the imperial household (Ch'i Chü Chu) and the important memorials and decrees from which were selected those included in the official publications known as the *Tung Hua Hsü Lu* and the *Huang Ti Shêng Hsün*; (4) at the Ta Kao Tien, the imperial rain-temple, located just northwest of the Forbidden City. Here are housed the archives of the grand^ocouncil of state (Chün Chi Ch'u), and the bureau of colonial affairs (Li Fan Yüan).

The amount of this material is considerable, there being 800,000 doc-

¹ Walter Fuchs, Neues Material zur Mandjurischen Literatur aus Peking Bibliotheken, *Asia Major*, VII. [1931] 469-482. T. L. Yuan, Huang Shih Ch'eng Chi (The Palace for Imperial Records), *Library Science Quarterly*, II. 443. These archives were established in 1534 and are now believed to house intact the Ming and Ch'ing Shih Lu, Shêng Hsün or imperial decrees, and Yü Tieh or genealogical records of the imperial family. The building is located just southeast of the Forbidden City.

uments in the Chün Chi Ch'ü archives and 12,000 catties, or 16,000 pounds, by rough estimate, in the Historical Museum.² Estimates for other archives are not yet available. Much credit goes to those officials and scholars who have succeeded in preserving and in partially cataloguing this material under the trying conditions that have obtained in the former capital since the establishment of the republic. A sizable portion, however, of the total mass of documents in the archives when the Manchus fell from power has either been destroyed or has passed into the hands of dealers or into private and public collections. The archives of the grand secretariat (Nei Ko Ta K'ü) seem to have suffered most during the past twenty years of political turmoil and strife. Hsü Chung-shu, a member of the Historical and Philological Institute of the Academia Sinica, which is now in charge of these archives, informs us³ that following the establishment of the republic, the ministry of education founded the Historical Museum and made it the repository of the Nei Ko archives. In 1921 the museum, being in financial straits, sold eight thousand sacks of these documents to a Peking paper-making establishment for 4000 yüan (about \$2000 gold). The eminent antiquarian, Lo Chên-yü, chanced upon some of these documents while in Peking, and succeeded in buying a considerable portion of the amount originally sold. He was on the point of selling them to the Japanese, it was rumored, when Li Mu-tsai (Shêng-to), a wealthy Tientsinese, who already had a well-known collection of Sung, Yüan, and Tun-huang manuscripts, hearing of the opportunity, bought the larger part, if not all, of the documents from Lo for 16,000 yüan. He then sold them to the Historical Museum, newly reorganized in 1928, for 18,000 yüan. Hsü estimates—though his figures are perhaps too high—that fully 25,000 pounds of the documents have been destroyed, while some 80,000 pounds are now scattered among dealers or are in either private or public collections.⁴

The archives of the grand council of state have had, however, a more fortunate history, and are believed to be practically intact. An historical survey of the organization and functions of this supreme governing body under the Ch'ing will serve to indicate the value of the docu-

² *The Academia Sinica and its National Research Institutes* (Nanking, Academia Sinica, 1931), p. 92.

³ Nei Ko Tang An Chih Yü Lai Nai Chi Chêng Li (The Nei Ko Documents: their Origin and their Management), in the *Ming Ch'ing Shih Liao*, I., pp. 1 ff.

⁴ The Library of Congress recently secured through gifts and purchase about 150 volumes of documents, some of which are from the Nei Ko archives. Peking University has 1500 sacks of these documents.

ments in the archives. It was first established in 1729 during the Yung Chêng period, for the purpose of assisting in the suppression of local uprisings. Its first name, Chün Chi Fang, or military cabinet, is illustrative of its functions. It was given the name Chün Chi Ch'u in 1739. Its office was established within the sacred precincts of the palaces where the emperor could quickly call the councilors to audience to discuss emergency cases. Its powers were derived from the older advisory body, the grand secretariat, which the Manchus had inherited from the Ming administration. There were usually five councilors in the body, assisted by a large number of undersecretaries. These councilors were, of course, officials of the highest rank, frequently holding concurrent posts. Most of the memorials which reached the throne passed through their hands and were accompanied by their advice and criticism. They also assisted in the drafting of decrees which dealt not only with military matters, but with civil affairs as well, for the scope of their influence was quickly extended beyond its original limits. Affairs were conducted with the utmost secrecy, as the following decree, issued in 1747 during the Ch'ien Lung period, indicates:

The council of State is an office for secret and important affairs. Memorials given to the Council for secret discussion shall not be disclosed. Hereafter, memorials to be transmitted to the respective ministers shall be filed in the archives of the Council as shall all the secret memorials by the Ministers.⁵

The importance of the archives of the grand council as source material for the history of the Ch'ing dynasty is here apparent. The authorities of the Palace Museum have made a start toward cataloguing the documents, and are also publishing some of them. The following survey is a summary of a general preliminary catalogue which has been published,⁶ and an article by Liu Ju-lin, curator of the archives.⁷

The period covered by the documents extends from the Yung Chêng period, which began in 1723, to the overthrow of the Manchus in 1911. There are over 800,000 documents, bound in 7969 quarto volumes. For the period of Yung Chêng (1723-1736) there are 1717 documents, bound in ten volumes; Ch'ien Lung (1736-1796), 142,000 in 895 volumes; Chia Ch'ing (1796-1821), 73,127 in 913 volumes; Tao Kuang (1821-1851), 135,932 in 1113 volumes; Hsien Fêng (1851-1861), 69,242 in 701 volumes; T'ung Chih (1862-1875), 87,193 in 905 volumes; Kuang

⁵ Hsieh Pao Chao, *The Government of China, 1644-1911* (Baltimore, 1923), p. 84.

⁶ *Ch'ing Chün Chi Ch'u Tang An Mu Lu*.

⁷ Liu Ju-lin, Ch'ing Chün Chi Ch'u Tang An I Lan Piao, *Bulletin of the Library Association of China*, III, [May, 1928] 9-15.

Hsü (1875-1908), 295,186 in 3202 volumes; and Hsüan T'ung (1909-1911), 36,163 in 328 volumes.

The principal categories into which this material is divided are as follows: imperial decrees, 3264 volumes; minutes of the meetings of the council, 881 volumes; memorials and replies, 225 volumes; transmitted letters, 90 volumes; reports, 31 volumes; Taiwan (Formosan) affairs, 14 volumes; Annam affairs, 3 volumes; Hsin-chiang (northwestern frontier) affairs, 17 volumes; documents relating to the suppression of rebellious uprisings, 747 volumes; affairs discussed at imperial audiences (Tsao Shih Tang), 239 volumes; records of audiences granted higher officials, 174 volumes; telegrams sent and received, 1258 volumes; and foreign affairs (Yang Wu), 184 volumes. The documents falling within each of these categories and numerous others are first arranged according to reigns and then chronologically. Research scholars have been provided a room in which to work, and have ready access to these documents. For their convenience there is a catalogue (*Sui Shou Tang*) listing a day-by-day record of all documents that entered the archives, together with dates, names of persons who sent dispatches or memorials, and the subjects discussed.

A series, publishing select documents from these archives, is now appearing. The first volume came out in January, 1928. The first ten volumes bore the title *Chang Ku Ts'ung Pien*, after which the name was changed to *Wên Hsien Ts'ung Pien*. The first volume under the new name appeared in March, 1930. A preface states that the plan is to publish one volume a month. Documents concerning the following subjects of special interest have already been published: the Lord Macartney Mission of 1793; commercial relations with Westerners during the Chia Ch'ing period (1796-1821); unrecorded decrees of the Yung Chêng period (1723-1736); telegrams sent to the grand council at Hsi An in Shensi in 1901 (whence the court had fled following the entrance into Peking of the Allied forces as a result of the Boxer uprising), concerning the terms demanded by the powers by way of settlement; a list of the books proscribed during the forty-second year of the Ch'ien Lung period (1777); documents concerning the visit to China of the Roman Catholic legate, dated the fifty-fifth year of K'ang Hsi (1716); and some T'ai-p'ing Rebellion documents.

The authorities of the Palace Museum are publishing another series, called the *Shih Liao Hsün K'an*, the first volume of which appeared June 1, 1930. As the name indicates, a volume comprising an average of seventy printed pages appears every ten days. Important historical

episodes of the last dynasty form the subject matter of these documents. Among the subjects presented in the first thirty volumes which have been examined are: commercial relations with Westerners, especially with England, from about the year 1660 to the Opium War; reports on the collections from various custom houses; the execution in the Chia Ch'ing period of Ho Shen, an official who is reputed to have amassed, while holding the highest offices during the previous Ch'ien Lung period, a fortune greater even than that of his emperor; documents describing the systematic suppression of proscribed religious sects thought to have political motives; the burning of the palaces of the Yüan Ming Yüan by Western troops in 1860; Roman Catholics in Honan Province in 1769; suppression of uprisings among the border tribes and in Yunnan, Formosa, and Annam.

The grand secretariat, whose archives constitute the other main collection of documents located in Peking, evolved during the course of the years 1382-1403. It was designed to replace the old office of prime minister, which had existed for many centuries. By dividing the powers and duties of that office among five grand secretaries, taking their name from each of five imperial palaces, the emperor hoped by the attendant subdivision of duty and responsibility to gain more control for himself. The decisions reached by this advisory body had to receive the mark of approval of the emperor's vermilion pencil before being decreed. Besides advising him on matters of state, they drafted edicts, presided over imperial ceremonies, and were custodians of imperial seals.

That portion of the secretariat's archives which contains material on the period prior to the establishment of the Chün Chi Ch'u, which (as has already been indicated) superseded it after 1730 as the prime governing body of the empire, is now the most valuable. However, after its eclipse it continued to be custodian of certain kinds of state documents, including the Shih Lu and the Ch'i Chü Chu, described above.⁸ According to Hsü Chung-shu,⁹ its documents came from three main sources: (1) the documents accumulated after the entrance of the Manchus into China in 1644; (2) the documents stored in the imperial Manchu palaces in Mukden, covering the years 1627-1644, which were moved to Peking; and (3) the documents which the Manchus found in Peking chiefly from the reigns of the last two Ming emperors, as well

⁸ Reflecting the confused relation between the Chun Ch'i Chü and the Nei Ko is the discovery of some documents from each archive in that of the other.

⁹ Hsü Chung-shu, *op. cit.*, p. 2.

as the Ming Shih Lu.¹⁰ The Ming documents comprise only a very small fraction of the total. The Ch'ing documents may be largely divided into the following five classifications:

1. Imperial decrees, regulations, mandates, credentials granted higher officials, etc.
2. Original drafts of memorials, list of congratulatory gifts, accusations and complaints.
3. Documents relating to the relations with foreign countries and neighboring tribes.
4. Documents relating to official examinations for entrance into the civil service, and lists of successful candidates for the degrees.
5. All documents relating directly to the work of the grand secretariat itself, such as drafts of documents issued, accounts of the expenses entailed in the care of the precincts of the imperial palaces, etc.

Between eight- and nine-tenths of the documents fall under the second classification.

The Historical and Philological Institute of the Academia Sinica, which is in charge of that portion of the archives housed in the Historical Museum, is making progress in the arrangement and classification of the documents. A series has been begun, the *Ming Ch'ing Shih Liao* (Historical Documents relating to the Ming and Ch'ing dynasties) in which carefully selected documents are being published. An editorial committee, composed of the prominent Peking scholars, Ch'ên Yin-k'o, Chu Hsi-tsu, Ch'ên Yüan, Fu Ssü-nien, and Hsü Chung-shu, is in charge of it. The first four volumes of the series were published at Shanghai in 1930. The period covered by these published documents extends from 1629 to 1656. Among them are four documents signed by T'ang Jo-wang (Père Adam Schall) dated 1645, 1646, 1649, and 1653. Lo Chên-yü, while in possession of a portion of the archives,¹¹ commenced, with the coöperation of his associates in the Tung Fang Wên Hua Hsüeh Hui (Society for the Study of Eastern Culture), the publication of a series called the *Shih Liao Ts'ung K'an*. This was in July, 1924, ten volumes in all appearing before the series came to an end with the sale of the archives to Li Shêng-to.

There have been other publications of documents and materials

¹⁰ See Chu Hsi-tsu, *Ch'ing Nei Ko Sô Shou Ming T'ien Ch'i Ch'ung Cên Tang An Ch'ing Chê Pa* (A Commentary on the Catalogue of the Official Documents of the T'ien Ch'i and Ch'ung Chên Periods, 1621-1644, of the Ming dynasty, preserved in the Archives of the Grand Secretariat of the Ch'ing Dynasty, *Kuo Hsüeh Chi K'an*, vol. II., no. 2 [Dec., 1929], pp. 383-387). The Sinological Research Department of the Peking National University discovered this catalogue in the portion of the Nei Ko Ta K'ü of which it is custodian.

¹¹ See above, p. 62.

found in the former imperial archives. Of these, there should be mentioned here the publication by photo-lithography of a manuscript found in the archives called the *Ch'ou Pan I Wu Shih Mo* (The Beginning and End of the Management of Barbarian Affairs).¹² It is a documentary history of China's foreign relations from 1836 to 1874. As published, the collection comprises forty volumes for the last fifteen years of the Tao Kuang period (1836-1851); forty volumes for the reign of Hsien Fêng (1851-1861); and fifty volumes for the reign of T'ung Chih (1862-1875). The documents are for the most part decrees, memorials, treaties, and diplomatic notes to and from China and the powers, covering this most important period of China's relations with the West. Only a small portion of these documents had been previously published. A careful study of them will undoubtedly clarify many obscure phases of China's international relations and in general make possible a fuller and more understandable account than has hitherto been possible. Professor T. F. Tsiang, of the National Tsing Hua University, Peking, has already given us proof of the necessity for a rewriting, in part at least, of the existing accounts of those relations.¹³ Documents bearing on China's foreign relations prior to 1836 are being published in the series *Shih Liao Hsün K'an*, as has been noted above.¹⁴ The authorities of the Palace Museum have announced that documents found in the archives relating to the period since 1874 will be published eventually.

There is, however, a series now in process of publication called the *Ch'ing Chi Wai Chiao Shih Liao* (Documents on the Foreign Relations of the last two reigns of the Ch'ing Dynasty). The whole set, comprising 120 volumes, will shortly be completed. The documents covering the years 1875-1904 are being printed in type from a manuscript belonging to Wang Hsi-yun of Peking. It was left to him by his father Wang Nien-wei, who as member of the secretariat of the grand council had taken advantage of his opportunity painstakingly to copy this large collection of documents bearing on China's foreign relations. Some other documents covering the period 1905-1911 are also to be

¹² See Ping Chia Kuo's notice of this work in the *Am. Hist. Rev.*, XXXVI, 870-871.

¹³ See T. F. Tsiang, China after the Victory of Taku, June 25, 1859, *Am. Hist. Rev.*, XXXV, 79-84; *Chinese Social and Political Science Review*, XV, 92-101; The Secret Plan of 1858, *ibid.*, XV, 291-299; The Extension of Equal Commercial Privileges to other Nations than the British after the Treaty of Nanking, *ibid.*, XV, 422-444; China, England and Russia in 1860, *Cambridge Historical Journal*, III, 115-121; New Light on Chinese Diplomacy, 1836-1849, *Journal of Modern History*, III, 578-591; and Shen Weitai, *China's Foreign Policy, 1839-1860* (New York, 1932).

¹⁴ See above, p. 64.

printed in the series. There is, further, to be a ten-volume index, one of the few recent pioneering attempts at applying this Western device. The vast body of Chinese literature lies unindexed, making careful and detailed research needlessly difficult and slow for the modern scholar, whether Chinese or Western.

With this considerable collection of documents, both published and unpublished, awaiting the scholar's careful reading, it is apparent that anything like a definitive history of the Ch'ing dynasty will not appear for decades. For the history of previous Chinese dynasties a main source of information is the set of twenty-five official dynastic histories. The twenty-sixth of these, the Ch'ing history, has appeared, though it has not as yet been officially recognized as its name *Ch'ing Shih Kao*, or Draft History of the Ch'ing Dynasty, indicates.¹⁵ The work is the largest of all the dynastic histories, containing 536 chapters (*chüan*) in 134 volumes. It was compiled by an historical board established by President Yüan Shih-k'ai in 1914, with Chao Er-hsüan as chairman. The work was completed in 1927 and published in 1928 after fourteen years of labor under the most trying conditions of political turmoil and financial stringency. Compiled by scholars steeped in the traditions of old China, it was modeled on previous dynastic histories. The material is arranged as follows: twenty-five chapters are devoted to the dynastic annals (*Pên Chi*), a chronological setting forth of the principal events of the dynasty; the section of essays (*Chih*) on specific subjects of a social and cultural character comprises 142 chapters; the tables (*P'iao*), listing the members of the imperial house and the higher officials occupy 53 chapters; while the bulk of the work, 316 chapters, is devoted to the biographies (*Lieh Chuan*).

An interesting deviation from former dynastic histories is the inclusion of two essays on subjects that reflect contact with the West. One describes the communications (*Chiao T'ung*) of the empire, in which is recounted the introduction of railroads, steamships, telegraphs, and postoffices. Due recognition is given to Sir Robert Hart for his leadership in the establishment of a postal system. The monograph on foreign relations (*Pang Chiao*) implies an equality of relationship between China and other nations which previous histories failed to emphasize, having relegated the accounts of all such contacts to the category of

¹⁵ See Erich Haenisch, *Das Ts'ing-Shi-Kao und die Sonstige Chinesische Literatur zur Geschichte der Letzten 300 Jahre*, *Asia Major*, VI. 403-444; and A. W. Hummel, *Chinese and other East Asiatic Books added to the Library of Congress, 1929-1930, Report of the Librarian of Congress, 1930*, pp. 346-348.

"neighboring" or "tributary" kingdoms. This section is, however, very poor, its statements being often without basis in fact, the compilers apparently having used only Chinese sources.¹⁶

In the biographical division some five hundred main biographies are given. In it are to be found biographies of the Jesuits Adam Schall and P. T. Verbiest, also of generals Gordon and Ward, and of Sir Robert Hart. Two editions of the *Ch'ing Shih Kao* have been on sale, a full edition of 134 volumes at Mukden and an expurgated edition of 131 volumes at Peking. The Kuomintang, upon its rise to power in the north in 1928, suppressed the original edition, deleting certain parts for political and sentimental reasons, including the biographies of Ku Hung-ming, Yen Fu, K'ang Yu-wei, Chang Hsün, and Chang Piao.

Though modern critical scholarship with access to the Peking archives will be able to modify considerably the value of this dynastic history, yet it will retain an inherent worth as being the last of the dynastic histories to be written in the spirit and method of the old scholarship, by a group of the few remaining representatives of the *ancien régime*. Not only this work, but all the official publications of the Manchu dynasty, and to a lesser degree (there being fewer documents left) of the Ming dynasty as well, will be subjected to criticism and amplification in the light of documents to be found not only in the capital, but also in the provinces, including valuable material located in innumerable private libraries that is gradually being made accessible to the research worker as the exclusive family spirit of the Chinese breaks down before the forces of modernism. A rising group of modern Chinese scholars¹⁷

¹⁶ See Tsiang T'ing-fu, P'ing Ch'ing Shih Kao Pang Chiao Chih (Criticism of the Pang Chiao Section in the Ch'ing Dynastic History), *Bulletin of the Metropolitan Library*, June, July, 1929.

¹⁷ For a survey of the development of modern critical scholarship in China and of the outstanding work accomplished in the field of Chinese history, see A. W. Hummel, What the Chinese Historians are doing in their own History, *Am. Hist. Rev.*, XXXIV, 715-724; K. S. Latourette, Chinese Historical Studies during the Past Nine Years, *ibid.*, XXXV, 778-797; A. W. Hummel, *The Autobiography of a Chinese Historian* (A translation of the preface of Ku Chieh-kang's symposium on ancient Chinese history, *Ku Shih Pien*, Leiden, 1931); Henri Maspero, Chine et Asie Centrale, in *Histoire et Historiens depuis Cinquante Ans* (Paris, 1927-1928), pp. 517-559. The National Library of Peking in coöperation with the Library Association of China has published a two volume index of *Periodical Literature Relating to Sinology* (*Kuo Hsüeh Lun Wên So Yin*, published July, 1929, and the *Kuo Hsüeh Lun Wên So Yin Hsü Pien*, July, 1931). The index contains some 5500 articles selected from more than eighty different magazines. The National Library of Peking announces the publication this year of a *Bibliography of Works relating to the History of the Later Years of the Ming Dynasty*, covering the period 1573-1684. It is the first attempt to bring together the printed and manuscript materials relating to this period. Some 1000 titles will be listed.

trained in the technique of critical historical research, have, together with their coworkers in Western lands, set to work upon these bulky archives with a view to rewriting the political, social, economic, and intellectual history of the later Ming and the Ch'ing dynasties to meet the tastes and standards of the modern age.

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CYRUS H. PEAKE.

AN ANNOTATED DASHIELL'S MAP

AN interesting map directly connected with the negotiation of the Webster-Ashburton Treaty of August 9, 1842, has recently come to light in the archives of the Department of State.

When the convention with Great Britain of September 29, 1827, for the submission to arbitration of the Northeastern boundary question, was negotiated at London, it was agreed that a general map of the contested territory should be made which, aside from Mitchell's Map, would be the only map to be "considered as evidence, mutually acknowledged" by both parties, of the topography of the country. That map was the celebrated Map A, mentioned in article 4 of the Convention of 1827.

Albert Gallatin, the American plenipotentiary in the 1827 negotiations, regarded the agreement on Map A as of great importance and he describes it at length in his correspondence. He wrote that "the work proved to be one of great labor and considerable difficulty", and in his dispatch of September 21, 1827, to Secretary of State Clay he gave this brief description of it:

This Map is only a skeleton containing the water courses and connecting together the partial surveys filed with the Commissioners. The contending lines are traced on it in reference to the water courses; but none of the highlands are delineated on it, this being in fact the main question at issue and on which we could not of course agree.

Map A was signed by the plenipotentiaries along with the Convention of September 29, 1827, and the American original of Map A is now in the archives of the Department of State.

Map A was naturally of great interest. The Senate called for it during its consideration of the Convention of 1827, and was furnished with a copy, though probably not with the signed original. What may be called the popular feature of Map A was the fact that the boundary lines claimed by the two governments were drawn on it in colors, the American line in green, and the British line in red, so that anyone could

easily see just what the disputed territory along the Maine and New Hampshire frontiers was.

From Map A was made Dashiell's Map, which is dated 1830. Dashiell's Map was very well known and many copies of it were struck off; there are at least fifty in the archives of the Department of State.

Albert Gallatin and William Pitt Preble, of Maine, had been appointed, in 1828, "Agents in the negotiations and upon the umpirage relating to the north-eastern boundary of the United States". Letters of Albert Gallatin written to Aaron Vail, of the Department of State, show that the map of 1830 was prepared under the direction of Gallatin as one of the two maps to be "engraved and annexed to our Appendix, viz^t a copy of part of Mitchell's and one reduced from Map A. Mr. Dashiell received instructions respecting both". Gallatin considered the proof, proposed changes, and suggested the title of Dashiell's Map, which is as follows: "Map of the Northern Part of the State of Maine and of the Adjacent British Provinces showing the portion of that State to which Great Britain lays claim. Reduced from the official Map A with corrections from the latest survey, by S. L. Dashiell. Washington, 1830."

Dashiell's Map may be considered as substantially the equivalent of Map A, from which it was adapted. It is a lithographed reproduction of the second edition of Dashiell's Map, which is the first of the two maps bound in *American State Papers, Foreign Relations*, volume VI., between pages 820 and 821; and that edition of the map is also reproduced in Moore's *International Arbitrations*, volume I., facing page 85.

The second edition of Dashiell's Map was doubtless issued in 1831; it is easily distinguishable from the first edition (although it remains dated 1830) by the fact that a third line is drawn on it in yellow, the line "of the Arbitrator" or, in other words, the boundary line proposed in the award of the king of the Netherlands, which was dated January 10, 1831; and it contains a printed reference to that line.

The find in the archives of the Department of State is an annotated copy of the second edition of Dashiell's Map. The annotator was William S. Derrick who, in 1842, when the Webster-Ashburton Treaty was negotiated at Washington, was, and for many years had been, a clerk in the Department of State. At that time Derrick was not, as he was at various times from 1843 to 1852, chief clerk of the Department, though in one of Ashburton's dispatches he is referred to as chief clerk; he was then the senior permanent official, as the chief clerk in office (1841-1843) was Daniel Fletcher Webster.

The annotated map is signed in its upper left margin "W. S. Derrick", and there can be no question as to the writing; many pages of Derrick's clear and distinctive handwriting are in the records of the Department of State.

On the annotated map is drawn a fourth line, in blue ink, the line of article 1 of the Webster-Ashburton Treaty, from the St. Francis River to the southwest source of the St. John River and then along the St. John River to the point where it joins all three of the other lines, the United States line, the British line, and the line of the arbitrating sovereign; and the blue line is also drawn as marking Hall's Stream as part of the boundary of New Hampshire. On the map Derrick wrote in the same color: "The blue ink marks the proposed conventional line. 14 July 1842."

July 14, 1842, was one day before Daniel Webster wrote his letters to the commissioners of Maine and to the commissioners of Massachusetts, enclosing a statement of the proposed line in almost the exact language of article 1 of the Webster-Ashburton Treaty.

Indeed, it is almost certain that July 14 was the very day on which verbal agreement was reached on the Northeastern boundary question between the two plenipotentiaries, Secretary of State Daniel Webster for the United States, and Lord Ashburton, Her Britannic Majesty's Minister Plenipotentiary on Special Mission, for Great Britain.

Ashburton reached Washington on April 4 and he was presented to President Tyler on April 6. Preliminary conferences followed, pending the arrival of the Maine and Massachusetts commissioners; Webster left Washington on May 12 and was absent until June 6; the commissioners of the two states arrived on June 11; in the first of the written exchanges, that of June 13, the opinion was expressed on both sides that so far as the Northeastern boundary question was concerned, "no advantage would be gained by reverting to the interminable discussion on the general grounds on which each party considers their claims respectively to rest"; but the correspondence did in fact tend to return to what Ashburton called "the endless and fruitless argument on the general question"; and in the last of that series of notes (July 11) he again suggested that the negotiations "would have a better chance of success by conference than by correspondence". The correspondence stopped and the conferences continued; but on July 13 Ashburton wrote to the Earl of Aberdeen, then secretary of state for foreign affairs, that agreement had not been reached, although he hoped that "two or three days more" would bring the two sides to a settlement.

July 14, 1842, is thus by the correspondence clearly indicated as the date when the minds of the negotiators met on the Northeastern boundary question; and the date on the copy of Dashiell's Map which William S. Derrick annotated makes the probability almost a certainty; it is not unlikely that the annotated map was prepared by Derrick for examination by the negotiators as showing the agreed line.

Washington, D. C.

HUNTER MILLER.

DOCUMENTS

How William James came to be a Naval Historian

THE following letter ¹ from William James to the First Lord of the Admiralty ² dated January 4, 1819 needs but little introduction. James's works ³ on the naval history of Britain during the period of the Napoleonic Wars form the basis of most subsequent writing on that subject. The consensus of opinion regarding his treatment of the War of 1812 was perhaps best expressed by Theodore Roosevelt when he wrote, of the volume which deals with the naval history of the war, "It is an invaluable work, written with fulness and care; on the other hand, it is also a piece of special pleading by a bitter and not over-scrupulous partisan".⁴ James appears to have gone out to the West Indies at an early

¹ Melville MSS., miscellaneous, now in the possession of the writer.

² Robert Saunders Dundas, 1771-1851, only son of Henry Dundas, colleague of the younger Pitt, created Viscount Melville 1802; succeeded his father as 2nd Viscount Melville 1811; First Lord of the Admiralty 1812-1830 (except for the period May, 1827-Aug., 1828, when the office of Lord High Admiral was taken out of commission and held by the Duke of Clarence, later William IV.); President of the Board of Control (for India) Apr., 1807-July, 1809, Nov., 1809-Apr., 1812, Feb.-Sept., 1828. See *D. N. B.*; Haydn's *Book of Dignities* (London, 1851), pp. 164, 186.

³ These are, in order of publication:

(a) *An Inquiry into the Merits of the principal Naval Actions between Great Britain and the United States comprising an account of all British and American Ships of War reciprocally captured and destroyed since the 18th of June, 1812.* Printed for the author by Anthony H. Holland, Acadian Recorder Office, Halifax, N. S., 1816.

(b) *A Full and Correct Account of the Chief Naval Occurrences of the Late War between Great Britain and the United States of America.* . . . (London, T. Egerton, 1817).

(c) *A Full and Correct Account of the Military Occurrences of the Late War between Great Britain and the United States of America.* 2 vols. (London, Black, Kingsbury, Parbury, and Allen, 1818).

(d) *Warden Refuted; being a Defence of the British Navy against the Misrepresentations of a Work recently published at Edinburgh . . . by D. B. Warden, late Consul of the United States at Paris* (London, Richardson, 1819).

(e) *The Naval History of Great Britain from the Declaration of War by France in 1793 to the Accession of George IV.* 5 vols. (London, Baldwin, Cradock, and Joy, 1822-1824).

⁴ Theodore Roosevelt, *The Naval War of 1812*, preface, p. iv. (1882 ed.). Cf. J. Russell Soley, *The Naval Campaign of 1812*, *Proceedings U. S. Naval Institute*, VII., no. 17, p. 306 (1881). "The principal history of the British navy during the wars of Napoleon,—from 1793 to 1815,—is written by a lawyer named James, and is a wonder of careful and minute research. In the volume on the American war, however, he has lost or sunk all sense of fairness or candor, and his bitter hostility to Americans, and especially to American naval officers, has made him rather the advocate of a cause than the annalist of a contest."

age to follow the legal profession for which he had been trained. When, in blissful ignorance of the adventures that were to befall him, he embarked for the United States en route to Upper Canada in the late spring of 1812, he had been for ten years enrolled among the attorneys of the supreme court in Jamaica and had practiced as a proctor in the vice-admiralty court.⁵ Of his life in the United States, Nova Scotia, and England during the next seven years, and of his desertion of the law for history on hearing of the *Constitution's* victory over the *Guerrière*, this letter gives a full and clear account. His achievements as a naval and military historian of the War of 1812 fully justified him in making this appeal to the admiralty for assistance. Precisely what the First Lord did for him does not appear, but one is led to infer that some sort of assistance was granted. In some manner, means were provided, either by the admiralty or by some one else,⁶ which enabled James to continue his work and to publish his *magnum opus* on the naval history of the whole period of the French Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars, the last volume of which appeared in 1824.⁷ He died in May, 1827, and his widow, a native of the West Indies, was granted a pension of £100 a year on the civil list.⁸

Harvard University.

HOLDEN FURBER.

WILLIAM JAMES TO THE FIRST LORD OF THE ADMIRALTY

2 G^t. William Street, Kennington.

4th January 1819.

My Lord,

Actuated by motives which will presently unfold themselves, an humble individual, in no other way known to your lordship than as the author of

⁵ Prefaces to James's *Naval Occurrences*, *Military Occurrences*, and *Naval History*; see also article on James in *D. N. B.*, and articles by H. Y. Powell in *Colburn's United Service Magazine*, Apr. and May, 1885.

⁶ It is indeed very probable that James received substantial assistance from Lord Melville. The first volume of the *Naval History* to appear was dedicated to him, and there is also among the miscellaneous Melville MSS. the covering letter which James sent to Lord Melville on Dec. 5, 1821, with "the first copy that has been put together [unbound] of my *Naval History*". James concluded this letter with a "sincere wish" that the work was "more deserving your lordship's patronage". At that time James hoped "to be ready with the concluding part in June or July, and then farewell to authorship". Contrary to his expectations, the work received so favorable a reception that, when it was finally completed nearly two years later, he was thinking of devoting his attention to the naval history of the American Revolution. See prefaces to the later volumes, also p. xxxvi of the 1878 edition.

⁷ Although these volumes made no pretense of presenting a connected story of the wars, their enduring quality is attested by a long list of editions, the latest in 1886, and the latest reprint in 1902.

⁸ See article on James in *D. N. B.*

two historical works, one on the Naval, the other on the Military Occurrences of the late American War, ventures, with all due deference, to submit his case to your lordship's consideration.

Driven by ill-health* from Jamaica, I arrived at Philadelphia, accompanied by my wife, early in July 1812, ignorant, till the pilot boarded the vessel, of the war just then declared against England. My destination was Upper Canada, and this the route I had unfortunately chosen. A rumour that a despatch-vessel, daily expected from England, would restore the amicable relation of the two countries, detained us some weeks. The despatches came, but their contents produced no pacific disposition in the American government. We were now ordered to report ourselves to the marshal of the district as alien enemies, and not to change our residence without leave.

Of a sudden burst upon us, like a thunderbolt, the capture of the *Guerriere*.⁹ Up to this moment, my lord, ships and their concerns had possessed little power to arrest my attention; and I was as ignorant about them, as a young Englishman, born and educated in an inland town, and brought up to the law, is generally supposed to be. But the capture of a British frigate by an American one gave a new direction to my thoughts; and ships and their concerns, ships of war in particular, I now studied with all the avidity of an enthusiast. A sentiment of patriotism, hitherto dormant, became roused into action, and soon reigned the master-thought of my mind. Not only did new instances, in quick succession, unfortunately occur to keep it alive; but the jeers and boastful taunts of those around me operated as a continual goad upon my feelings. It must have been an intellect much below mediocrity, that could fail to inform itself in a matter about which it was so ardently interested; but the misery was, that I had no means of applying the result of my labors to any immediate good purpose. My countrymen were either too indifferent, or too apprehensive, to listen to my calculations of relative force: nor would the press, from principle as well as policy, aid in giving currency to truths so unpalatable to the American public. On one occasion, however, I contrived to get introduced into the columns of a popular paper, a paragraph, (merely because it was a flat contradiction to a statement which had appeared in a contemporary journal of opposite political principles,) exhibiting the true comparative force in guns, men, and size, of the brigs *Boxer* and *Enterprise*; and I had afterwards the pleasure of seeing this very paragraph copied into several English and Colonial newspapers, as taken *from the lips of the enemy himself*.

During all this while I had not remained without persecution. I was called upon to take the oath of abjuration, and, owing to the interest of a newly-discovered friend in great favor at court, actually offered a lucrative situation; or, as the alternative, submit to be sent to Lancaster, 60 miles in the interior. I need not say, this caused not a moment's hesitation, and to Lancaster I went. My wife's indisposition, and the interference of one or two worthy quakers, obtained me leave to return to Philadelphia. Again I returned to banishment, and again I got back to the city, my own indisposition serving me the turn this time. I had, on several occasions, succeeded in dissuading my countrymen from renouncing their allegiance; but one who had rejected my advice, afterwards, I believe, assisted in betraying me. I let slip no opportunity of informing myself of the naval means of

⁹ August 19, 1812.

the Americans. I visited their dock-yards, discoursed with the builders, and inspected the frames of the *Guerriere*¹⁰ and *Franklin*,¹¹ *copying on my nails the tread of keel of each*. At last, suspicion was awakened, and persons connected with the government threatened me with being treated as a spy. As a proof in what light I was considered at Washington, (my *ci-devant* friend there having turned my bitterest enemy!) an order came to send me a third time to Lancaster, under fresh restrictions &c. It was now that I resolved to attempt my escape; and having arranged that my wife (who heartily concurred in the measure) should remain in Philadelphia, till she received accounts of my safe arrival at Halifax, Nova Scotia, I, on the morning of the 21st of October 1813, departed from Philadelphia, with five changes of linen in a small portmanteau, and about 200 dollars, in eagles and half-eagles, concealed about my person. The extraordinary adventures that befel me, the perils I encountered, and the narrow escapes of recapture which I in several instances experienced, have been often listened to by my friends with evident gratification; but, my lord, I too highly appreciate your valuable time to trouble you with the detail: suffice it, that on the 1st of November I arrived on board the *Valiant* 74, off New London, and was treated by captain Oliver¹² and his officers with the greatest politeness and attention.

Not all the caution which my perilous undertaking required, could deter me from ascending the New London river four miles, to take a view of the frigates *United States* and *Macedonian*, and sloop *Hornet*, nor from sitting at table (myself alone in plain clothes) along with the principal officers of all three ships, to gather what information I could; and this at a time when every sailor, soldier, and citizen of New London was on the *qui vive* after

¹⁰ The new *Guerrière*, 44 guns, then building at Philadelphia, launched 1814, broken up at Norfolk 1841. See G. F. Emmons, *The Navy of the United States from the Commencement, 1775 to 1853* (Washington, 1853), p. 12. James Fenimore Cooper refers to her as "the first frigate that had been put into the water, on the seaboard, by the American government, since the year 1801". *History of the Navy of the United States of America*, II. 196 (2nd. ed., 1840).

¹¹ The *Franklin*, 74 guns, then building at Philadelphia, launched 1815, sailed from Norfolk Nov. 24, 1817, arrived Portsmouth Dec. 16, 1817, Syracuse Jan. 29, 1818, New York Apr. 24, 1820; "Flag ship Commo. Charles Stewart, Mediterranean; carried out Mr. Rush, minister to England", Emmons, *op. cit.*, pp. 24, 86. See also *Monthly Review*, LXXXV. 313 (1818): "Every account shews us that they [the United States] are attentively and rapidly increasing their naval power; and the late exhibition at Spithead of their line-of-battle-ship, the *Franklin*, which brought over their minister to this country, as well as of the *Washington* in the Mediterranean, has amply proved their intention and their ability to send to sea vessels of this rate, peculiarly powerful in their armament and their crews." Cf. *Naval Chronicle*, XXXIII. 222, letter signed "Albion" Feb. 6. 1815: "I shall not be surprised to hear of an American ambassador landing at Portsmouth or Brest from a 98 gun ship, and a Decatur or a Bainbridge, perhaps a Rodgers, receiving admirals' salutes from an English or French flag in those harbours; this is likely soon to happen."

¹² Robert Dudley Oliver, 1766–1850, entered the navy 1779, commanded the *Valiant* 1810–1814; resigned and had no further service; promoted, rear-admiral 1819, vice-admiral 1830, admiral 1841. See *D. N. B.*

a certain spy reported to be in the town,¹³ On subsequently reaching Stonington, where I embarked for the *Valiant*, I examined the state of the defences, and afterwards offered my services to lead a party to the two spots where the guns were mounted: but circumstances did not admit of the attempt's being made. After a fortnight's stay with captain Oliver, I embarked in a prize-sloop, and having narrowly escaped, first famine and then foundering, arrived at Halifax.

May I so far digress, my lord, as briefly to relate how my wife contrived to rejoin me? My escape, as soon as it became known, raised a great stir in Philadelphia; and the fury of party compelled my wife to keep out of sight. Notice of my safe arrival reached her early in December; and about the middle of that month she quitted Philadelphia, with about 160 lbs. wt. of baggage, including my writing-desk, in the secret drawers of which were many important memoranda. Without a servant, she, a native of the West Indies, travelled through frost and snow, to New York, and thence to New-Haven, altogether about 200 miles. Here, at midnight on the 19th of December, she embarked on board an ostensibly Swedish brig; bound to Halifax. At 4 o'clock on Christmas morning the vessel struck on a rock off Cape Sable island, and soon afterwards filled and was lost, along with the whole of the cargo. The passengers, however, with a part of their baggage, (including my desk,) were saved. Passing over particulars that pain in the recollection,—in another fortnight my wife, in a very enfeebled state, met me at Halifax.

Anxious to publish the information I had at so much hazard gleaned respecting the actual force of the American ships engaged against ours, I applied successively to the three principal papers of Halifax, but found that all three editors were *Bostonians*, and rank republicans at heart. The fourth paper was edited by a native Nova Scotian; and he thankfully gave insertion to any article I sent. It now appeared that the greater proportion of the community was under the political thralldom of this American junto; (one of whose papers was the '*Royal Gazette*'); and I determined to try of what stuff the colonists in general were made, and whether, if necessary, I could not bring them to a proper detestation of the republican character; the only way, as I conceived, to make them loyal subjects. For this purpose I volunteered a part of my time and talents to the editor of the '*Acadian Recorder*'; and from 850 subscribers I, in about ten months, saw the number raised to 1500, without one farthing of emolument to me, or of expense to the proprietor. The three Americanised editors I frequently exposed to the ridicule and sometimes to the indignation, of the colonial public. On one occasion I proved that the editor of the '*Halifax Journal*' had copied into his columns from a Boston paper, without a word of comment, a gross libel upon the late Sir James Lucas Yeo,¹⁴ while other Boston papers of a date one day

¹³ See Benson J. Lossing, *War on the Coast*, no. vi in *Scenes in the War of 1812*, *Harpers Monthly Magazine*, Dec., 1863, p. 15; also Rev. E. W. Bacon, *New London and the War of 1812*, *New London County Historical Society Records and Papers*, vol. I. (1890), pt. 1, p. 102, "On the 27th of October, 1813, Decatur abandoned the fortification on Dragon Hill at Allyn's Point, prepared his ships finally for sea, and came down to New London again, anchoring above Fort Trumbull, and his movements, (says the *Gazette*) were observed by the enemy."

¹⁴ Sir James Lucas Yeo, 1782-1818, commodore and commander-in-chief of the British fleet on the Lakes. See article in *D. N. B.*

later, and which arrived by the *same conveyance*, contained a complete refutation of the calumny. In truth, I was the champion of the navy on every occasion.

That my accounts of the actions at sea might reach the British public, I transmitted some anonymous letters (as the only channel that then occurred to me) to the editor of the 'Naval Chronicle'. Finding afterwards that these had not been given entire,¹⁵ nor were likely to be generally read, I determined to publish a pamphlet, in my own name, at Halifax. I did so, at an enormous expense; dedicating the work to the loyal inhabitants of the provinces.¹⁶ It met with a most flattering reception, but was necessarily imperfect. In England only could I hope to give perfect accounts; but interest pointed to the share I had just been offered in the 'Acadian Recorder', and to other advantages likely to accrue to me from a residence in the colony. However, a something partaking of love of country and a desire for honest fame, carried me to England. On arriving here I labored hard, and corresponded in every direction, till I accumulated a mass of important materials. Not a soul but myself penned, or even overlooked, an original paragraph in the M. S. S. When it was complete I took it to a bookseller: he gravely assured me it came too late in the day to answer, and that all my reasoning would never remove the public impression respecting our naval failures. My ardor in the cause suggested a reply to both objections. I was then advised to carry it to the admiralty. "No", says I, "for, in that case, the public may consider the work as a party-thing, and the statements lose half their effect; while, as the act of a private individual, they will be read with attention, and tend, by degrees, to dispel the erroneous conceptions too generally formed on the subject." Was I not right, my lord?

At this time I had not a sufficiency of funds at command, and, owing to a 13 years' absence, no friend to whom I could apply for assistance. I was, however, not to be driven from my purpose. At a considerable sacrifice, I obtained paper and printing, and my naval work at last saw the light. It

¹⁵ These were printed in the *Naval Chronicle* as two letters both dated from Halifax and signed "Boxer", under the erroneous title A Synopsis of Naval Actions between the Ships of His Britannic Majesty and of the United States during the late War. [By a British Naval Officer on the American Station]. The first letter, dated March, 1815, consists of monthly installments appearing in the numbers for July through December, 1815, i. e., *Naval Chronicle*, XXXIV. 35, 131, 217, 295, 385, 466. The second letter, dated June 15, 1815, which deals only with the action between the *Endymion* and the *President*, is in the January number, 1816, i. e., *Naval Chronicle*, XXXV. 31. Selections from this Synopsis were reprinted and reviewed in the *American Analectic Magazine and Naval Chronicle*, VII., VIII. (1816). When paying his respects to this review, in the preface to his *Military Occurrences* dated May 16, 1818, James himself could give no explanation of the British *Naval Chronicle's* error; he refers, p. xii, to the Synopsis as "consisting of extracts from a series of letters, signed 'Boxer', forwarded by the author, (but who had neither designated himself as, nor can claim the honour to be, 'a British naval officer') from Halifax, Nova Scotia; and becoming, afterwards, the groundwork of the author's pamphlet in Halifax, and subsequent volume in this country". Admiral Mahan quotes the Synopsis as written by a British officer without any reference to James's authorship; see Mahan's *Sea Power in its Relations to the War of 1812*, II. 260, n. (Boston, 1919).

¹⁶ *An Inquiry into the Merits of the principal Naval Actions*. For full title, see above, note 3, (a). More actions are dealt with in this pamphlet than in the Synopsis, but in substance the two are much the same.

was not long afterwards that I received, through Mr. Croker,¹⁷ from the honorable board at which your lordship presides, the gratifying communication that my statements were accurately drawn up: a communication most liberally accompanied by an order for 40 copies of the work. After some considerable delay I got ready the military companion to my naval volume. Here I not only readily obtained the honorable the lords of the admiralty as subscribers for 20 copies, but your lordship (to whom individually after what the honorable board had done, I could not venture *specialty* to apply) was pleased to honor my list with your name also.

Even on getting this second work to press I experienced considerable difficulties, especially as no monies were yet due to me on account of the first. To the latter, although, as I have informed your lordship, published at my sole expense and risk, I was, out of deference to a very powerful body of men to poor tyro-authors, compelled to affix a bookseller's name as the publisher. Chance conducted me to Mr. Egerton's, and his respectable name is on the title-page of the naval work. Conceiving that Mr. Egerton, as an avowed military bookseller, would readily engage in publishing my military work, I applied to him on the subject. He stated that, as a particular friend of his, and a half-brother to the late Sir George Prevost¹⁸ had expressed much displeasure at the freedom with which I had commented upon that officer's military character, as affected by the Lake Champlain action, he had promised that his (Mr. Egerton's) name should not appear as the publisher of the second or military work; particularly, if anything further was to be brought forward against the late governor-general. Of course I could not pledge myself to that.¹⁹ This was a very awkward circumstance; on more accounts than one: however, I at last succeeded, in much the same way as I had done before, in getting paper and printing; and, when the

¹⁷ John Wilson Croker, 1780-1857, secretary to the admiralty 1809-1830, better known as author, politician, and diarist.

¹⁸ Sir George Prevost, 1767-1816, governor of St. Lucia 1798, Dominica 1802, Nova Scotia 1808, governor-general and commander-in-chief in British North America 1811-1815. See *D. N. B.* Because of his Swiss origin he was peculiarly suited to the task of conciliating the French Canadians. Though quite successful as a civil administrator, he was lacking in resolution as a military commander. His personal interference, as commander-in-chief, in the naval campaigns on lakes Ontario and Champlain gave rise to a bitter controversy. See *Quarterly Review*, XXVII. 405 (July 1822), review of *The Letters of Veritas, containing a succinct Narrative of the Military Administration of Sir George Prevost during his command in the Canadas; whereby it will be manifest that the Merit of preserving them from Conquest belongs not to him* (Montreal, 1815); answered in *Some Account of the Public Life of the Late Lieutenant-General Sir George Prevost, bart., particularly of his Services in the Canadas; including a Reply to the Strictures on his military Character, contained in an Article in the Quarterly Review for October, 1822* (London, printed for T. Cadell, 1823). Sir John Fortescue gives a judicial estimate of Prevost's services in his *History of the British Army*, X. 134-135. See review in *Canadian Historical Review*, II. 284; also Sir Charles Lucas, *Canadian War of 1812*, p. 20.

¹⁹ James's violent and outspoken treatment of certain officers provoked at least one other controversy. There is also among the Melville MSS. a pamphlet, printed privately and signed by its author, entitled *A Brief Statement arising out of a passage contained in the third volume of James's Naval History of Great Britain on the conduct and character of Lord William Fitz Roy, in the year 1805* (London, 1823).

work was ready, Mess^{rs}. Black and Company, with two other booksellers,²⁰ willingly consented to appear on the title-page.

Now, my lord, permit me to offer a few words upon the works themselves. Your lordship may have remarked that a great proportion of the military work contains naval matter. This happened, not only from the difficulty, nay impossibility, of serving the two services, when engaged in conjoint operations, but because answers to some queries which I had long since put to certain officers, unexpectedly reached me after the publication of the work they had been intended for. My desire to do every justice to a subject which had engaged my maiden labors as an author, determined me to incorporate my newly acquired naval materials into my military publication.

Your lordship will scarcely need to be reminded that the accurate and intelligent David Hume says,—“There is a natural confusion attending sea-fights, even beyond other military transactions, derived from the precarious operations of winds and tides, as well as from the smoke and darkness in which everything is there involved; no wonder, therefore, that relations of these battles are apt to contain uncertainties and contradictions, especially when compared by writers of the hostile nations, who take a pleasure in exalting their own advantages, and suppressing those of the enemy.” (*Hist. of England*, vol. 7. p. 507. 8vo. edit. 1778.) I hope, my lord, that my first work has in part refuted this charge against Naval History, and proved, that method, clearness, and impartiality, may unite in elucidating the account of a sea-fight, to whatever degree obscured by slovenly writers at home, or by unprincipled ones abroad. Henceforth, no naval historian will dare to describe a battle, without shewing the exact force in weight of metal, men, and size, of the contending ships, and without submitting to his reader, the enemy’s, as well as his own account of the transaction. In addition to my having been the first, by endeavours to reconcile conflicting statements, to set an example of impartiality, that great desideratum of history, I pique myself not a little, my lord, upon the plan by which I have exhibited the comparative force in every naval action, a plan that has carried conviction to the general reader, and been highly approved, I feel proud in saying, by naval officers of the first rank and distinction. It is this ‘cyphering business’ that has so kindled the wrath, and still defies the ingenuity of the American people.

Your lordship will not, I hope, consider me as prizing my naval work too highly, when I avow a belief that it has, to the full extent of its circulation, wrought a change in the public sentiments as to the merits of our naval actions with America. Many persons, utter strangers to me, have declared that, although they had sat down to the book with their national self-love sadly depressed by what they had previously read and heard on the subject, they had risen from the perusal of my work, with feelings heightened to their wonted pitch of veneration for our wooden walls, and of pride in the country to which they owed their allegiance. Among others, one distinguished officer, sir Christopher Cole,²¹ who, though a stranger to me, is

²⁰ James Richardson, Cornhill; and John Booth, Duke Street, Portland Place.

²¹ Sir Christopher Cole, b. 1771, entered the navy 1780, took a prominent part in the naval operations in the Persian Gulf and in the Dutch East Indies 1803–1811, knighted 1812, honorary D. C. L. Oxford 1812, K. C. B. 1815; commanded the *Rippon*, 74, 1813–1815; M. P. Glamorganshire 1817–1820, 1820–1826, 1826–1830. See Edward Osler, *Life of Admiral Viscount Exmouth* [Sir Edward Pellew] (London, 1835), app. F., pp. 407–412.

doubtless well-known to your lordship, in reply to my printed application for his name as a subscriber to my military work, writes thus of my naval one:—"I offer you my thanks as a seaman for the able manner in which you have combatted the vanity of our opponents, and the prejudices and ignorance of many of our own countrymen on that subject."—On the other hand, my lord, the Americans are exasperated beyond measure at the truths I have divulged. Far from attempting to disprove my statements, they are contented with libelling my character. One editor having christened me *Robert*, another finds out that "about 19 years ago Robert James was sentenced to the New York state-prison at hard labour for life on a conviction for forgery, but was afterwards reprieved by the governor;" and at once identifies this reprieved felon as the author of the "Naval Occurrences". Hence all the other journalists, from Georgia to Maine and from the coast to Illinois, gladly copy a paragraph thus conclusive against a writer, who had treated their 'heroes' with so little ceremony, and made a laughing-stock for Europe of themselves and their naval triumphs. Even recently, the United States' government-paper, the 'National Intelligencer', has renewed its abuse; and, although several copies of the work are in America, begins an article against me with—"These Alias Felons".²² The way in which a strict regard to truth compelled me to speak of the late sir George Prevost has provoked one of his friends in Quebec to fill six columns of the 'Quebec Gazette' with abuse against the two works and their author, as well as against the late Sir James Yeo. The writer, although he admits that the Canadian campaigns are upon the whole correctly detailed, is malicious enough to extract every sentence at all likely to irritate the feelings of an American. The consequence is, that these strictures, long as they are, appear in the New York papers; and that the discovery of my real Christian name, far from softening my doom, does but bring down upon me additional anathemas.—In short, my lord, the key of the republic of America is for ever turned against me: nor would my person be safe in any neutral place, to which Americans usually resort.

As it was not till a year and a half subsequent to the termination of the war with America, that my naval work made its appearance, it may be reasonably concluded that, had I not written upon the subject, no other person would. In that case, my lord, is it too much to say, that the naval character of our country would not have stood so high as it now does? The partial effect that would have been produced by any set of statements, how

²² The story that James was a "horse-doctor" is apparently of later origin. James Fenimore Cooper, replying to an article in the *Edinburgh Review* for Apr., 1840 (LXXI. 120), which had criticized him for paying no apparent attention to James's works in his *History of the Navy of the United States* (1839), thus referred to James. See *United States Democratic Review*, May, and June, 1842 (new series, X. 411, 515). These articles, contemptuous and unrestrained in their abuse of James, are unsigned and written in the third person, but the editor's note admits Cooper's authorship. Consequently, the story found its way into Thomas R. Lounsbury's *James Fenimore Cooper* (1882), p. 206, and is repeated in the recent life of Cooper by Henry Walcott Boynton. See H. W. Boynton, *James Fenimore Cooper* (New York, 1931), p. 302. Cf. article on James in *D. N. B.* "It was falsely asserted that James was an American by birth, that he had been guilty of felony nineteen years before, had been condemned and reprieved, and was now seeking a base revenge on his injured country. Later writers of repute have repeated the baseless slander, with the addition that he was a veterinary surgeon, or 'horse doctor'".

accurately soever prepared, issuing from, or under the avowed auspices of, your lordship's honorable board, may be taken from the alacrity shewn by the American journals abroad, and the 'Morning Chronicle' here, to charge the "Naval Occurrences" with being an 'Admiralty production'. That the writer is in no way connected, either with navy or army, evinces the disinterestedness of his labors, and must add weight to his arguments. Even the dedication, my lord, I would not allow to betray a bias in the cause for which I wrote. My friends importuned me, but I was invulnerable. Each gallant officer²³ to whom my works are inscribed tells me he considers it as the highest compliment paid to his professional character: beyond that gratifying assurance I have nothing to expect; nor, indeed, am I personally known to either.

At last, my lord, I come to the gist of my long address to you; and, to augur from the state of perplexity toward which my thoughts now unhappily seem verging, I dread being less intelligible than I could wish, or than the importance of my case demands. Your indulgence, my lord, I therefore solicit, while I hasten to relieve your lordship's condescending attention by bringing my letter to a close.

In paper, printing, and publishing, my two works have cost me upwards of 1300^l. of which sum 580^l. attach to the naval work. About 700 copies of the latter have been *bona fide* sold, which, at 14^s/3^d each, (selling price 20s/), return me, or rather will return me when all the money is got in, 498^l. Of the remaining 800 copies, out of 1500, the number published, about 100 (including those for stationer's hall) have been given away; about 200 are distributed for sale, and may be in part disposed of; and the remaining 500 are in the printer's warehouse. Of the military work, of which 1000 copies were printed, about 650 have been *bona fide* sold; about 50 given away, and the remaining 300 are distributed for sale, part of them abroad. About 60 of these 650 copies have been paid for at the selling price, 30s/; the remaining 590 copies will, by *October next*, have put in my hands at 18^s/9^d each, £273:2:3; which sum, added to 90^l. for the 60 copies sold at full price, makes 363^l.: the two sums of 498^l. and 363^l. making 861^l. out of the 1300^l. But my actual receipts do not exceed 420^l., of which I have paid, on account of the naval work, about 200^l. and none yet, though in a few days 60^l. will be due, for the military work.

Your lordship will not require to be told, that the technical and other knowledge displayed, as I flatter myself your lordship will admit, in my two works, could not be attained by an unprofessional man without almost a total devotion of his time and talents to the subject, and that for no short continuance. Permit me here, my lord, to quote the words of the 'Monthly Review' for March last, (a review whose political feelings must have created a prejudice against me,) on the merits of my naval work: "It affords a really uncommon instance of patriotic labour and industry, as well as of

²³ James dedicated the *Naval Occurrences* to Sir Philip Bowes Vere Broke, 1776-1841, captain of the *Shannon*, 38, 1806-1813; captured the *Chesapeake* in the famous action off Boston Light June 1, 1813; baronet Sept., 1813; K. C. B. 1815; rear-admiral 1830. See *D. N. B.* He dedicated the *Military Occurrences* to "Lieut.-Colonel John Harvey, C. B., Deputy-Adjutant-General of His Majesty's Forces in the Canadas", who led the successful British assault at "Stoney Creek, in Upper Canada" on the night of June 5, 1813.

knowledge on a professional subject attained by an unprofessional man.”²⁴ This and every other review of my naval work unhesitatingly pronounces the author to deserve well of his country. That I sacrificed my own interest on two particular occasions, I trust I have already shewn to your lordship; and how many other opportunities might have presented themselves, had not my mind become callous to every consideration unconnected with, or seemingly hurtful to, the grand project I had in view? I had, when I arrived in England, in June 1816, but 50^l. in my possession, and was implored both by my wife and my father, not to publish any work, but to try to advance myself in my profession. With my father I unhappily quarrelled on the occasion, and he now half-jeers me for the *successful* issue of my plans. At one time I was nearly committing the whole manuscript to the flames, and how far I was discreet in desisting yet remains to be decided. From June 1816 to this date is 2 years and a half; which at only the half-pay of a lieutenant, 7s/ a day, would make 340^l. As I was born, brought up, and ever accustomed to live, as a gentleman, I leave your lordship to judge whether the maintenance of myself and wife may not have exceeded, rather than have fallen short of that sum. I trust this will sufficiently account to your lordship for my having paid but 200^l. toward the expences of my works. In short, my lord, I stand indebted, (I allude to what is, and has long been, *actually due*,) on account of my work on the ‘Naval Occurrences’, 380^l.; and am, I grieve to say, beholden for my personal liberty to the indulgence of my printer and two other persons. Had I possessed an annual stipend, sufficient, with a small sum of my wife’s, to have maintained us decently, I should have had no occasion to draw upon those funds strictly applicable to the expences of my two works. Even now, my lord, had I, and could I shew that I had, another fund to apply to for that which we none of us can do without,—food, fire, and clothing, I believe I could persuade my creditors, or rather the works’ creditors, for I have none others, to wait till the copies were all, or nearly all, disposed of, and the proceeds in hand.—Am I asking too much, my lord, in soliciting from your lordship, as first lord of the admiralty, as head of that noble service whose cause I have so zealously, and it *has* been said so ably advocated, some situation or appointment, suitable to my abilities, as displayed in my two works, and to my character for integrity, as ready to be vouched for by those even to your lordship not unknown? I desire not to eat the bread of idleness, nor to tax my country as a pensioner; but wish for full employment for my time, and, what may be considered an adequate remuneration.—My lord, without your timely assistance, or without assistance from some quarter, I see the brink of ruin before me.—Let me not have cause to rue the day,—that on which the *Guerriere*’s fate first sounded in my ears,—when I allowed to insinuate itself into my mind, a sentiment, which from that moment commenced its importuning influence, and continued it, with accumulated force, till it usurped the whole thinking faculty, even to that instinctive motive of self-interest, so necessary to all who would either be honest or independent. My very professional studies, during five long years so plodded over by me, and so expensively paid for by my father, have had nearly the whole of their traces washed out from my memory by this absorbing sentiment: so that, my lord, had I friends to set me up, and capital to

²⁴ See *Monthly Review*, LXXXV. 315 (March, 1818).

proceed with, my inexperience alone, thus brought about, would incapacitate me from acting.

But, my lord, should the usual catastrophe, as, if not averted, it undoubtedly will, attend my distresses, would mine be all the disgrace? Would not the publicity which I could not prevent convey disrepute to my works? Then the terms—'Needy wretch', 'hireling scribbler', and so forth, would attach with some force to the author, and a change be effected in the public opinion of which I dread even to think. On the other hand, my lord, my application, at this late day, if happily successful, would only shew that I had been rewarded for what I *had* done, and not paid for what I *was* to do; and, so engrafted into the system of Britons is love for the navy, that the most violent oppositionist would never begrudge the author of the 'Naval Occurrences' the recompense which it is in your lordship's power, as head of the navy, to award to him.

To your lordship I respectfully submit my case, and, with no slight anxiety, shall await a reply.

In the meantime,

My lord,

I have the honor to subscribe myself,

Your lordship's most obedient

and very humble servant,

WILL^M. JAMES

To/

The Right Honorable

Viscount Melville

First Lord Commissioner of the Admiralty

REVIEWS OF BOOKS

BOOKS OF ANCIENT AND MEDIEVAL HISTORY

The Early Age of Greece. By SIR WILLIAM RIDGEWAY, Sc. D., F. B. A.; Hon. LL. D., Hon. Litt. D. Volume II., edited by A. S. F. Gow and D. S. ROBERTSON, Fellows of Trinity College, Cambridge. (Cambridge: University Press; New York: Macmillan Company. 1931. Pp. xxviii, 747. \$11.00.)

EVERYWHERE in this long collection of addenda to Ridgeway's first volume is ample evidence of his immense learning and of the acumen that led him among the first to the solution of the "Mycenaean" problem. There is no less evidence of an aversion from drudgery that prevented him from condensing, organizing, and tying up loose ends. The reader soon perceives why Ridgeway was unable to complete the work in the twenty-five years (1901-1926) between the appearance of the first volume and his death.

The editors very properly, in fact of necessity, have issued the text with a minimum of change or emendation; as it stands it is the author's own. Most of it was not only written but actually in type in 1901. Sporadically, where some new investigation aroused the author's interest or seemed to threaten his thesis, new material was added—one can scarcely say incorporated—but in the main the work presents the viewpoints and data associated with the close of the century, when Evans's Cretan discoveries were in their earlier stages and as yet only sketchily reported. And yet, if we leave aside the use of the term "Pelasgian", the assumption that "Aryan" implies racial unity, the insistence that the Hellenic invaders were invariably tall and fair and Teutonic, the belief that the indigenous Ægeans used an Indo-European tongue, and that the Dorians were non-Hellenic, we shall find the solution of the basic problem substantially in accord with the views that now hold the field.

The coherence of a study that ranges back and forth over the whole field of European prehistory lies in the attempt to classify all known peoples and cultures in two sharply defined groups, one tall, blond, strictly monogamous, with agnatic organization, male succession, and Victorian sex-morality, the other short, dark, polyandrous, matriarchal, with a distinct tendency toward promiscuity, while both use Aryan languages. Thus, wherever Ridgeway finds blonds, he feels called upon to establish the presence of his other criteria; wherever he finds little dark people, he is at pains to show they spoke an Aryan tongue. This accounts for many of his excursions; others originate in his theory that both types are variations in a single race, induced by dif-

ferences of environment. Quite typical is the section on the history of epidemics (pp. 280-288), evoked by Lankester's generalization that man has risen superior to his environment.

Ridgeway is at his best when subjecting the views of opponents to the test of rigorous logic. As examples we have attacks on Frazer (pp. 183 ff.) and Gilbert Murray (pp. 130, 133-134, 142), and a notable interpretation of the trial scene from the *Iliad* (pp. 360 ff.) where he argues against Leaf. Of the voluminous literature of controversy to which this passage has given rise, he apparently ignores all that was not published in the past century and in English. Yet his interpretation is correct, in my opinion, on every mooted point, and his marked acumen flashes out in the argument over ἀναίνωμα (pp. 364 ff.), the comment on ἰθὺντατα (pp. 362 f.), and the clear recognition (pp. 369 f.) of the fact that this is not a "meeting" convoked for a trial, but simply a scene from "the daily life of the Agora," a view first set forth in print, I believe, by myself (*Proc. Class. Assoc.*, XVIII. 93, n. 2, 1921). The contrast between the religious ideas of the Homeric poems and of the classical literature is properly emphasized (ch. III.), though not all the inferences can be accepted.

Like most of us, Ridgeway does not always hold himself to the standard he demands of others. A few examples only may be given. The Phoenix and Laertes episodes (pp. 14-17) show a wife's dislike, not society's disapproval, of concubines; the statement that Erinyes "follow the father rather than the mother" (p. 15) ignores completely *Odyssey* ii. 135 and *Iliad* ix. 571; the interpretations of Æschylus's *Suppliants* (p. 128) and *Eumenides* (pp. 61 ff., 355 ff.) are forced and fanciful; Helen is in one place the typical Pelasgian heiress (pp. 107 f.), in another the typical Achæan wife (p. 131); in the arguments for polyandry among the Dorians (pp. 135 f.) is an obvious misconstruction of Xenophon *Respublica Lacedæmoniorum* i. 9; prenuptial chastity of Spartan girls is certainly not proved by Euripides *Andromache* 595 ff., or by Plutarch's *Lycurgus* xiv (p. 137). Leaving aside such minutiae, sources from all periods are cited indiscriminately; the extremely complex evidence from cremation is unduly simplified; the early dating of the Hallstatt culture will not stand; the linguistic arguments are inadequate, usually taking the form of polemic against opponents who are not experts. Quite often the discussion resolves itself into a succession of controversies where all that comes to hand serves as ammunition. Despite the defects and the amorphous character of the work, it makes interesting reading and scholars who cannot learn from it will be few. It is well that it has been published.

University of California.

GEORGE M. CALHOUN.

The Treasurers of Athena. By WILLIAM SCOTT FERGUSON, McLean Professor of Ancient and Modern History, Harvard University. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1932. Pp. ix, 198. \$4.00.)

"THIS is a work for specialists." So Professor Ferguson prefaces his book on the administration of the treasury of Athena. In large measure the criticism is true, for the evidence on which he bases his conclusions is for the most part highly technical. Still students of Athenian history cannot afford to neglect the book, for from it one gets for the first time a detailed and concrete picture of the financial embarrassments of Athens in the last years of the Peloponnesian War.

Professor Ferguson bases his study mainly on epigraphical documents which have long been known, though many of them have been incorrectly dated and improperly interpreted. Records of 410/9, for example, show that the large reserve of currency, equal to the total wealth of Attica, with which Athens had begun the war, was now exhausted. Payments made during this year were all from current income. The accounts of the following year show that Athens had attempted during the course of 410/9 to build up a new reserve, but expenses were too heavy to permit the realization of this plan, as we learn from the financial records of the years immediately following.

During the first part of the Peloponnesian War payments had been made in Athenian silver coins, but when once the reserve of Athenian silver neared exhaustion, recourse was had to Cyzicene and Lampsacene staters, and other expedients were used to finance the government and the fleet. Finally when money and bullion were gone, Athena's treasury was stripped of the offerings which Athenian piety had bestowed upon the goddess. The gold and silver crowns and sacred vessels which had accumulated year by year in the chambers of the Parthenon went into the melting pot, along with similar treasures belonging to other gods and several statues of Nike made of gold. From the metal Athens struck her first gold coins. Even this was insufficient, and at last Athens issued silver plated silver tetradrachms; and after Aegospotami records identified by Professor Ferguson show that the treasurers issued doles of grain to the impoverished population. The general outline of this story has long been known, but Professor Ferguson's keen analysis of the inscriptions has given to it greater precision and greater detail. One cannot read his chapters on this period without realizing the magnitude of the efforts made by Athens.

After the war the annual inventories of the treasurers of Athena and the other gods show how little remained in the temples. The chryselephantine statue of Athena in the Parthenon, one gold Nike weighing about two talents, and a few miscellaneous items, chiefly articles which were unmintable, remained of the wealth which once had belonged to Athenian divinities.

During the war there had been two boards of sacred treasurers, one for Athena and one for the other gods; but when their treasures were sent to the melting pot, one board sufficed. Professor Ferguson has at last estab-

lished the date of this amalgamation, the summer of 406. The new board remained in charge of the two treasuries until 385 when the two boards again appear. In Professor Ferguson's discussion* of the treasuries of the fourth century we see how rapidly ancient temples became cluttered with miscellaneous public and private offerings. Within thirty years after the Peloponnesian War Athens made room for new offerings by transforming gold crowns and other gold dedications into a second gold Nike. Silver offerings had also found their way to the melting pot whence they emerged as sacrificial vessels. After another generation the operation was repeated.

It is worth noting here that there are still a few unpublished fragments of Athenian treasure records, one of them being in Professor David Robinson's collection at Johns Hopkins University. Although none of them is likely to upset Professor Ferguson's major theses, the recent identification of a fragment of a late fifth century Parthenon treasure record has led me to review the evidence for his views about the publication of the Parthenon inventories after 412/1. At present I am not convinced of the correctness of his conclusions, particularly when he identifies as the first inventory of the joint board of Athena and the Other Gods an inscription in Attic script written on the reverse of one of the tablets used by the old board of Athena's treasurers. Such a mixing of records is unparalleled, and furthermore the new amalgamated board showed a decided preference for the use of Ionic script, as Professor Ferguson has conclusively shown. Not the least of the contributions in this volume is his proof that certain documents previously assigned because of their Ionic script to the period after Eucleides and printed in the second volume of the *Corpus* on that account must be transferred to the first volume. Now that Professor Ferguson has prepared the way, other documents can be likewise transferred.

The University of Cincinnati.

ALLEN B. WEST.

Tax Lists and Transportation Receipts from Theadelphia. Edited with Introduction and Notes by WILLIAM LINN WESTERMANN, Professor of Ancient History, Columbia University, and CLINTON WALKER KEYES, Associate Professor of Greek and Latin, Columbia University. [Columbia Papyri, Greek Series, no. II.] (New York, Columbia University Press. 1932. Pp. xi, 219. \$6.00.)

THE documents in this volume date from the second century of the Christian era and come from the files of the record office at Theadelphia. Numbers 1-3 deal with the collection of the *laographia* and the minor taxes associated with it at the time. Two of these documents are ledgers arranged in alphabetical order, and are sufficiently preserved to determine the number of Theadelphians subject to the poll-tax at that period as approximately seven hundred and fifty. In many details these records resemble the ledgers of the

syntaximon from Philadelphia published in P. Princeton 8 and 9, and tend to support the theory for the identity of these taxes which Keyes advocated in the *American Journal of Philology*, LII., pp. 263ff.

The new ledgers furnish important evidence about the so-called double dating for which no satisfactory explanation has yet been found. The editors of the Columbia papyri think that in all cases of double dating the taxpayer paid his tax early in the month, but did not receive his receipt until the 30th. This explanation has many difficulties. In the first place, such a system would undoubtedly lead to grave abuses. If the peasant received no receipt at the time of payment, the possibilities of double exactions would be too great for an unscrupulous tax collector to resist. The edict of the prefect (P. Fay. 21) ordered receipts to be given for all payments presumably, though not expressly stated, at the time of payment. Secondly, if such a system had been in use, we should expect to find some notation in the daybooks of the collectors which would indicate to the compiler of the ledger that the receipt had been deferred. There is no such indication in any extant daybook and, furthermore, it is difficult to comprehend why such an entry should be made in the ledger in any case. Some of the receipts show the double dating but Wilcken has pointed out that these dates run all the way from $\lambda \alpha$ to $\lambda \lambda$. In the latter case one would have to assume that the man paid his tax on the 30th and obtained his receipt later in the same day. In W. O. 1251, the date Μεσορὴ $\lambda \alpha$ ἐπαγ () ε would, according to this theory, mean that the receipt was issued on the 31st (?), and the actual payment was made some days later. If these are examples of double dating there seems to be no logical reason why such entries should appear in receipts or ledgers. The government was not interested in a report giving the date of the issue of a receipt. It seems to me that we should seek some explanation of these curious entries which takes into account their presence in a government report. I suggest the following theory. The so-called double dates are found frequently in ostraca usually with λ followed by a numeral. In the papyri we find λ or $\lambda \mu$ (or $\mu\epsilon$) followed by a numeral as in P. Princeton 8 and 9 and in P. Ryl. 190, or $\epsilon\nu\tau$ () or $\mu\epsilon\tau$ () followed by a numeral as in P. Col. 2. In all cases these abbreviations are found either in receipts or ledgers of Roman times between 30 and 152 A. D. The only exception that I have noted may be found in a daybook of arrears (P. Princeton 1. col. III.11). To discover the explanation of these entries we must consider the coinage of Egypt. The silver tetradrachm seems to have been the standard currency which the government exacted in the payment of the head tax. There was current, however, a bronze or debased currency ($\chi\alpha\lambda\kappa\alpha\iota$ or $\theta\upsilon\pi\alpha\rho\alpha\iota \delta\rho\alpha\chi\mu\alpha\iota$) which seems to be more common and in almost every account of wages the peasant was paid in the debased coinage. The rate of exchange between the silver and bronze fluctuated from time to time as is well known. The best example of the variation may be found in

the big farm account published in P. Lond. I. 166ff. where the rate of exchange varied from month to month. In the reign of Hadrian there was probably a similar variation in the rate of exchange and this seems to be indicated by P. Giss. 47 (Wilcken. Chr. 326) ll. 28-29, probably on account of the rumors of a Jewish uprising. Since the peasant was usually paid in bronze, it is probable that he tendered the same coin to the tax collector. In such cases he was required to pay the rate of exchange current at the time for conversion to the silver standard. Thus in W. O. 505, 506, V. O. 189, 190 payments of four drachmas in debased currency and four obols for exchange (κέσμα) were made. If the exchange was not paid at the time it was either collected later (e.g., W. O. 507) or the debased currency was converted into silver at the prevailing rate. Such conversion is frequently indicated in the receipts by the formula αἱ κ(αί). The phrase μετὰ λόγ(ον) in P. Fay. 53, 54 simply means that the individual paid his tax in debased currency which, *after computation of the rate of exchange current at the time*, was equivalent to the amount of silver drachmas stated in the receipt. Since the rate of exchange varied from time to time, it is evident that the tax collector who received debased currency at a lower rate might easily be in danger of losing a considerable sum if he had to settle his accounts with the government at a higher rate of exchange. If the situation was reversed the collector might make a fair profit. In view of the difficulties of taxgathering, it seems to be a fair assumption that the government protected the collector against loss in the matter of exchange since he accepted payments in good faith at the rate of exchange prevailing at the time. But in a year of fluctuating exchange it would be reasonable to suppose that the collector kept two accounts, one for payments at the normal rate, and one for the abnormal rate of exchange. When the receipt was issued he indicated that this record would be found in the latter account by the symbol λ() which should not be regarded as a numeral meaning the 30th of the month but as λ(όγος) or 'account book of abnormal exchange'. Similarly, when the ledger or report to the government was prepared, these payments were indicated so that his final settlement would be clear. If we had the final page of the ledger it is very probable that some statement would be given which would indicate the amounts paid at various rates of exchange. Possibly the puzzling entry at the end of P. Princeton 14 may be explained in some such way. I suggest, therefore, that λ() or λ() μ() or λ() μετ() should be interpreted as λ(όγος) μετ(ἀλλαγῆς) 'the account of abnormal exchange'. The term εντ(), which appears for the first time in the Columbia ledgers, should be restored as ἐν τ(ῷ) (λόγῳ) and interpreted in the same way.

P. Col. 4 is evidently a part of the same roll as Frisk, *Bankakten aus dem Faiyum*, 1. The receipts contained in this roll furnish important information about the transport of grain for the *annona*. It is unfortunate that the editors of each fragment were unaware of the existence of the other, as the

two pieces supplement each other. A comparison of the two will enable us to correct and to supplement the reading, especially of proper names, in each document. P. Col. 6 may be better interpreted in the light of *Stud. Pal.* XXII. 165. The latter is evidently an *epibole* of deserted land imposed upon villagers of Socnopaei Nesus who pay a fixed tribute of wheat, onions, and vegetables. The Columbia document is evidently a daybook of a similar kind.

These six documents yield important information about economic and administrative problems in Roman Egypt. In a book so handsomely printed and admirably edited it is a minor criticism that in the Greek text all accents were omitted. The editors are to be congratulated in making a notable contribution to papyrological studies.

Princeton University.

ALLAN CHESTER JOHNSON.

Histoire du Moyen Age. Tome II., L'Europe Occidentale de 888 à 1125.

Par AUGUSTIN FLICHE, Professeur à l'Université de Montpellier.
[Histoire Générale, publiée sous la Direction de Gustave Glotz, Membre de l'Institut.] (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France. 1930. Pp. ix, 672. 60 fr.)

M. FLICHE has organized his material in three parts. Part I., which deals with the period following the disintegration of the Carolingian empire (888-962), contains chapters on the vain efforts at imperial restoration during the age of Charles the Fat, on German, French, Italian, and papal history during the ensuing period, and on the Ottonian imperial revival. The section ends with a detailed description of the seigniorial régime, chiefly in tenth century France.

Part II. concerns itself with the period from 962 to 1125. Introductory chapters on the German empire from Otto I. to Henry IV. and the Danish empire of Canute are followed by an excellent discussion of the eleventh century struggle between the royalty and baronage. On this subject, however, one may well hesitate to accept M. Fliche's too sweeping generalization concerning the universal triumph of the feudality at mid-century (p. 334). This exaggeration is particularly noticeable in the case of the Franconian empire, for which the author has always manifested a strange lack of appreciation. His previous publications on the *Pregregorians* and the *Gregorian Reform* displayed a decided sympathy for the papal cause. In the volume under consideration, likewise, the reviewer feels that, although M. Fliche tells the truth, the papal truth is set forth with "the enthusiasm of a convinced partisan", while the imperial truth is treated with unwarranted skepticism. For instance, his dark-hued portraits of Conrad II. (pp. 257 ff., 311 ff.), Henry III. (pp. 266 ff., 313 ff.), and Henry IV. (pp. 362 ff.), contrast sharply with the brighter and better balanced pictures given by such

scholars as Ephraim Emerton, James Westfall Thompson, and the foreign contributors to the *Cambridge Medieval History*. It is in chapters IV., The Liberation of the Roman Church, and VI., The Struggle between the Priesthood and the Empire, that M. Fliche displays both the bulk of his own scholarly research and also his most noticeably pro-papal bias. Even in his account of the last tragic episode of bitter disillusionment in Henry's life, M. Fliche has no word of sympathy or appreciation. His Henry moves off the stage, as he entered it, a one hundred-per cent. villain. Gregory's death, on the contrary, is memorialized by a page of well deserved tribute. Part II. also contains chapters (more valuable, because more objectively historical) on eleventh century England and France, and on the early Crusades.

Part III., entitled Occidental Civilization during the Tenth and Eleventh Centuries, is a well-balanced survey of the constructive factors in medieval life, but exaggerates on the one hand the darkness of the tenth century, and on the other the renaissance of the eleventh. Page after page containing marginal headings on the "Renaissance" of things "Economic", "Commercial", "Maritime", "Urban", "Religious", "Juristic", "Intellectual", "Literary", "Artistic", and "Sculptural", give one the impression that the scholars of Quattrocento Italy are being surreptitiously deprived of their birthright. Henry Osborn Taylor has, we believe, rightly urged that historians "get rid of epochs and renaissances—Carolingian, Twelfth-Century, or Italian" (*The Medieval Mind*, I. 211). M. Fliche, it seems, would contribute still another "renaissance" to the already overstocked market. The volume has a few typographical errors of minor import. It contains several excellent word portraits (e. g., of William IX., p. 649; of Robert the Pious, p. 324; of Theophano, p. 218). It must be said, on the whole, however, that this work adds little historical information to that already available in reliable works in English, and the partisan attitude on papal-imperial affairs forces the intelligent reader to accept with reservations many of the author's conclusions.

The University of North Carolina.

LOREN C. MACKINNEY.

Abhandlungen zur Rechtsgeschichte: Gesammelte Aufsätze. Von HEINRICH BRUNNER. Herausgegeben von KARL RAUCH. Two volumes. (Weimar: Hermann Böhlau Nachfolger. 1931. Pp. vi, 722; vi. 672. 39.50 M.; 35.50 M.)

BEFORE the scholars of the new generation interested in constitutional and legal studies, the figures of Theodor Mommsen and Heinrich Brunner loom up like the giants of a saga. And I suppose it might be appropriate to complete a trinity by including Sir Paul Vinogradoff as well, though he wandered farther from institutions at times, faring into the realm of political theory. Since the war, attention has been redirected to Brunner's work

through the publication of the much-needed second edition of the second volume of his *Deutsche Rechtsgeschichte* by Baron von Schwerin in 1928. The volumes now under review are further evidence of this revival of interest. The editor of these miscellaneous papers, Karl Rauch, states that his work represents a fulfillment of Brunner's plan which had been to publish two volumes of collected papers following the completion of the second edition of both volumes of the *Rechtsgeschichte*. Brunner died in 1915 after seeing the first volume through its second edition in 1906, but leaving the remainder of his project to be carried out by Schwerin and Rauch. These papers constitute, in the main, a continuation of the *Forschungen zur Geschichte des Deutschen und Französischen Rechtes*, published in 1894, and include a wide variety of material which had appeared as studies, articles, and book reviews in numerous periodicals over the entire period of Brunner's long productive career.

The first volume is divided into three sections, devoted to constitutional history, diplomatics, and the history of legal sources. Among the more useful papers in the first section are his article on Schwurgericht, appearing in Holtzendorff's *Rechtslexikon* (1876), and the long study on Sippe und Wergeld nach Niederdeutschen Rechten in the *Zeitschrift der Savigny-Stiftung* (Germanistische Abtheilung) in 1882. In the third section may be noted the studies dealing with the date of the *Lex Alamannorum* from the *Sitzungsberichte der Berliner Akademie der Wissenschaften* (1885) and the date of the Salic Law and *Pactus pro Tenore Pacis* from *Zeitschrift der Savigny-Stiftung* (1908). The second volume contains four sections: law of inheritance, *Totenrecht*, addresses and obituaries (of Homeyer, Richtigshofen, and Boretius), and notes and reviews.

We may congratulate Rauch for making accessible in convenient form this collection of scattered papers, many of which are contained in the journals of learned societies not available to scholars of limited library facilities, written by the master whom Ernst Heymann has called "einer der hervorragendsten Rechtshistoriker aller Zeiten". This has been accomplished with a minimum of editorial revision, while the pagination of the original journals of publication has been retained in the margins. We still await a third edition of the first volume of the *Rechtsgeschichte* to bring the Brunner renaissance to its culmination.

The Rice Institute.

FLOYD SEYWARD LEAR.

Le Speculum Perfectionis, ou Mémoires de Frère Léon sur la Seconde Partie de la Vie de Saint François d'Assise. Par PAUL SABATIER. Tome II., *Étude Critique*. Publié avec une Introduction par A. G. LITTLE. [British Society of Franciscan Studies, volume XVII.] (Manchester: University Press. 1931. Pp. xxxvi, 278. 15 s.)

IN writing his life of St. Francis, Sabatier relied chiefly on the tradition due to Brother Leo found in the Legend of the Three Companions. Our Latin text is only a fragment of the original written by Leo, Angelo, and Rufinus in 1246, and it shows evidence of interpolation and mutilation. The account of the last six years of the saint's life is missing, suppressed, as we may believe with Sabatier, in the interest of the rival official biographical form which has its final outcome in the account by Bonaventura (1263). On the search for these missing chapters Sabatier extricated from the disordered contents of a late compilation (*Speculum Vitae B. Francisci*) and other documents a work written by Brother Leo very soon after the death of Francis. This is the *Speculum Perfectionis* which Sabatier published in 1898 as the *Legenda Antiquissima* claiming precedence over all other accounts. In the following year an ancient Italian version of the Legend of the Three Companions of 1246 appeared, showing the lost chapters in a form corresponding to parts of the Mirror of Perfection. The date for the latter was given precisely by a manuscript in the Mazarin Library in Paris which records its completion on May 11, 1227. Later, however, Sabatier found in the Ognissanti Convent in Florence a manuscript including the *Speculum* with the colophon May 11, 1318, a date which gave comfort to the opponents of Sabatier's critical views and sharpened investigation.

Results justified a version of the Latin text and Sabatier's second definitive edition was issued in 1928 by the British Society of Franciscan Studies. All the critical discussion appears now in this separate volume edited by A. G. Little. The English editor, an expert in this field, thinks that the *Speculum* had suffered more revision than Sabatier admits, but holds it as proven that a great part of it was written by Leo soon after Francis's death and he predicts that the battle of the critics will end in essential victory for Sabatier. As for the date 1227, Sabatier rested his judgment more on internal evidence than on the colophon of the Mazarin manuscript.

Sabatier failed to write for this book the introduction planned, but some fragmentary outlines of it are offered. Then comes minute description of the eleven manuscripts on which the text of the *Speculum* is based, and following that, 130 pages of critical notes on some of its chapters.

Of special interest in the appendix is a collection of varying manuscript texts of the Saint's great Hymn of Praise. A marvelous alphabetical index not only lists names of persons and places but linguistic terms specially used by the *Speculum*, this for help to the student who would compare the style of related documents.

This work records the lifelong devotion of a scholar to his cherished subject and it excites our veneration.

Lowell, Massachusetts.

F. A. CHRISTIE.

Alien Merchants in England, 1350 to 1377: their Legal and Economic Position. By ALICE BEARDWOOD, B.Litt., D.Phil. [Monographs of the Mediaeval Academy of America, no. 3.] (Cambridge: Mediaeval Academy of America. 1931. Pp. xii, 212. \$4.00.)

THIS excellent treatise observes almost too closely the limitations of time and subject matter indicated in its title. It forms a reliable and essential link in the history of aliens in England, but, as Dr. Beardwood herself remarks, its value will be understood best only "when it can be compared with conclusions drawn from other periods". It is a cross section, not a study of historical development. The years chosen, probably wisely, are somewhat static in character. They give an opportunity for a study of the more normal conditions that followed the innovations of the preceding half century, and the disturbances of the early part of the Hundred Years' War. The material used is contained in the relevant printed sources and in a great many unprinted documents, carefully and accurately studied, such as customs accounts, memoranda rolls, plea rolls, and chancery miscellanea. Perhaps a reasonable concession to the uninitiate would have been some words regarding the general character of the sources. Very little use is made of local records.

It is true that the study of the period chosen does not yield spectacular results, but there are many matters of great interest and importance considered. Our faith in the general integrity of the English government, for example, is strengthened by learning that Edward III. and Richard II. actually reduced their debt to the Bardi from over £93,000 to over £31,000 at the time of cancellation. The enumeration of foreign towns from which alien merchants came, and of the English towns they visited, is of interest, but it is a disappointment that Miss Beardwood's careful researches have revealed no satisfactory lists of the names or numbers of aliens. The general impression is of their active participation in mercantile life and also in the administrative work of the government. There is evidence of the inevitable struggle between two enfranchised groups, the foreign merchants, on one hand, with royal charters conferring privileges of trade, and the local town governments, on the other, with charters permitting them to regulate their own affairs, chiefly through their guilds. The actual amount of trade in the hands of aliens during the period is estimated in general as one-third of the wool carried, that "sovercine marchandise et jewel" of the realm, the chief article of export; one-fourth to one-fifth of the wine imported, and one-fifth of the English-made cloth exported (1350-1360). "At no time during our period did aliens threaten the supremacy of English merchants in the English foreign trade."

On the legal position of aliens, assured by charters, statutes, treaties, and personal letters of protection, Miss Beardwood has thrown new light. The

discussion of the acquisition of citizenship and denization needs perhaps for greater clarity the addition of evidence from a later period. More satisfying are the conclusions with regard to the access of aliens to the courts. With the partial exception of the Hansards they had in England no courts of their own, but the evidence given in this treatise shows that they had free access to the English courts of common law, a matter on which there has been some question. In the years under consideration sixty cases are cited from the rolls of the King's Bench in which aliens appear both as plaintiffs and defendants, and in a few of which both parties to the suit are aliens. In the hope of speed in settlement, however, and because aliens were under the king's protection, much of their litigation was carried on before the council or at the exchequer. The chapter on aliens before the council has appeared elsewhere, but its value is enhanced by being placed in its proper setting. The intricate procedure and slowness of the law, the interrelations of courts, the use of a writ of subpœna are interestingly shown in the case cited of the attack of the mercers of London on the Lombard merchants in 1357. The able tracking down of this long and involved case through some of its hitherto unknown ramifications is a good example of the results that can be attained by a careful comparative study of the records of various courts. The reader is led to hope that Miss Beardwood will continue her researches into the later period, and that she will use especially the wealth of material so little touched which lies hidden in the rolls of the common law courts and other courts where aliens appeared.

Mt. Holyoke College.

N. NEILSON.

BOOKS OF MODERN EUROPEAN HISTORY

Henry VII's Relations with Scotland and Ireland, 1485-1498. By AGNES CONWAY, M. A., Associate of Newnham College. With a Chapter on The Acts of the Poynings Parliament, 1494-1495, by EDMUND CURTIS, M. A., Professor of Modern History, Trinity College, Dublin. (Cambridge: University Press; New York: Macmillan Company. 1932. Pp. xxxi, 260. \$5.00.)

THE title of this book gives a fair indication of its contents. It contains altogether only 143 pages of text, the balance consisting of illustrative documents. So far as Scotland is concerned, it covers the period between the death of James III. and the marriage of his son, James IV., to Margaret Tudor. It contributes a few details to the tangled history of that tangled period, discusses the evidence relative to a Scottish contingent in Henry VII.'s army at Bosworth, discloses the fact that Henry was constantly intriguing with rebellious factions in Scotland, and by calling attention to serious blunders in the dating of Scottish documents in Rymer's *Foedera*

corrects prevalent misconceptions about the order of events in Anglo-Scottish relations during the first ten years of Henry's reign. But the sum total is not great and might have been got into a review article without crowding.

The more valuable parts of the book are those dealing with Irish affairs. Here the interest centers around the deputyship of Sir Edward Poynings and his successor, the eighth Earl of Kildaire. Its independent value is derived from a careful examination of the accounts of Henry's Irish fiscal agents, particularly those of William Hatcliffe. The relevant figures are printed at length in the appendixes. In this connection, the author has been at pains to prepare a complete bibliography of the extant account books of Henry's Treasurers of the Chamber, which Professor Newton has taught us to regard as the basis for any adequate study of Henry VII.'s finances. The final chapter by Professor Curtis supplies a lucid explanation of the work of Poynings's parliament with supporting appendixes in which the acts of that parliament not printed in the Irish *Statutes at Large* (and only twenty-three out of forty-nine are printed there), are collected and set forth, many of them *in extenso*.

There can be no doubt that Miss Conway has done a useful piece of work, and particularly in her appended documents has made a definite contribution to the knowledge of her subject. The only serious blunder to be noted is in an appendix (xli) on Henry VII.'s council in which she has apparently confused K. C.'s with P. C.'s in her enumeration of 172 councillors of the king. It is a pity that she has been so ready to accept and to act upon Bishop Stubbs's dictum that anything about Henry VII. is bound to be dull. Professor Fisher and after him Miss Temperley, to say nothing of Sir Francis Bacon, have made it abundantly clear that the good bishop was nodding at the time he spoke. But the stigma which he impressed remains; and Miss Conway, notwithstanding many entertaining interludes in the pursuit of her material, ranging all the way from swans nesting in a moat to uninspired motor thieves (preface, p. vii), has presented her findings in a form which goes far to justify it.

Philadelphia.

CONYERS READ.

St. Philip Neri and the Roman Society of his Times, 1515-1595. By LOUIS PONNELLE and LOUIS BORDET. Translated by RALPH FRANCIS KERR, of the London Oratory. (London: Sheed and Ward. 1932. Pp. xxiv, 609. 16s.)

THIS life of St. Philip has been brought to completion by two French priests, neither of whom had any connection with the Oratory. The Abbé Ponnelle commenced the research and had written some five chapters when

the war came. He was lost in the battle of the Somme in 1918. The work was finished and published by his friend, the Abbé Bordet.

One may well apply to their production the adjective which they bestow upon an earlier life of the saint, namely, sterling. Seldom does one find such an attractive combination of ransacking research and literary grace.

The saint is portrayed against the background of the Roman society of his times. A veritable panorama unrolls of popes and cardinal nephews, penitents and religious orders, heretics, humanists, doctors and incurables, literati, beggars, and bandits. Among them all I was most attracted by the Church historian Baronius, the many editions of whose ponderous tomes have lately been plaguing the cataloguer of religion at the Yale library. A footnote informs us that the docile Caesar would gladly invite any revision of his own style, but flatly refused to permit any tampering with the Latinity of his quotations. And what a picture of the savant in his apron washing dishes, and inscribing in charcoal above the chimney piece, "Caesar Baronius, coquus perpetuus"!

But I must not feature the sidelights. St. Philip is the subject of the biography. An astonishing and intriguing saint he is, who might well capture even a Goethe. Buffoonery and holiness lie side by side, or rather in intimate conjunction. To steady himself for the terrific ordeal of saying mass he would prepare by listening to the reading of facetiae. He had small use for physical austerities, but to humble his spirit would practice all manner of eccentricities provocative of derision, and lest Baronius be unduly elated over the great success of the *Annales* encouraged another member of the Oratory to publish a catalogue of errors.

The miracles of the saint are treated with great reserve. Not even the judgment of Pope Benedict XIV. is allowed to settle the question of what happened. But in spite of the restraint as to facts, the whole outlook of the authors moves in the region of a sharp dualism between the natural and the supernatural. They do not realize that if the supernatural be that which inspires awe and wonder, then for the modern the natural has become the supernatural. Neither do they call in the assistance of the psychology of religion for the understanding of the saint. Comparisons there are with kindred types within the Catholic fold. But illuminating comparisons might readily have been introduced with the Anabaptists, Quakers, and Methodists. *Mais qu'est-ce que vous voulez?* After all this is hagiography.

I am not in a position to exercise control over the facts except at the fringes of the study. I wonder whether there may not be an influence of the Spiritual Franciscans discernible in the fact that the saint around 1536 broke off his studies and sold all of his books. He had just come under the influence of the Capuchins. Now recent research has demonstrated that some at least in this body regarded themselves as the successors of the

Spirituals. (See Frédégand Callaey, *L'Infiltration des Idées Franciscaines Spirituelles chez les Frères-Mineurs Capucins au XVI^e Siècle*, *Estratto dalla Miscellanea Francesco Ehrle*, I., 388-406, Rome, 1924.) In any case the influence was but fleeting. St. Philip later advised Baronius not to join the Capuchins.

The letters of Olympia Morata referred to on page 508, note 2, are now available in *Scrittori d'Italia, Opuscoli e Lettere di Riformatori Italiani del Cinquecento*, edited by Giuseppe Paladino, vol. II. (Bari, 1927).

Yale University.

ROLAND H. BAINTON.

L'Église Réformée de Paris sous Louis XIII, de 1621 à 1629. Par JACQUES PANNIER, Pasteur, Docteur en Théologie, Docteur ès Lettres. Tome I., *Rapports de l'Église et de l'État, Vie Publique et Privée des Protestants*, etc.; tome II., *Pièces Justificatives*. (Paris: Librairie Ancienne Honoré Champion. 1931, 1932. Pp. viii, 635; 181. 90 fr.)

THIS is the third part of Dr. Pannier's great work on the Protestants of Paris from the reign of Henry IV. to 1660. When he began his task more than twenty years ago, the author had hoped that it would be a time of peace and fruitful labor. Alas, even in the period now under discussion, the beginning, 1621-1622, marks the years of fear and trouble following the destruction of the Temple at Charenton, while at the end, 1627-1629, are the years of the siege of La Rochelle and of a mounting hostility against the Protestants throughout the kingdom.

Dr. Pannier, himself a Parisian pastor and proud to be a spiritual descendant of the Huguenots, leaves his readers in no doubt of his sympathies, and in support of his attitude he quotes the words used by Bossuet in the *Variations des Églises Protestantes*: "De faire le neutre ou l'indifférent à cause que j'écris une histoire, ou de dissimuler ce que je suis, quant tout le monde le sait et que j'en fais gloire, ce serait faire au lecteur une illusion trop grossière."

Perhaps it is necessary to take so positive a position in order to make possible the arduous researches of a lifetime. On the other hand, the author's sympathies quite naturally color his historical judgments. M. Pannier emphasizes the loyalty to the king of the Paris consistory. The governing body of the Paris church did not support Soubise's uprising in 1625, nor did it declare a fast of thanksgiving to celebrate the arrival of Buckingham's fleet at the Isle of Rhé. Again and again the Huguenot pastors expressed their loyalty to the throne. And yet, to the author it is merely "curieux" (I. 50) to find that in 1622 one of the Paris pastors, Durant, then in exile in Sedan, was entrusted with the written pledge of Bouillon and Trémouille to go to Rohan's aid in the south (I. 50, II. 5). The praises of Bouillon are sung because in 1621 he gave refuge to the pastors and some of their flock when

they feared a repetition of the massacre of St. Bartholomew. This seems to be enough to dismiss the charges made not only by Richelieu but by modern historians that he was an intriguer and trouble maker.

On the theological side, too, Dr. Pannier shows his colors. In 1629 the pastor Drelincourt published a book entitled *Le Combat Romain ou Examen des Disputes de ce Temps*, in which, in ten special chapters, he sought to prove that the doctrines of the Catholic Church were contrary to each of the Ten Commandments. "Ici encore nous retrouvons la clarté de la méthode de Drelincourt", remarks Dr. Pannier (I. 546).

If the reviewer has emphasized the partiality of Dr. Pannier, it is only to throw into relief the great merit of the main portion of his labors. The leaders of the church, their characters, their writings and sermons are vividly and sympathetically portrayed. Daillé appears to be the most tactful. Preaching on the feast day of the Conception of the Virgin Mary, he spoke as follows: "Si vous n'êtes pas obligé à adorer une personne, ce n'est pas que vous ayés droit de la mépriser. *Il y a un milieu entre ces deux extrémités, que vous tiendrés si vous estes sages*" (I. 227).

All classes of society were represented in the membership of the Paris church, the grand seigneurs, La Force and Châtillon, parliamentary families, secretaries of the king, and royal physicians. Men of letters were numerous. The French style of Drelincourt and Daillé was highly praised by their contemporaries. Letters weakened the barriers of religious prejudice. Balzac and Daillé exchanged their books. The salon of Mme. de Loges was a meeting place of literary men, both Catholic and Protestants, and, as Malherbe wrote: "Mme. de Loges ne me fait pas aimer l'hérésie, mais elle me la fait moins haïr" (I. 342).

At the head of the Protestant artists stands Solomon de Brosse, architect both of the rebuilt Temple at Charenton and of the palace of the Luxembourg. Dr. Pannier has devoted one of his most interesting chapters to the new Temple which was completed in 1624 and then destroyed in 1685 following the revocation of the Edict of Nantes. There were many Protestant painters but little of their work is extant. We are more fortunate in having the fine engravings of Abraham Bosse.

As one might expect, the Huguenots played an important part in the industrial and commercial life of the city. There were a number of Protestant publishers and printers, and, as Dr. Pannier observes, their presses contributed even more to the spreading of Protestant thought than did the pulpit of Charenton. The author lists a number of the trades and a few names of manufacturers, though here more research will be necessary to complete the economic activities of the Protestants. In the financial world, two Protestant families were prominent, Rambouillet and Tallemant.

Dr. Pannier has succeeded amply in his object. Thanks to him we know

the lives and works of the Paris Huguenots. We hope that the volumes completing his task will soon appear.

Princeton University.

E. A. BELLER.

The Company of Scotland trading to Africa and the Indies. By GEORGE PRATT INSH, M. A., D. Litt., F. E. I. S. (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1932. Pp. 343. \$4.00.)

DR. INSH has made a notable addition to the literature of Scottish colonial undertakings. It is a fitting sequel to his short study of *Scottish Colonial Schemes* and the fruition of the work which he did in the preparation of *Darien Shipping Papers*.

The story of this trading and colonizing company is an interesting study. The influence of so far-reaching a venture as that of the African and Indian Company did not lose its significance because of its lack of success. The tragedy of its failure left its mark on two continents, and affected materially both the time and terms of the union of England and Scotland. Previous writers on the Darien Company, as it later came to be called, have given less attention to the political and economic condition of England and Scotland at the close of the seventeenth century than has Dr. Insh. It is well that he has done so. The setting of the stage makes the drama which followed easier to understand. Born of the desire of a group of London merchants who were not sharing in the profits of the East India Company, it was finally made an exclusively Scottish undertaking through the commercial ambitions of Edinburgh and Glasgow merchants. The great venture of the company was the attempted settlement of a Scots colony on the Isthmus of Darien, a spot selected most ill-advisedly by Paterson and his associates. They were carried away with Paterson's eloquence and the apparent logic of their own great conception of Darien as the trading center of the New World. That Spain was the titular owner and that England and her West India possessions were unlikely to be friendly to an unwanted competitor were facts ignored. Madrid could not be expected to endure with complacency a settlement within territory to which she had more than a colorable legal claim. The opposition of the English, which handicapped the trade of the colony, weak administration, insufficient and poorly selected supplies, and, finally, the armed intervention of the Spanish, brought both the first and second expeditions of the company to disastrous ends. The fleets which had sailed from Scotland amidst unparalleled enthusiasm suffered on a scale both heroic and pathetic; one vessel only of the first expedition returned to Scotland, and of the second expedition none survived to reach home.

The company did not neglect altogether the plans of its promoters as to

trade with Africa and the East. The accounts of the few voyages undertaken are adequate and of particular interest, not only to historians but also to those book collectors who possess some of the many small contemporaneous books and pamphlets dealing with the *Darien* venture and with the incident of the *Worcester* and Captain Thomas Green.

Dr. Insh has been thorough in his references and footnotes. His citations are almost invariably to original records. He has been most generous in his notation of the work done by others. The wealth of detail in regard both to events and persons makes the book of value to students of the period outside of its particular subject. Without sacrificing its value as an accurate historical record Dr. Insh has made his account sufficiently colorful to give it, in places, what may be called "atmosphere". Whether the limited opportunity to do this, permitted by the nature of the work, made it worth doing, is perhaps uncertain. The value of the book to the student of history is not lessened thereby.

Boston.

FRANCIS RUSSELL HART.

Nantes au XVIII^e Siècle: l'Ère des Négriers, 1714-1774. D'après des Documents Inédits. Par GASTON-MARTIN, Agrégé d'Histoire et de Géographie, Docteur ès Lettres. [Bibliothèque d'Histoire Contemporaine.] (Paris: Félix Alcan. 1931. Pp. 452. 70 fr.)

THE first section of M. Gaston-Martin's volume consists of a lucid, thorough, and illuminating account of the nature of the slave trade carried on by the merchants of Nantes, "la ville des négriers". Since Nantes held in the French slave trade a position comparable to that of Liverpool in the English trade, or perhaps that of Newport in the commerce of Rhode Island, it is scarcely necessary to apologize for the devotion of one stout volume to this branch of the commerce of a single city. Here one finds material on the size, equipment, and cost of the vessels employed; the character, training, duties, wages, and mortality of captains and crews, surgeons and chaplains; the nature and value of the cargoes carried to Africa; the methods of insurance and of business organization; the length and the dangers of the voyages; the barter on the African coast; dealings with native rulers; prices paid and received; and innumerable other details of the commerce, interesting and often elusive. In short, it would be difficult to think of any question pertaining to the slave traffic on which the author has not extracted material from his documents. These documents, certainly one of the most valuable existing series for the study of this subject, consist of 787 reports of slave vessels, a dozen journals, and some thousands of miscellaneous items, all deposited in the archives of the admiralty of Nantes. From his exhaustive study of this storehouse the author has

created a pattern of the trade which applies not only to the French slave trade in general but in large measure to that of England and in a lesser degree to that of America.

The second part of the volume presents a history of the Nantes traffic between 1714 and 1774. M. Gaston-Martin's account begins at the moment when the *assiento* had passed from the French to England and ends with the period at which the trade in negroes ceased to be the all-important trade of Nantes. The confused history of the French African companies is clarified and our knowledge of it considerably extended by this section and portions of part III.; the vicissitudes of the Nantes slave traffic are related to the general history of the eighteenth century; and the importance of this traffic in determining Anglo-French relations during the century is given due emphasis. Part III. deals with the legal sanctions and regulations of the commerce, the duties or exemptions from duties which called forth frequent jealous complaint from the English, the controversies between privileged companies and separate traders, the friction between the French Antilles and the home country. The author concludes with a brief consideration of the business prosperity and the social and political prominence of the Nantes merchants who engaged in the trade in negroes. The pages are occasionally enlivened by facsimiles from the manuscripts on which the work is based.

The bibliographical note affixed gives a brief but useful survey of the work of M. Gaston-Martin's predecessors in this field and a valuable list of the manuscript materials from which the present study has been drawn. To the contributions of this author and to those of such scholars as M. Léon Vignols and M. Henri Sée students of economic history are heavily indebted for the rapid enrichment of our knowledge of the eighteenth century. To that knowledge the present volume is no small addition.

Wellesley College.

ELIZABETH DONNAN.

The Journal of Jeffery Amherst, recording the Military Career of General Amherst in America from 1758 to 1763. Edited with Introduction and Notes by J. CLARENCE WEBSTER, M. D., D. Sc., LL.D., F. R. S. C. [The Canadian Historical Studies.] (Toronto: Ryerson Press; Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1931. Pp. xxiv, 341. \$7.00.)

IN 1923 the late Lord Amherst presented to the British War Office the splendid collection of Amherst Papers now listed as W. O. 34 in the Public Record Office. Two years later he unearthed at Montreal House, Sevenoaks, Kent, a second miscellaneous lot, and it is from this second collection, still in private hands, that he permitted Dr. Webster to publish that part of the journals of Jeffery Amherst which concerns his service in North America. The volume is a handsome one, profusely illustrated with maps and por-

traits. Some of the latter, such as the portrait of James Abercromby, are here reproduced for the first time. Dr. Webster has been content to limit both the introduction and notes to biographical information, and has not attempted to supplement the journal with references to printed or unprinted source material.

The journal itself is somewhat disappointing. Though it fills three hundred printed pages, two hundred and seventeen pages are devoted to a daily record of the three campaigns from May 25 to December 12, 1758, from April 28 to December 11, 1759, and from May 9 to November 2, 1760. There are only five entries for the first three months of 1759, and only three for the same period in 1760. Sixty-one pages cover the years from 1761 to 1763. We are left in as much mystery as ever as to Amherst's activities during the winter, and his relations with colonial governors, and with the civilian population. This journal is primarily military, a story of the progress of his campaigns. We are already familiar with the main outlines of that story as Amherst saw it. He customarily sent his dispatches to England in the form of excerpts or abridgments from his journal, and roughly two-fifths of the information he set down for his three major campaigns can be found in Miss Kimball's edition of the *Correspondence of William Pitt with Colonial Governors*. Nevertheless, it is useful to have both the letters and the journal on the same subject, for a comparison between the two sometimes reveals what facts a commander in chief thought it politic to suppress. For example, the entry in the letters for September 15, 1758, when Amherst was at Boston preparing to march his troops post-haste to Abercromby's assistance, states simply, "I halted to settle everything for the March". But the entry in the journal supplies a reason: "The troops remained encamped on the Common of Boston where Thousands of People came to see them and would give them Liquor and make the men Drunk in Spite of all that could be done."

In other respects also, the journal, though incomplete, is a welcome addition to the printed source material of the Seven Years' War. There is useful information here about the disposition and the comparative merits of individual regiments, both British and provincial. The latter almost invariably performed the fatigue work, clearing roads and building forts. With a wealth of detail Amherst described the difficulties accompanying the campaigns, and the entries from June 18 to August, 1759, and from June 23 to August 1, 1760, are particularly valuable, for they were inadequately summarized in his dispatches home. His complete failure to understand Indian character, which made him slow to appreciate the gravity of the Pontiac uprising, appears in a number of scattered comments. Occasionally Amherst wrote his opinion of individual officers, and Whitmore, Bradstreet, Loring, and Stanwix, among others, left in his estimation something to be desired.

The student interested in a particular person, however, will not easily forgive the scantiness of the index.

Yale University.

STANLEY M. PARGELLIS.

Le XVIII^e Siècle Breton, autour des États et du Parlement: Correspondances Inédites de MM. de Robien et de la Bellangerais, 1765-1791.

Publiées par A. LE MOY, Docteur ès Lettres, Professeur d'Histoire au Lycée David d'Angers. (Rennes; Librairie Générale J. Plihon. 1931. Pp. viii, 388. 50 fr.)

TWENTY-THREE years ago, M. Le Moy published his two excellent volumes on *Le Parlement de Bretagne et le Pouvoir Royal au XVIII^e Siècle* and *Les Remontrances du Parlement de Bretagne au XVIII^e Siècle*. Since that time, he has published a number of studies and volumes of sources relating to the life of Brittany in the eighteenth century; the present volume is the last of these. It contains the correspondence of two Breton gentlemen, living in Paris, addressed to M. Coniac, living at Rennes. The first group of letters, written by M. de Robien, half-brother of Coniac, covers a period of five years, May, 1765-July, 1770; the second by M. de la Bellangerais, a lifelong friend of Coniac, beginning with 1775, ended in the year of his death, 1791. M. de Robien was a *procureur général syndic* of Brittany and in that capacity resident in Paris at this period. His correspondence deals with the notorious affair between the Duc d'Aiguillon and the parlement of Rennes. Both he and his half-brother were supporters of the duke and their fortunes were involved in the outcome of the struggle. His correspondence contains valuable information concerning what was taking place at Paris and Versailles and, indirectly, by references to the letters of Coniac, to events in Brittany. Unfortunately the letters of Coniac to Robien and to Bellangerais have not been preserved. These letters of the *procureur général syndic* are valuable not simply for the light they throw on the notorious D'Aiguillon affair, but also on account of the insight they afford us of "les mœurs des gens en place", to use an expression of Mirabeau. No secondary narrative can take the place of these *lettres intimes*, full of the flavor of contemporary life and making clear as no other sources could do the profound gulf that separates the political life of France in the eighteenth century from that of the twentieth. Although the letters of Bellangerais contain matter on the affairs of Brittany, they have little in common with those of Robien and approach life from quite a different angle. He held no official position, took no part in politics, but lived in Paris the retired life of an unmarried man of moderate means and a cynical spectator of human affairs. In his youth, he had been a roystering blade, but after sowing his wild oats, he seems to have recovered his balance and showed more consideration for social proprieties, even though he

discovered no deep significance in human existence. Until the end of his days, he remained a good deal of a wag, unable to restrain himself even in the face of death. Writing to Coniac, announcing the death of an acquaintance, he said, "S'il est aussi contrariant en paradis, qu'il était ici, il secouera un peu la monotonie de l'éternité". Writing of the death of a relative he said, "Il n'a pas l'extérieur pour lui, mais c'est un homme d'un vrai mérite. Je n'en dirai pas l'éloge, si je ne l'en croya pas digne, car la parenté ne me prend pas à la gorge". He was a good bit older than Coniac, had been hostile to D'Aiguillon and evidently the two men had lost touch for a number of years, yet when the correspondence had once begun, it ripened into a strong friendship. In 1786, he wrote to Coniac, "I have no longer a relative or friend in Rennes. Without you, I should be alone in the world." The correspondence is much to the credit of both men; it reveals a fine side of the French character in the eighteenth century, that is lacking in most studies of the period. Unfortunately, M. Le Moy does not give us the complete correspondence of Bellangerais, due to the fact, evidently, that he is chiefly concerned with what the letters contain on Brittany. It would be well worth while to publish *in toto* the letters for the years 1787 to 1791. For 1789, they contain accounts of the famous days of June 20 and 23 and a letter of four pages on the days of October 5 and 6, but M. Le Moy has not reproduced them. Nevertheless, here are two collections of letters no student of the Revolution can afford to miss.

The University of Nebraska.

FRED MORROW FLING.

Stanislas de Clermont-Tonnerre et l'Échec de la Révolution Monarchique, 1757-1792. Par CHARLES DU BUS, de la Bibliothèque Nationale, Docteur ès Lettres. (Paris: Félix Alcan. 1931. Pp. xix, 524. 80 frs.)

THERE are all the elements of a great tragedy in the career of Stanislas de Clermont-Tonnerre. Handsome, generous, and beloved, he took his stand at first beside the reformers, conspicuous among them by his ancestry and eloquence. But the Revolution soon overtook him; and his stout championing of English ideas, which had made for him stanch enemies on the Right, soon appeared to his allies on the Left likewise as treason. The Club Monarchique, whose founder he was in fact if not in name, was despised by the die-hards and persecuted by the radicals. The National Assembly, which had honored him as much as any other leader in the beginning, paid little heed to what he said after the first six months. The constitution it produced found no more severe or intelligent critic than himself, nor was any intrigue to overthrow the new government more dangerous than that which was plotted with his connivance. But again events marched faster than he; and he died a victim of the Tenth of August.

A dramatist seeking to portray the havoc of conflicting loyalties in a

noble soul could hardly have invented a better rôle. Pirandello might have done justice by such a character in search of an author. But M. Du Bus is no Pirandello. To be sure, his all too frequent allusions to the boding future—the armies waiting in the wings, the quarter-century that was to elapse before the ideas of “notre député” were to be appreciated, and similar clichés—make clear that he recognized the drama of his story. There are, however, two essentials of good tragedy which M. Du Bus lacks. These are a sense of form and a decent sympathy for his character.

M. Du Bus's idea of form is exclusively chronological. No matter how obviously two events, separated by a third in time, may hang together in logical sequence, M. Du Bus inserts the third between them. The reader, eager to learn what happened, for example, in the struggle of the Amis de la Constitution Monarchique to survive against popular wrath, is asked to stop at the Manège and listen to Clermont-Tonnerre and others discuss the annexation of Avignon. Sometimes one feels a certain admiration for the rather clever sentences by which the author makes his numerous transitions between events related only in time sequence, but the strain of so many shifts of scene leaves one confused and fatigued.

Holding his subject up to derision is perhaps even a worse offense on the part of a tragic author. The reader can scarcely accept M. Du Bus's supercilious patronage of Clermont-Tonnerre in the first part of this biography and then have his soul properly cleansed in the second part, where the author becomes more respectful and sympathetic toward his subject. If the author were an out-and-out royalist, one might explain this change from scorn to praise by his contempt for the reformer and his admiration for the defender of the monarchy. But the king, along with almost everybody else, is subjected to the author's patronizing condescension.

In other regards, the work is substantial. Research in family archives and numerous public repositories, supplemented by a long bibliography of printed sources and an index careful enough to counterbalance the frequent typographical errors, makes this exhausting study also quite exhaustive.

University of Chicago.

LOUIS GOTTSCHALK.

Napoleon. By F. M. KIRCHEISEN. Translated by HENRY ST. LAWRENCE. (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company. 1932. 2p. xii, 761. \$5.00.)

THE German original of this work, *Napoleon I.: ein Lebensbild* (Stuttgart, Cotta, 1927-1929, 2 volumes) is an abridgment of the author's monumental *Napoleon I., sein Leben und seine Zeit* (Munich, Müller, 1911-1931, volumes I.-VII.), of which the volumes for the years after 1808 are in manuscript and undergoing perfection for publication. There is reason for gratitude to the author that he interrupted his main task between the ap-

pearance of the sixth and seventh volumes to present to a larger public a condensation of the results of more than thirty years of collecting and studying materials. This abridgment is the best life of Napoleon between five hundred and a thousand pages in length. The much briefer works, H. A. L. Fisher's *Napoleon* (New York, 1913), and É. Driault's *La Vraie Figure de Napoléon* (Paris, 1928) are gems—perhaps a diamond and a ruby—which belong in a class by themselves. Midway between these two and the present volume in length ranks J. Bainville's *Napoléon* (Paris, 1931) which is now popular in France; but this excellent account will be summarily dismissed by most historians since it is based upon only a limited number of works, mostly secondary.

It is no reflection on Herr Kircheisen to say that his two nearest competitors, Rose and Fournier, outrank him in ability as historical scholars and in the extent of the original contributions which their researches have made to the history of the Napoleonic period, but their lives of Napoleon are now somewhat superannuated. Rose and Fournier did their constructive work in archives, Kircheisen has done his in his own richly stored library; they worked from documents, he from books. Nor is it any aspersion on Herr Kircheisen's volume to say that it lacks the touch of genius that will probably make Fournier's book the most enduring work of the three. It seems to be no secret that virtuous wrath at the popularity of Ludwig's pretentious *Napoleon* (Berlin, 1925) provoked the present author to hasten the publication of this abridgment in order to put a substantial and an honest work into competition with it. This commendable service to the reader deserves more ample reward at the sales counter than a fickle and misguided public is likely to accord.

In clarity, simplicity, and directness of style the translation rivals, if it does not actually surpass, the original. There are excellently chosen illustrations and an index of names, but bibliography and footnotes are wanting. The press work is excellent, but the binder has just missed success.

Herr Kircheisen has held himself strictly to his task of writing a biography rather than a history of the period. Moreover, he has adhered to his purpose of depicting a career, not of analyzing a personality or of retailing the gossipy details of private life. The military, political, administrative, diplomatic, economic, and cultural factors are neither stressed disproportionately nor provokingly slighted. In time, as well, the allotment of space has been judicious. The quarter-way points in the narrative are Brumaire, Jena, and the beginning of the Russian campaign. The treatment is deliberately and insistently unbiased, but fortunately not impersonal. The author does not forget that he is writing the life of a real man who lived and labored with real men and women in a real, not a fictitious or analytical, world. Nor does he allow himself to fall victim to any formula or complex of formulas to symbolize or explain his hero's purposes, utter-

ances, or acts. Indeed, he flatly denies the validity of explaining any one critical circumstance or decision by a single reason or by a definitely limited group of causes and motives. Kircheisen's Europe is not a mere chessboard as Rose's, but as compared with Fournier's, it seems to resemble a formal garden filled with notables at a state function rather than the aggregate of farms, shops, and homes wherein were living, playing, and toiling two hundred million men and women, though even Fournier tends to let the few conceal or replace the mass.

The author believes that Napoleon "will always be looked upon . . . as one of the greatest geniuses that the Spirit of Man has brought into existence", but he does not forget that the emperor was a human being. The Corsican boy who entered Brienne became twenty-five years later Emperor of the French. "How this inner transformation came about remains a mystery." Up to Tilsit Napoleon's career was more or less a resultant of the Revolution, after that date he "followed his own path". The narrative concludes: "Napoleon came and vanished like a meteor. He had destroyed more than he created, but at least he had roused the old Europe from its lethargy, and pointed the way to a future union of the nations." Few readers will lay the volume down with a sense of harmony between the conclusion and the record, between the concerto and its final note.

The excellence of this English version of the abridgment suggests the desirability of a complete translation of Herr Kircheisen's main work which in fullness and excellence of treatment surpasses any biography of the great emperor now in existence. The preparation of an English edition, moreover, would afford the author opportunity to make needed revisions in the earlier volumes.

Wesleyan University.

GEORGE MATTHEW DUTCHER.

Histoire et Historiens de l'Algérie. Par J. ALAZARD, E. ALBERTINI, A. BEL, F. BRAÛDEL, G. ESQUER, E. F. GAUTIER, DR. E. LEBLANC, G. MARÇAIS, W. MARÇAIS, P. MARTINO, M. MORAND, M. REYGASSE, CH. TAILLIART, G. YVER, J. ZEILLER. Introduction de STÉPHANE GSELL, Professeur au Collège de France, Membre de l'Institut. [Ouvrage publié par les soins de la *Revue Historique*, Collection du Centenaire de l'Algérie, Archéologie et Histoire, tome IV.] (Paris: Félix Alcan. 1931. Pp. 426. 60 fr.)

THE long list of books in the Centenary Collection proper, together with many others timed by the lapse of a century since the fall of Algiers, have rendered most of the earlier secondary works on North Africa obsolete. If the reviewer had to choose only two volumes for a small historical library, he would add this one to Julien's recent *Histoire de l'Afrique du Nord* (see *Am. Hist. Rev.*, XXXVII. 380). Carefully read, they would stop the repeti-

tion of a long string of conventionalized errors of fact and interpretation, too often underwritten by people who should know better. As usual, Professor Gsell's introduction is a gem, guided by a sure hand and cutting cleanly between good work and bad. He begins by the "indiscretion" of revealing that the real editor of the volume is M. Julien, secretary of the *Revue Historique*, who has solicited the various chapters and done just the right amount of work to ensure continuity without damage to the individual contributions. Coöperative scholarship in the highest sense of the term—running through whole lifetimes of eager investigation rather than merely mobilized to make a book—furnishes a real unity, in spite of great diversity of form and tone. Professor Gsell mentions the most outstanding of the pioneer scholars now dead. These chapters are written, almost without exception, by the survivors of this group, or by their pupils or logical successors. Professor Marcel Morand, authority on Moslem law and author of chapter XI, died at Algiers on New Year's Day, 1932. By a strange coincidence, Professor Gsell also died on that day.

E. F. Gautier's many books and articles on the physical structure, human geography, and history of North Africa are admirably summarized in chapter I. The discovery of his which has most impressed the geologists with eyes for the social science implications of their subject—the ancient "Limes Chain", older than the Atlas ranges, which bounded the Roman advance—has somehow failed till now to reach the professional historians. Some of the other chapters, like this one, are of the easy, informative, essay type, with little bibliography. Esquer's final chapter, *Les Sources de l'Histoire de l'Algérie*, is purely a critical description of materials, especially the great collections, but with due emphasis on bibliographies and periodicals. Albertini's chapter (IV.) on the ancient period, and Zeiller's on North African Christianity (V.) are other examples of largely bibliographical work. The choice of Esquer for the technical general treatment of sources, in which field he is the outstanding authority, has left chapter X, *La Conquête et la Colonisation de l'Algérie*, to Yver. Colonization is inevitably dealt with very briefly, but the summary of facts and sources concerning the conquest is excellent beyond all criticism.

Without in any way reflecting upon the high quality of the remainder, it may be suggested that the other two chapters of most interest to historians are probably the sixth, by W. Marçais, on a century of research into Mohammedan history in Algeria, and the eleventh, by M. Morand, on the native problem in the light of Moslem law. No student of French colonial history, especially in North Africa, can afford to miss this well-knit volume of studies by experts.

The University of California.

M. M. KNIGHT.

Monsieur Thiers. By JOHN M. S. ALLISON, Professor of History, Yale University. (New York: W. W. Norton and Company. 1932. Pp. 294. \$3.00.)

MR. ALLISON supplies a real need in his readable biography of Thiers. Though he has been limited both in the length of the work and in his citation of page-and-line evidence by the conditions of the series to which it belongs, the general reader will not complain, and the scholar will recognize the unostentatious industry behind the sketch that is offered him. There is little attempt to portray the lineaments and characters of the almost countless figures that pass across the stage. The main character himself, though displayed in all his enthusiastic activity as historian, art connoisseur, scientific amateur, military student, and politician, is not perhaps so clearly and incisively designed as one might hope. But everything is not to be asked of an author, and, for what it is—a clear and sound narrative of French politics from the accession of Charles X. to Thiers's resignation from the presidency in 1873—the book is to be heartily welcomed. Only one serious error of fact attracted the present reviewer's attention, and that a curious one. Some Legitimist leaders are said (p. 191) to have made a pilgrimage in 1850 to Charles X. in exile at Wiesbaden. Charles X. died in 1836 and, of course, his grandson, the Comte de Chambord, is meant. Occasionally there is a certain fogginess in the narrative. One finishes the story of the wrangles over the Roman expedition of 1849, the Falloux law concerning public education, and the electoral law of 1850 in some uncertainty as to what Thiers's policy was, how far he and his coterie had been successful in their intrigues, and just what had taken place. In general, however, Mr. Allison's narrative has both clarity and movement and on occasion rises to real dramatic power, as, for instance, his story of the last days of the July Monarchy or Thiers's splendid service to his country as the Franco-Prussian War was closing and during the negotiations for peace.

The earlier half of the book is made up of selections, somewhat revised, of Mr. Allison's *Thiers and the French Monarchy, 1797-1848*, published in 1926. The latter part, carrying the story to Thiers's death in 1877, is new. The government archives of Paris and London have been drawn on for material, as have sources which are to be found more particularly in the Bibliothèque Nationale and the Bibliothèque Thiers in Paris. Among secondary works, the writings of La Gorce are regarded by Mr. Allison as "far superior" to any others dealing with his period.

One wishes that Mr. Allison had found space for a few pages on the movement of nineteenth century thought in France. A radical in the eighteen twenties, Thiers found himself almost a conservative in the eighteen seventies. He had not changed his opinions fundamentally, but the majority of Frenchmen had. Only a few pages of explanation would have

shown where Thiers stood in the development of public opinion during fifty years. Nevertheless, thanks to this interesting life, we feel closer to possibly the most typical Frenchman of his century.

Princeton University.

HENRY R. SHIPMAN.

I Fratelli Ruffini: Lettere di Giovanni e Agostino Ruffini alla Madre dall' Esilio Francese e Svizzero. Con Introduzione e Note [di] ARTURO CODIGNOLA. Parte I.—Parte II., 1833–1836. (Genoa: Società Ligure di Storia Patria. 1925–1931. Pp. cxxii, 460; cxxix, 333.)

Giovanni Ruffini e i suoi Tempi: Studi e Ricerche. Comitato per le Onoranze a Giovanni Ruffini. (Genoa: Società Nazionale per la Storia del Risorgimento. 1931. Pp. 611. 50 l.)

Two families of patriots were outstanding in the revolutionary movements of modern Italy, that of the Ruffini, of which three brothers were close friends and collaborators of Mazzini in conspiracy, and that of the Cairoli, which gave five heroes to the expeditions of Garibaldi. In each family a patriotic mother inspired her sons, Eleanora Ruffini and Adelaide Cairoli. Professor Michele Rosi, of the University of Rome, a quarter of a century ago placed the Cairoli family securely in its niche of history by his scholarly work, *I Cairoli*, based largely upon unpublished family papers. The Ruffini brothers and their mother have had to wait longer for detailed historical treatment, but of late they have been receiving it in abundance.

In 1925, Professor Arturo Codignola began the publication of letters written by Giovanni and Agostino Ruffini to their mother. The first volume, entitled *I Fratelli Ruffini*, covered the years from 1833 to 1835; the second volume, recently issued, consists entirely of letters of 1836. How many volumes are to follow has not been stated. For the general historian these two contain so much that is of purely family interest as to be cumbersome. A selection of letters covering a longer period would have been more useful. But if Codignola speeds up and carries the work to completion with letters from 1837 to 1856, a monumental publication will have been made. For those interested in the biographies of the Ruffini brothers, and for Mazzini students, the volumes already printed are invaluable. Both brothers lived in Switzerland in difficult years with Mazzini, Giovanni being with him longer than Agostino. The letters, which are in French and have been edited with few notes but with great care from the originals preserved in the Museo del Risorgimento in Genoa, throw much light upon the life and psychology of the Italian exiles, whose sacrifices played so important a part in preparing Italy's reawakening. Parts of some of the letters had been previously printed, but in an Italian translation and often incorrectly, by Carlo Cagnacci in his *G. Mazzini ed i Fratelli Ruffini: Lettere Raccolte*.

Codignola has published as an introduction to the first volume an excel-

lent study of the life and conspiracies of Mazzini, and of Giovanni and Giacomo Ruffini and their group prior to 1834, and as an introduction to the second volume a long essay, *Mazzini alla Ricerca di una Fede ed il Dramma dei Ruffini*. This last essay is a good, but unnecessarily prolix, study of the religious crisis in Mazzini's life and deals little with the Ruffini brothers; in the last section of the essay, also prolix, Codignola gives as the cause of the brothers' separation from Mazzini in 1837, not the generally accepted divergence of religious views, but a vaguely defined offense committed by Mazzini against Eleanora Ruffini in 1833 just after the death of her son Giacomo. The reasoning is not entirely convincing. If Codignola could give his conclusions in clear, synthetic form his historical work would gain immensely in force and value. The two volumes have been published as the second and third of the *Atti della Società Ligure di Storia Patria* (Serie del Risorgimento):

The volume, *Giovanni Ruffini e i suoi Tempi*, is an important commemorative publication, prepared in honor of Ruffini's memory and consisting of ten miscellaneous essays by nine different writers. Several of the essays are minutely biographical and hence of restricted interest, but Vito Vitale's study of Ruffini's one year diplomatic career as Piedmontese minister to Paris in 1849 is valuable for the student of European events. It has been written with sound judgment and impartiality and based largely upon unpublished dispatches in the royal state archives of Turin. By temperament and by training the minister was unfitted for diplomacy, and he was not personally sorry to leave the service, which he had entered for love of his country. As he wrote to his mother, "love of Italy is a disease which fatally condemns to suffering whoever is stricken with it".

Another important essay is that by Alfredo Obertello upon the literary work of Ruffini in England, where the patriot was long resident and where he performed an important service for his country by enabling the English, through his novels, to become acquainted with the new moral, social, and political life to which Italy had recently been born. A third essay, by Evelina Rinaldi, which, though having nothing to do with Ruffini, is included in the volume, gives a valuable sketch of G. B. Cuneo, one of Mazzini's first disciples and an intimate friend of Garibaldi in the latter's early days in South America. Little has been printed heretofore about Cuneo, and the unpublished letters written by him between 1849 and 1860, included in this study, furnish valuable details of his life. With one exception the writers of the volume have had large recourse to unpublished documents.

Rome.

H. NELSON GAY.

War and Diplomacy in the French Republic: an Inquiry into Political Motivations and the Control of Foreign Policy. By FREDERICK L.

SCHUMAN, Ph.D., Department of Political Science, University of Chicago. (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company. 1931. Pp. xvii, 452. \$4.00.)

THE experimental method has long been a customary mode of procedure in the exact sciences, but in the social sciences, except perhaps in psychology, it has been very rarely employed. In history particularly such a mode of approach offers almost insurmountable obstacles. Nevertheless, in this excellent study of French diplomacy Professor Schuman proves that most admirable results may be achieved by such a method of attack.

He has chosen a series of significant diplomatic events following a certain sequence which have affected materially the international position of France. Grouping them under the three general headings: acquisitions or losses of territory, alliances and peace treaties, and wars and coercive measures, he has subjected them to the penetrating analysis of the laboratory technician. To make his evaluation of the problems the more reliable, he has preceded it by a careful study of the diplomatic tools and machinery. He concludes with a synthesis entitled *The Dynamics of Foreign Policy*, which correlates the agencies and procedure with the problems considered.

Although the historian will undoubtedly be more interested in the diplomatic problems studied than in the description and analysis of diplomatic mechanisms and procedure, nevertheless, these sections of the book are most essential, and the clarity and brevity of treatment enhance their value. The chapters devoted to the making of treaties and the initiation of war are particularly recommended.

In considering the question of territorial acquisitions, Dr. Schuman has taken Tunis, Tonkin, and Madagascar as illustrative of the way in which the French empire was created. The writer has stripped bare the imperial trappings to get at the skeleton beneath. All run true to form—a beautiful façade on a hideous charnel house. “At a cost of millions of francs and thousands of lives, French honor and diplomatic prestige were preserved. French merchants and investors were given a new privileged field of operations and a new gem was added to the crown of the French colonial empire.”

As examples of alliances and peace treaties, the Dual Alliance and the Entente Cordiale are analyzed. Both of these subjects are well-written monographs in miniature. Without sacrificing historical accuracy, Dr. Schuman has painted a vivid picture of the underlying influences of prestige and balance of power diplomacy.

The author concludes his objective treatment of events with the World War and its aftermath. He has had the advantage of having at his disposition the vast amount of coördinated material on the causes of war which has been made available by Fay, Schmitt, and Renouvin, and thus has been

able to place his emphasis upon the salient underlying factors. The diplomatic service is pilloried as it vainly attempts to brake the juggernaut of war which its own machinations had started on its mad journey.

The writer concludes that "the State is an embodiment of power and in its political relations with other states power considerations are necessarily foremost and controlling". He is to be congratulated upon his original conception and the brilliant fashion in which he has carried it out. As the French themselves would say, "It gives one to think".

Stanford University.

GRAHAM H. STUART.

Documents Diplomatiques Français, 1871-1914. Ministère des Affaires Étrangères, Commission de Publication des Documents relatifs aux Origines de la Guerre de 1914. Série I (1871-1900), tome III., *Janvier, 1880-Mai, 1881.* (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale. 1931. Pp. xxvi, 538. 60 fr.)

THIS volume continues the period of cautious participation by France in the troublesome boundary questions inherited from the Congress of Berlin, and it introduces an active colonial expansion. Freycinet yielded readily to England's lead in the Greco-Turkish boundary negotiations which his predecessor, Waddington, had initiated (no. 24). France reluctantly participated in the naval demonstration before Dulcigno, but she intended to withdraw her ships if force were used to secure the cession of that port to Montenegro (nos. 250, 261). A firmer spirit appeared in colonial enterprises. The balance between French and English influence in Egypt was carefully watched (no. 17); plans were made for the eventual acquisition of Tonkin (224). More of these documents naturally concern the Tunis affair than any other topic, and the volume ends with the bey's acceptance, under military pressure, of the Treaty of Bardo. While Bismarck's attitude, and the influence of Italy's intrigues in hastening French action are well known, the effect of the political situation in France in delaying Barthélemy Saint-Hilaire's final decision (nos. 396, 401), the impatience of Saint-Vallier in Berlin (nos. 345, 406, 349) and, eventually, of Noailles in Rome (no. 286) at this apparent weakness are revealed here. A clearer view is now possible of the diplomatic complications of this affair, and especially of England's attitude. In spite of Salisbury's somewhat reserved recognition of France's claims during the Congress of Berlin, Granville's approval of the theory that Tunis was legally a part of the Ottoman empire apparently encouraged Italy's and Turkey's resistance (no. 375). Quite new is Bismarck's account of Lord Dufferin's proposal of a European intervention (no. 495) which, though denied by Granville, was given some credit by the French (no. 526).

That Tunis became a French protectorate without a serious European crisis was largely due, not only to Bismarck's friendly assurances but also

to his advice to Italy (nos. 158, 294, 307), Turkey (no. 513), and England (no. 495). His support was useful at the Morocco Conference of Madrid (no. 189), in Near Eastern questions (no. 164)—where he said, it was second only to his coöperation with Austria-Hungary (no. 30)—and in Tonkin (no. 196). It assured the safety of France's position in Europe during this early phase of her colonial expansion, and it was acknowledged by French ministers (nos. 203, 215, 492) and by the president of France (no. 521). Only Chanzy, in St. Petersburg, objected, although Bismarck, with characteristic frankness, admitted his desire to divert France's attention from Alsace-Lorraine (nos. 294, 307). Nevertheless, this conciliatory policy did not prevent his use of the *revanche* in the German press to win support for the military law of 1880 (no. 31). Relations with Russia were much less cordial. The Hartmann affair, the evasion of Russia's suggestion of a European conference on the revolutionary movement caused irritation which was increased by France's limited support of Montenegro's claims (no. 272). Bismarck assured Saint-Vallier that he desired good relations, not only between England and France but also between France and Italy, but it was natural if not inevitable, that France's colonial enterprises, which he encouraged, produced coolness in the first and increasing friction in the second instance.

Duke University.

E. MALCOLM CARROLL.

Lord Rosebery. By the Marquess of CREWE, K.G. (New York: Harper and Brothers. 1931. Pp. xv, 592. \$5.00.)

LORD ROSEBERY's son-in-law has made an excellent contribution to scholarship in this biography. His book possesses dignity, charm, and sympathy—no mean accomplishment in view of the enigmatic character of Mr. Gladstone's successor as leader of the Liberal party.

Archibald Primrose, Lord Dalmeny, Earl of Rosebery, gifted, wealthy, honorable, and handsome, made a sorry mess of his political career. Although he spent a long life in politics he accomplished practically nothing. Placed at the head of his party, he could in nowise control it. Prime minister of England, he had little influence in his own cabinet. The only positive reform with which his name has been connected, the reorganization of the House of Lords, still remains a paper project, all but forgotten in the hurly-burly of contemporary politics. Even as a Tory premier Rosebery could scarcely have succeeded; but as a Liberal prime minister and as Gladstone's heir he was a ghastly failure.

And yet, despite all this, there is something extraordinarily attractive about this curious Hamlet-like aristocrat who could neither endure political life nor escape it. It was not his fault that he became a politician. He declined office time and time again, but Gladstone was determined to place

the yoke upon his shoulders. Finally he yielded, gracefully, for he did everything gracefully. But he was never a real Liberal, although his American travels, his fresh boyish spirit, and his Scottish antecedents sometimes gave him the semblance of one. Rosebery was simply a Whig who reached maturity too late. By 1886 almost all surviving Whigs found themselves in the Tory or Unionist ranks. Rosebery should have gone with them. Had he possessed either the strength of character or the strength of will which characterized Argyll or Hartington he would have cut loose from Gladstone at that date or before.

But Rosebery was young and loyal, and also pampered. Gladstone praised him highly; so did his sovereign. He was a marked and shining light in a House of Lords where Liberals were few. Gladstone's mantle might some day be his. That he deliberately schemed to inherit it is improbable, but that the vision thereof floated from time to time before him would only have been natural.

The Midlothian campaign was the starting point in his career. The young nobleman, only thirty-three years old, was Gladstone's host and sponsor in the Scottish constituency, and between him and the Liberal champion there developed a warm friendship. Mrs. Gladstone might have been shocked by Rosebery's devotion to the turf but her husband was too much a man of the world to be troubled by race horses. So Gladstone offered his lordship the undersecretaryship for India. Twice Rosebery declined this post. The undersecretaryship for the home department was then pressed upon him and reluctantly accepted. During the hectic years 1883 and 1884 he spent more time in foreign travel than in politics. Finally, at the very end of Gladstone's second ministry, he was persuaded against his inclination to enter the cabinet as privy seal and commissioner of public works.

During the brief third ministry Rosebery went to the foreign office, a post which he also assumed under Gladstone, 1893-1894. In charge of British foreign policy he was if anything more imperialistic and aggressive than Salisbury. He had no interest in Home Rule or the Newcastle program. He was not entitled to the premiership in 1894 either on the score of ability or of party service. But Queen Victoria insisted upon summoning him, and since he was personally unobjectionable to a majority of the Liberals he became prime minister.

The Rosebery ministry of 1894-1895 was one of the least glorious in British annals. The prime minister won the Derby and the chancellor of the exchequer put through the death duties. Torn then by internal dissensions and under a leader who could not lead the Liberals were thrown from office.

At the time of his defeat in 1895 Rosebery was only forty-nine and a

long life lay before him. He spent it largely in dignified leisure, on his yacht, at his Italian villa, occasionally dipping into literature, and now and again making a public speech. With the passing of Harcourt and the semi-retirement of Morley new leaders, antipathetic to Rosebery, rallied the waning fortunes of the Liberals. From 1906 to the time of his death in 1929, free trade was the only thing which bound him to his old party allegiance.

"It would be untrue to call it a very happy life . . .", so writes his biographer. Perhaps it would have been happier had Rosebery followed his natural bent and kept out of politics altogether. He had no liking for the rough and tumble of debate. His principal interests were in horses, in literature, and in society, the gay world in which his wealth, his debonair manner, and ready speech entitled him to shine. As a Liberal statesman he was an utter misfit and he knew it. Queen Victoria and Gladstone between them made this weak man assume responsibilities which he did not want to carry. His career would have been more disastrous had it not been for the strength of the aristocratic tradition in England, and for a certain fineness of spirit and innate dignity which happily were germane to his character.

Princeton University.

WALTER PHELPS HALL.

Au Service de la France: Neuf Années de Souvenirs. Par RAYMOND POINCARÉ, de l'Académie Française. Tome VIII, *Verdun*, 1916. (Paris: Plon. 1931. Pp. 355. 30 fr.)

M. POINCARÉ's eighth volume covers the days from January 1 to September 13, 1916. It was the tragic period of the life-and-death struggle for the city which is the key to the road to Paris. The president records many vivid visits to the front to confer with Joffre, to see the actual situation with his own eyes, and to encourage the officers and men by his presence. One feels the strain of the incredible variety of tasks with which he was called upon to deal. Evidently depending upon a very full diary, he often records a score of different interviews on a single day with generals, deputies, cabinet ministers, bereaved widows and parents, newspaper correspondents, foreign princes and what not, whom he had to receive, cajole, comfort, argue with, or otherwise attempt to satisfy. This gives the present volume a more haphazard and disjointed character than the earlier ones. But it also makes a more pleasing and sympathetic impression. There is less denunciation of Germany, less self-justification, and there are fewer long quotations from his own speeches.

Aside from Verdun, one of the great questions most frequently discussed was the campaign in the Near East: the non-coöperative attitude of Greece, Sarraïl's requests for reinforcements which Joffre did not want to spare from France, and the salvaging of the remnants of the Serbian army.

The press attacks of Clemenceau and other editors upon the military administration in Paris and at the front, which were reprinted and exploited in the German press, often resulted in blank spaces in the papers where the censor deleted objectionable matter. Temporary suspension of publication was also frequently imposed as a penalty for indiscretion or perverse criticism. The mysterious activities of Humbert, Bolo Pacha, and the *Bonnet Rouge* were beginning to disquiet the president, but as yet there was no tangible evidence against them. Defeatism, which was to become so serious the following year, was also beginning to make its appearance. It was indicated by sporadic mutinies of small groups and by the alarmingly large number of soldiers who allowed themselves to be taken prisoner by the enemy. To counteract it Poincaré recommended more fraternization between officers and men, and more talks explaining the significance of the war.

Most interesting perhaps are the president's characterizations of his colleagues. M. Briand is pictured a dozen times smoking innumerable cigarettes, running his fingers through his long hair, apparently dreaming and inattentive at cabinet meetings, and often leaving them suddenly in the midst of a discussion for a quarter of an hour's gossip and more cigarettes with Sainsère in a neighboring room—habits which appear to have gotten a little on the nerves of the very practical and businesslike president. As an example of these personal characterizations may be cited his notes regarding those present at a meeting of the council of national defense on March 25: "Freycinet (très lucide, très actif), Ribot (un peu morose), Briand, Bourgeois, Doumergue (optimistes), Joffre (lourd et lent), Castelnau (rongeant son frein), Roques (attentif et prudent), Lacaze (très éveillé et très clairvoyant), Painlevé (ardent et tranchant), Thierry (attentif)."

Harvard University.

SIDNEY B. FAY.

The Costs of the World War to the American People. By JOHN MAURICE CLARK. [Economic and Social History of the World War, American Series, James T. Shotwell, General Editor.] (New Haven: Yale University Press. 1931. Pp. xii, 316. \$3.50.)

Le Bilan de la Guerre pour la France. Par CHARLES GIDE, Professeur Honoraire à la Faculté de Droit de l'Université de Paris, Professeur Honoraire au Collège de France, and WILLIAM OUALID, Professeur d'Économie Politique à la Faculté de Droit de l'Université de Paris, ancien Sous-Chef de Cabinet du Ministre de l'Armement. [Histoire Économique et Sociale de la Guerre Mondiale, Série Française. James T. Shotwell, Directeur.] (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France; New Haven: Yale University Press. 1931. Pp. xii, 370. 52 fr.)

BOTH of these volumes are written by distinguished economists who have

not stinted labor in their task. Each represents painstaking statistical and social analysis, which if sometimes refined to a point where the reader rather craves dogmatic assertion in place of meticulously weighed probabilities, illustrates only the better for that reason the baffling complexity of the problem which the authors try to solve. One may be momentarily tempted to lay down either book with the question: why lavish so much scientific guessing upon so uncertain a result? But the reader resumes it with the reflection that the exploration of the subject is after all its own reward, and that problematical judgments are frequently the only protection against false judgments.

War costs cannot be appraised in dollars and cents. Nor, if that were possible, is the date when we can strike a final balance of their amount determined. Should we charge any part of the social and economic waste of 1930 and 1931 to the international profligacy of 1917 and 1918? Even a tentative enumeration of the assumed items of these costs lacks sufficient plausibility to be more than mildly interesting. Professors Gide and Oualid can make a better inventory of physical damages than Professor Clark because France was the scene of much property destruction which has been listed for reparations, and there are other measurable quantities in her war bill which are less easily estimated in the case of the United States. But even in France's reckoning a wide margin of ponderable items remains which cannot be measured convincingly. For example, losses and gains through vocational, industrial, currency, and fiscal readjustments might theoretically be expressed in monetary terms but actually can be only vaguely approximated. We lose ourselves in a still more tangled maze of conjecture when we try to give concrete values to losses by death and invalidism and what might be called functional disturbances in the social organism.

Therefore, the person who seeks facts of precise dimensions regarding war costs will still have to go to politicians and popular magazines for his materials. Except in respect to fiscal charges he will find few hard and fast totals in these pages. Nevertheless, the books leave an impression of the consequences, rather than the costs, of the war that is well worth having, even at the expense of considerable concentrated attention. Fully one-half of each volume is devoted to a study of the effect of the war and its aftermath upon broad economic categories, such as agriculture, manufacturing, and trade. Moreover, not all war losses are physical, and each author bestows attention upon the moral balance of hostilities, including crime and population displacement, though with due diffidence in drawing positive conclusions.

No equally able and comprehensive studies have been made before of the aggregate damage done by war. These two books promise to have continuing interest.

The Library of Congress.

VICTOR S. CLARK.

BOOKS OF AMERICAN HISTORY

Colonial Admiralty Jurisdiction in the Seventeenth Century. By HELEN J. CRUMP, M. A., Ph.D., Assistant Lecturer, University College, Nottingham. [Published for the Royal Empire Society.] (London: Longmans, Green and Company. 1931. Pp. x, 200. 7s. 6d.)

MISS CRUMP has written an excellent treatise on a difficult and elusive subject, the materials for which are widely scattered and far from easy to understand. Though she has been obliged to depend on printed sources for the greater part of her evidence, she has missed thereby very little of importance, for neither in this country nor in the West Indies is there much remaining unprinted of value for her purpose. On the other hand, residence in England has enabled her to use, often with impressive effect, the documents she has found in the Bodleian, the British Museum, and the Public Record Office—particularly those of the High Court of Admiralty—all of which she has woven very skillfully into her general scheme. Should she in her study pass on to the eighteenth century, she will be confronted with a very different situation, for though the manuscript admiralty proceedings over here are relatively simple and easy to interpret, they are very voluminous and geographically widely dispersed.

Miss Crump's theme is the rise of admiralty jurisdiction in the English colonies in America from its earliest manifestations in the days of Mason, Whitbourne, West, and Argall down to the establishment of a system of organized and permanent courts of vice-admiralty after 1697. The work opens with a chapter on the High Court and the provincial vice-admiralty courts in England, which is satisfactory as far as it goes, but would have been made more useful had it been expanded to show the struggles of the chief court to increase and strengthen its jurisdiction and of the local courts to avoid that tendency toward disuse and decay which led Sir Charles Hedges in 1690 to write his *Reasons for Settling Admiralty Jurisdiction*, an argument for their revival. The early "admirals" in America, whose duties were rather executive than judicial, pass in and out of Miss Crump's picture in shadowy fashion, leaving hardly a trace behind and in no way becoming starting points for admiralty development later. The beginnings of colonial maritime jurisdiction, as Miss Crump clearly shows, are to be found in a variety of conditions attending early colonial life—fishing in Newfoundland, commerce and trade in Virginia, Maryland, and New England, wrecks in Bermuda, and privateering and piracy in the West Indies. Such judicial business as needed to be done was taken care of by existing executive and legislative bodies or by the ordinary common law courts in the colonies. There were no admiralty courts functioning during the first half of the

seventeenth century. In the chapters dealing with this period Miss Crump has brought out little that has not been known before.

Far and away the most important part of her book is that which concerns, after 1652 and especially after 1660, the setting up of vice-admiralty courts in certain of the West India islands. She traces the first steps to the Ayscue expedition of 1652, the capture of Jamaica in 1655, and especially to the appointment of the Duke of York in 1661 as lord high admiral over the colonies, with power to erect courts and appoint deputies. From this time on the story presents many difficulties. Though Miss Crump has told it with commendable skill and has added much to our knowledge of its details, she has raised almost as many questions as she has answered. She frequently refers to the great work of organization which the duke accomplished, but leaves us without any very clear idea of what that organization was or what share the duke had in it. Though she refers to the new courts, erected under the governors' vice-admiralty commissions, as needed to enforce the trade laws of the empire, and devotes a whole chapter to the subject, she still leaves the reader with a somewhat confused impression of the part played by the vice-admiralty courts, the extent of their jurisdiction, and the source of their authority. She lays her chief stress upon the courts in their relation to prizes, but only once does she hint that probably they had no legal right to try prizes, even though they did so with impunity. Had they a right also to try offenses against the navigation acts, though there is no doubt that they did so frequently? We need information on both these points. The vice-admiralty commissions to the governors say nothing either of illegal trade or of prizes, limiting the governors' admiralty jurisdiction to marine causes only. I can but wish that Miss Crump had spent less time on the details of prize captures and more on other phases of the courts' activities, and had laid more stress on the institutional features of admiralty organization. It may be that evidence is wanting; such evidence is found only to a small extent in the *Calendar of State Papers, Colonial*, upon which she largely depends.

The last chapter of interest to us here—there is a final chapter on the admiralty courts under the East India Company—is less authoritative than the others, for treating as it does of the colonial admiralty and English administration it looks forward into the eighteenth century, a period with which Miss Crump does not appear to be familiar. Else she would not have implied that the “only way of getting redress from the sentence of a colonial admiralty court was by petition to the king in Council” and that “after 1691 the English court did not claim the right to hear appeals from the colonial courts”, neither of which statements is correct for the eighteenth century. Had she studied the proceedings of the vice-admiralty courts down to the time of the Revolution she would not have committed herself to so

emphatic a denunciation of them as is contained on page 164, or have spoken of them as "hated", "detested", and "despised" by the colonists as the "weapon of a tyrannical government". Such might have been true of Massachusetts after 1750, but it was not true anywhere else. Miss Crump must not believe all that she finds stated in the Declaration of Independence, or even in the *Dictionary of National Biography*.

Miss Crump's handling of the many very difficult problems that confronted her is always suggestive and the new information she has furnished is a witness to her perseverance and enthusiasm. I am the more sorry, therefore, that she has fallen into a number of minor slips in dates, titles, places, and names. The oddest of these are "I Cooks" (repeated in the index) for Sir John Cooke and Lieutenant Governor Usher "of Newcastle" (not in the index at all), a place derived from the *Calendar* that is correct enough but unnecessarily obscure. I wonder what the Pilgrims would have thought of Captain John Mason as the "deputy-governor of New Plymouth" (a strange blunder of the *D. N. B.*) or of the shoals of Cape Cod as lying "between Boston and Plymouth"; what the Marylanders of the Eastern Shore would have thought had they known that the usual way of getting to the other side of the Chesapeake was "by boat across the Susquehanna"; or what the members of the Bermuda Company would have said had they been told that the "Company of Virginia" owned their rights of admiralty. But after all, these are small peccadillos that will mislead only the uninformed and the unwary.

Yale University.

CHARLES M. ANDREWS.

Province and Court Records of Maine. Edited by CHARLES THORNTON LIBBY. Volume II., 1653-1679. (Portland: Maine Historical Society. 1931. Pp. xlvii, 559. \$10.00.)

THE second volume of Mr. Libby's edition of the early records of Maine contains the proceedings of the courts of York County, which were set up by Massachusetts after her annexation of the province of Maine in 1652 and 1653. These courts were two: the county court proper, meeting once a year, generally in July, established in 1653 and lasting with only one break (1664-1668) until 1679, when Charles II. took the government of the province out of the hands of the Commonwealth; and the court of associates, 1658 to 1679, which sat twice yearly, in spring and fall, during the intervals between the sessions of the county court. It had a similar civil and criminal jurisdiction with the county court, but was without a trial jury and received no presentments from the grand jury as did the other. It frequently remanded or bound over cases to be heard at the county court and allowed appeal to the same, just as appeal was allowed from the county court to the court of assistants at Boston. Below both courts were the

"commissioners for small causes", locally elected town courts with a jurisdiction limited to matters of forty shillings and under.

The cases that came before the two county courts were pretty much the same and give an amazingly vivid and realistic picture of the life of a rough, unconventional, pioneer folk in the wilderness, engaged in farming, lumbering, and fishing, and given to hard drinking, profanity, breaches of the Sabbath and to days of humiliation and thanksgiving, and the slighting of public authority. The frequent appearance of the last-named offense is not surprising in view of the strong opposition that existed in this Anglican and pro-Gorgean region to the continuance of Massachusetts control. There were many Quakers in the territory, who were treated much less harshly than in Massachusetts, though efforts were made to discriminate against them, in the hope that without places to sleep and to eat and without right to hold public office they would go elsewhere of their own accord. The presence of a few Dutch, French, Greeks, Portuguese, and negroes is also recorded. Punishments of delinquents generally took the form of fines and whipping at the post by the jailer, though one "lady" for striking her husband had to stand with a gag in her mouth for half an hour at a public meeting and to have "the cause of her offence writt upon her forehead", and a certain James Warrine, once disciplined for saying "Divill-a-bit", was sentenced for insolence to be "tyd Necke & Heeles" for an hour or "ride the wooden horse" on training day. Actions were for immorality, debt, trespass, breach of contract or covenant, slander, assault, and so on through a long list of indictable offenses characteristic of Puritan rule. The courts kept a constant watch over morals and conduct, over the relations of husbands and wives, over all consorting with "the common enemy the Devill", and over those charged with "liveing an Idle Lasy life". The one case of witchcraft was dismissed as unproven.

Mr. Libby's editing is in every way admirable, though he is more interested in the documents and their orthographic peculiarities than he is in their contents. The spelling, particularly that of Peter Weare (1668-1670), is extraordinary—as, for example, "Ferridg to Continnew duaring the Courts plesseuar", which may be merely a survival of Weare's Gloucestershire dialect. One is prepared for an almost complete absence of references to books in the wills and inventories and to schools and education in the entries themselves, for though the standard of literacy among the leaders was undoubtedly high, that among the mass of the people was what one would expect. The two volumes already issued, containing almost the only county court records in print for colonial times, are a contribution unequalled for the light they throw on local life and custom. Mr. Libby and the Maine Historical Society are to be congratulated on their publication.

Yale University.

CHARLES M. ANDREWS.

Norfolk, Historic Southern Port. By THOMAS J. WERTENBAKER. (Durham: Duke University Press. 1931. Pp. ix, 378. \$4.00.)

THIS is a story "full of ships 'n things, masts, an' sails, an' jib-booms, an' ship ahoy", and an engaging account it proves to be. Written by contract with the city government, the book stresses the first two centuries of Norfolk's history, with a sketchy, not inadequate, survey of her development since 1871. While the resident of Norfolk may complain that many an interesting incident and character are not even mentioned, he must recognize that in Professor Wertenbaker's narrative there is perspective and critical interpretation scarcely attempted in any previous history of the city.

Subscribing to the dictum that "national history is founded on local history" (p. vii), the author uses his emphasis upon economic and social factors to good advantage in portraying Norfolk's significance to the growth of Virginia and North Carolina, and her part in the fluctuating trade with the West Indies, Europe, and the American coast. Destroyed at the outbreak of the American Revolution, crippled by commercial restrictions afterward incident, in part, to the War of 1812, weakened by the scourge of yellow fever, and oppressed by military rule during the Civil War and the Reconstruction period, in each case the city's come-back has attested to her fundamental worth in the expanding commerce of the country. As Norfolk's merchants were opposed to the outbreak of the American Revolution (p. 56), thus bearing out Professor Schlesinger's thesis on the colonial merchants, so they objected to the War of 1812 (p. 120); and Professor Wertenbaker's lively account of concrete incidents of evasions of the law, clashes between civilian and sailor, and cryptic comments of the press, are illuminating for national as well as for local history. He reveals forcibly that Norfolk's population of merchants, artisans, and mariners represented an economic interest with which the majority of Virginians found little in common. The unfortunate sectional rivalry between Norfolk and the fall-line towns over internal improvements so hampered her growth during the ante bellum period that she was unable to regain any early advantage she had enjoyed in competing with New York and other Northern ports. These sectional cross-currents, thrown in high relief by an intensive study of local history, are unquestionably worthy of further research.

The author's use of sources hitherto untouched has greatly enriched his account of the social and intellectual as well as economic life of Norfolk. Detailed examination of the early minute books of the county and city courts, the papers of the Scotch merchant, Niel Jamieson, the city press, and the obvious printed sources, has yielded a wealth of material, woven together, for the most part, very effectively. Although it would be impossible to utilize all available manuscript material, it is to be regretted that some varied details were not sought for in such sources as the minute books of

Christ Episcopal Church or the First Presbyterian Church, the oldest Masonic Lodge, and in the fragmentary records of the United States District Court. While the cultural advantages which Norfolk offered from time to time bespoke her economic development, the interest of the reader would have been held more continuously by dwelling somewhat upon the personalities who helped to lay the foundations for that culture. The proof-reading has failed to correct some glaring typographical errors. These shortcomings, however, are quite inconsequential. Professor Wertenbaker has shown the annalist that local history can be made something more than a dull recital of chronological events and personal eulogies, if only the annalist would take the lesson to heart.

University of Virginia.

LESTER J. CAPPON.

Letters of Members of the Continental Congress. Edited by EDMUND C. BURNETT. Volume V., January 1, 1780, to February 28, 1781. (Washington: Carnegie Institution of Washington. 1931. Pp. lxiv, 611. Unbound \$5.00; bound \$5.50.)

THE present volume of this indispensable series brings us to the regularizing of the Continental Congress through the adoption of the Articles of Confederation. The general tone of the letters is not inspiring. From the army came news of the disasters at Charleston and Camden and of the generally unhappy situation in the lower South; of dissatisfaction among the officers; of Arnold's treason, and mutinous conduct among the Connecticut and Pennsylvania troops. Even the arrival of Rochambeau's troops left doubts as to the possibility of effective American coöperation. Continuous discussion of the currency, of reform in the services of supply, and means of enlisting adequate support from the states, seemed to bring slight results. Though factious opposition to Washington had diminished, civilian jealousy of the army leaders still made trouble. It is possible, however, to over-emphasize this picture of Congressional futilities. There were, after all, delegates who were thinking straight and getting results. In the letters of Duane and Schuyler, of Madison and Joseph Jones, one may see gradual progress with the troublesome Western land question. The way was thus prepared for the New York session; for the Congressional resolves of 1780, which laid the foundations of future policy in relation to the national domain and the formation of new commonwealths; and for the Virginia session of 1781, the latter not wholly acceptable but offering reasonable assurance of an ultimate solution. The resulting ratification of the Confederation by Maryland seemed to Duane a more important achievement than "a Victory over all our Enemies"; we had thus "become a Nation" (pp. 551-553, 584). To this period also belong the votes which authorized responsible executives for the departments of foreign affairs, war, and finance.

Though this volume, like its predecessors, shows indefatigable and skillful assembling of material from widely scattered sources, the greater part of it not previously printed, the list of correspondents presents few distinguished names. If we exclude communications from the president and secretary, from state delegations, and from Congressional boards and committees, there remain something over four hundred individual letters. Six delegates contribute in all about a third of this number. Among these six there is one first-rate personage, "young Madison", who took his seat in March, 1780; next in present reputation is Philip Schuyler; but the others would hardly be recognized to-day except by special students of the period. The "elder statesmen" of the revolutionary movement, Samuel Adams and Roger Sherman, are represented only by a few comparatively unimportant letters. Somewhat more numerous are those of Elbridge Gerry, Robert R. Livingston, and Oliver Ellsworth. There are, as before, varying degrees of literacy and illiteracy (for the latter, see the letters of Nathaniel Folsom and John Collins). The collection as a whole presents a realistic picture of the psychology of a war-time legislature, struggling with extraordinary difficulties and somehow "muddling through". In addition to the letters of individuals, special mention should be made of the collection of documents representing the work of the "Committee at Headquarters", an interesting, though short-lived, experiment in the coördination of military and Congressional direction.

Little need be added here to what has already been adequately said in this journal, by Professor Van Tyne, about the admirable quality of Dr. Burnett's editorial service. It is sufficient to say that the present volume sustains the high standard set by its predecessors.

Columbia University.

EVARTS B. GREENE.

Lambert Wickes, Sea Raider and Diplomat: the Story of a Naval Captain of the Revolution. By WILLIAM BELL CLARK. (New Haven: Yale University Press. 1932. Pp. xviii, 466. \$5.00.)

IN writing this biography of Captain Wickes of the navy of the Revolution, Mr. Clark has rendered a service not only to the memory of Wickes but to the naval and diplomatic history of the year following the Declaration of Independence. Much that is new has been brought to light concerning the movements of American representatives in France, and concerning the work of British spies assigned to watch the movements of Franklin and his subordinates. Captain Lambert Wickes was no mean figure. He did his duty nobly from the time of his appointment until he went down at sea with his beloved *Reprisal* in October, 1777, and deserves to have his memory perpetuated. He was the first naval officer to carry the American flag to Europe, and the first to command an American warship or squadron in European seas. To him belongs the honor, too, of being the

first to challenge the naval forces of England in the English Channel itself.

The eight page bibliography shows that Mr. Clark has made a diligent study of manuscript sources in England and America, of newspapers of the period, and of biographies and diaries of Captain Wickes's contemporaries as well. This bibliography should be a most valuable aid to others working in the same field. It is to be regretted, however, that in making such a careful survey of source material Mr. Clark did not investigate more fully the archives and newspapers of Captain Wickes's native state, Maryland. He would have found much to repay him and would have been able to add many interesting pages to his book, particularly regarding the activities of Wickes prior to the Revolution. Scant mention is made of his career as a merchant captain, and no mention whatever is made of the prominent part which he played in the celebrated "Peggy Stewart" affair at Annapolis in the autumn of 1774. The decisive, patriotic stand that he took at this time in regard to the importation of tea probably did more than anything else to bring him to the notice of his countrymen, and helped pave the way for his appointment in the navy. The *Maryland Gazette* gives an excellent account of this affair.

A study of the records of the port of Annapolis shows that as early as 1770 Wickes commanded a ship for Willing and Morris of Philadelphia, as well as ships for other owners. This would also help to explain his naval appointment in 1776, a point upon which Mr. Clark seems uncertain. What would be more natural than that Robert Morris should turn to his trusted employee when he, as a member of the marine committee, sought for suitable commanders for the new warships.

Mr. Clark, though he has given us a careful study of certain phases of the early Revolutionary period and of Wickes's achievements, has failed to give us a clear-cut picture of the worthy captain himself. The reviewer must differ with the author concerning the choice of a subtitle for his book. A sea-raider Wickes most certainly was, though a manly, chivalrous one, and a most gallant, engaging figure as well; but to call him a diplomat is a little too high praise, except in the sense that every naval officer who conducts himself with credit in ticklish diplomatic situations is a diplomat. A more generous treatment of the work of other naval historians would render this book far pleasanter reading.

United States Naval Academy.

LOUIS H. BOLANDER.

A History of Transportation in the Ohio Valley, with Special Reference to its Waterways, Trade, and Commerce from the Earliest Period to the Present Time. By CHARLES HENRY AMBLER, Professor of History, West Virginia University. (Glendale: Arthur H. Clark Company. 1932. Pp. 465. \$7.50.)

THE picturesque and often spectacular incidents which accompanied the earlier development of our transportation system have long appealed to American writers. The National Pike has had its historian, the adventurous life on the Mississippi River has attracted several writers, the canal developments have been described, and now the Ohio River has found in Professor Ambler a competent and loyal chronicler.

For, in spite of the broader title of the book, it is primarily concerned with transportation developments on or connected with the river. Since the earlier phases of this subject have been repeatedly described, the somewhat hackneyed story of transportation overland by pack horse and wagon, or by flatboat and other craft down the rivers, is briefly told. Subsequent chapters deal with the service of the early boatmen in establishing and maintaining strong economic bonds between East and West, and with shipbuilding on inland waters. Seagoing sailing vessels were built in large numbers on the Ohio during the period immediately preceding the embargo, and again in the 'forties, though the exact number is not determinable. The advent of the steamboat introduced an epoch-making change in river transportation. The first steamer, the *New Orleans*, was built at Pittsburgh in 1811 and moved downstream under her own power, but was unable to proceed upstream against the swift current; not until 1816 was this feat accomplished by the *Enterprise*, built at Brownsville, Pennsylvania. The steamboat was still a "losing concern" however, the keelboat remaining for some years the favorite method of navigation.

The extension of the National Pike to the Ohio, the building of the Erie Canal, and later of the Pennsylvania and Ohio canals, all served to swell the traffic that moved on the Ohio River. By 1855 the total annual passenger traffic on the river reached the three million mark. But already the railroad, which reached Pittsburgh in 1852 and Wheeling in 1853, threatened a ruinous competition. By 1856 not a packet of the Union Line remained on the Ohio, and four years later Cincinnati ceased to be strictly a "river city".

With these changes the romantic and spectacular aspects of the Ohio River traffic came to an end. The later developments have been humdrum but noteworthy. The last quarter of the nineteenth century saw a considerable revival of steamboat packets under corporate ownership and control; in 1905 those on the Ohio carried over two million passengers, and even more important was the increase in bulk traffic of coal, lumber, grain, sand, iron, and steel. After that date a severe decline began, of which the causes were numerous: inadequate terminal facilities, unimproved channels, but most of all the changing attitude and practices of the railroads. Since then the first two difficulties have been largely overcome, and in 1930 the Ohio River system carried the largest freight tonnage in its history—two-

thirds as much as that passing through the Panama Canal and more than that through the Suez. Most of this is carried on barges, fifteen to eighteen in a single tow.

Professor Ambler has written an interesting description of these movements, and has presented an adequate picture of the changing panorama. He has not yielded to the temptation to emphasize the romantic and spectacular features, but has given a balanced account with sufficient analysis to clarify causal relationships. The book is well written and worthily printed.

The University of Illinois.

E. L. BOGART.

Négociations de la République du Texas en Europe, 1837-1845. Par MARY KATHERINE CHASE. (Paris: Librairie Ancienne Honoré Champion. 1932. Pp. 226. 40 fr.)

THIS study is based upon several years of research in the archives of foreign affairs in Paris, in Brussels, and in The Hague. The appendix contains a number of letters, hitherto unpublished, of Texan envoys in Europe and of European diplomats interested in the problems of the Republic of Texas. The present study supplements admirably the two chief collections of Texan diplomatic documents which have been hitherto published, Garrison's *Diplomatic Correspondence* and Adams's *British Diplomatic Correspondence concerning Texas*. In addition Miss Chase has in preparation an edition of the most important European documents concerning Texas, the correspondence of Dubois de Saligny, which is to appear shortly under the title, *Six Ans au Texas, 1839-1845*. With the aid of these hitherto unpublished documents, supplemented by materials in Texas, especially the papers of Anson Jones, it will be possible for the first time to reconstruct in some detail the diplomatic history of the Republic of Texas.

The topics covered by Miss Chase are: the negotiations in Europe of Henderson, 1837-1839, of Hamilton, 1840 and 1841, of McIntosh, Ashbel Smith, and Daingerfield, 1842-1843, and the final negotiations of Daingerfield, Smith, and Terrell, 1844-1845. Under these general heads, the objects and results of European diplomatic ventures in Texas, especially those of Saligny and Cramayel representing France, and of Pirson from Belgium, are now made reasonably clear. The present reviewer, having examined personally the nine volumes of French documents regarding Texas in Paris, can testify to the scholarly thoroughness with which Miss Chase has done her work. The promised publication of the Saligny letters will throw a flood of light not only on diplomacy but on the politics and social conditions of the Texas republic. While the present study is not a collection of documents, but a study based upon them, the quotations are so well chosen and numerous that the reader is in a position to arrive in many cases at an independent conclusion.

One important controversial question of the times was the significance of Aberdeen's offer of guaranteed independence in 1844. Miss Chase proves fairly conclusively that the British offer was never withdrawn but only changed in form on account of French criticisms. Her documents also indicate that opposition to annexation on the part of such Texans as Jones, Ashbel Smith, Daingerfield, and even Houston was much more sincere and serious than most historians have recognized. The contest between annexationists and their opponents was, accordingly, as real and perhaps as important in Texas as it was on a more obvious stage in the United States.

Even after the researches of Adams and of Miss Chase, there remain a few questions as to the European negotiations regarding Texas on which the light is still dim. What was the exact origin of the early English mission of William Kennedy? What was the exact nature of the diplomacy of Bourgeois d'Orvanne, a French financier of whom we catch glimpses in 1842?

With the exception of documents dealing with plans for emigration, and which undoubtedly exist in Germany and France, Miss Chase has considered the chief sources for Texas history in Europe. It is not likely that further researches will add much to the scholarly work which she has now completed.

Rice Institute.

R. G. CALDWELL.

Route Across the Rocky Mountains. By OVERTON JOHNSON and W. H. WINTER, of the Emigration of 1843. Reprinted, with Preface and Notes by CARL L. CANNON, from the Edition of 1846.

A Journal of the Santa Fe Expedition under Colonel Doniphan. By JACOB S. ROBINSON. Reprinted, with an Historical Introduction and Notes by CARL L. CANNON, from the Edition of 1848.

The Emigrants' Guide to California. By JOSEPH E. WARE. Reprinted from the 1849 Edition with Introduction and Notes by JOHN CAUGHEY.

The Past and Present of the Pike's Peak Gold Regions. By HENRY VILLARD. Reprinted from the Edition of 1860, with Introduction and Notes by LEROY R. HAFEN, Secretary, the Colorado Historical Society. • [Narratives of the Trans-Mississippi Frontier, CARL L. CANNON, General Editor.] (Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1932. Pp. xix, 199; xx, 96; xxiv, 64; xv, 186. \$3.00; \$2.00; \$2.00; \$2.50.)

THESE four little volumes put out by the Princeton University Press mark the beginning of a series of reprints of Western history to be known as *Narratives of the Trans-Mississippi Frontier*. In the selection of titles made

to introduce the series, the editors have shown commendable judgment. The workmanship and the scholarship too are of a high order. An appropriate historical introduction has been prepared for each reprint and on the whole the editorial comments are ample for general use.

Each volume is closely related to, or records an initial move in, some preliminary incident pertinent to the history of the West. Johnson and Winter crossed the Rocky Mountains in 1843—two years after the Bartleson and Bidwell company left the Missouri border, the first homeseekers to come overland to California. They published their observations in 1846, a year full of interest to every student of Western history. Colonel Doniphan's expedition, of which Jacob S. Robinson of New Hampshire was a member, was a part of General Kearny's expedition as far as Santa Fe in 1846, and from there to Chihuahua it was commanded by volunteer officers and a few regular subordinates. Robinson's narrative records interesting experiences of the Doniphan expedition from the time it left Missouri in June, 1846, to participate in the western campaign against Mexico until the men were discharged at New Orleans in June, 1847. It is an unofficial record of one of those foolhardy enterprises which, for sheer bravado and swagger, has few equals in Western annals. The account was published in 1848. Ware published his *Guide to California* in 1849. He had never been to the Pacific Coast, but from a few scattered sources, principally from Frémont's writings, he prepared the first complete description of the best route for the forty-niners, and it was not only the first satisfactory guide book of the period but it held its preëminent position until Child and Horn published their handbooks in 1852. While it contains some annoying errors on the subjects of water, grass, and timber, so important to overland emigrants, the volume will continue to have a distinct place in Western Americana because of its priority and because on the whole it really gave an excellent account of the trail to California. *The Past and Present of the Pike's Peak Gold Region*, published over a decade later, was also intended to be a guide to gold seekers. It was written by a newspaper reporter, Ferdinand Heinrich Gustav Hilgard, better known as Henry Villard. His was a deliberate attempt to commercialize on his observations by giving information on conditions in the gold fields of Colorado and by providing a guide for the emigrants to that section, but the failure of his publishers made it impossible for him to get it out in time for emigration in the spring of 1860. While the work failed to bring Villard the monetary reward which he needed, as a contemporary account of the movement to the Pike's Peak gold field written by a competent observer, the work has a unique place in the annals of the West.

All of these works have long been out of print. Robinson's *Journal of the Santa Fe Expedition under Colonel Doniphan* has an auction record of \$165.00, while copies of the Johnson and Winter, *Route Across the Rocky*

Mountains, have brought from \$300.00 to \$500.00. In making these volumes readily accessible, the Princeton University Press has conferred a distinct service upon students of Western history.

Mills College.

CARDINAL GOODWIN.

Robert Barnwell Rhett, Father of Secession. By LAURA A. WHITE, University of Wyoming. [Published for the American Historical Association.] (New York: Century Company. 1931. Pp. ix, 264. \$5.00.)

TWENTY years have passed since Miss White set out on her resolute search for new material with regard to Rhett. It is a pity that so faithful a pursuit has not ended in a richer harvest. Great difficulties have been encountered. The apocryphal Rhett papers, for which more than one explorer has sought in vain, have not been found. Though Miss White does not commit herself, she probably agrees with Rhett's grandson, A. Burnet Rhett, in thinking that the papers have been destroyed. However, this slim volume, while it does not record all that is known of Rhett, touches all the phases of his public career, previous to 1861, upon which positive evidence is now to be had. Waiving minor questions that might claim attention if space permitted, there are three large ones that form challenges: the book's method, the interpretation of Rhett in the crucial event of 1850-1851, his course in the Confederacy.

Miss White has not attempted to develop Rhett's actions out of his personality. Whether one will approve or not, is, of course, a matter of temperament. The reviewer happens to be one of those who cannot be satisfied with a biography unless it makes plain the inner life of the subject. Not to derive the surface of life from the inner world, is like accounting for the movement of the hands of a watch without admitting the existence of a mainspring. Especially is this true of the complex episode of secession, especially of the particular secessionist, Rhett. Without a theory, at least, of his inner world, of how the outer was made to accord with it through a process of imagination, there is no explaining his strange, bold, infatuated career.

Most of us will agree that the significant part of it was subsequent to 1850—interesting and picturesque as some of the earlier episodes are! We want to know what animated him in his first great endeavor, the attempt to organize the discontent inspired by the Compromise of 1850 and to convert it into a movement for secession. This problem is part of the larger one—illuminated so well by Professor Craven, in his recent life of Ruffin—the measuring of the real forces that brought secession to a head. Touching one of these, it is at last fashionable to use a phrase coined some time ago, "Southern nationalism". Was it a prime factor of the secession movement? Miss White insists that Rhett was an exponent of "Southern

nationalism"—thus contradicting the view that he was its very opposite, the last die-hard of anti-nationalistic state-rightsism. Perhaps the issue is chiefly a matter of phraseology. By "nationalism" Miss White seems to mean the desire for a concert of action by states that had similar economic interests. In that sense, she is free to go a long way insisting that Rhett assumed such a concert as the inevitable result of the secession of any Southern state. His Southern opponents accused him, at the time, of reasoning in just that way. But such a frame of mind cannot be called "nationalism" in the Hamiltonian sense. The defenders of the other interpretation of Rhett will not admit that his views were a phase of "Southern nationalism"—the desire for a centralized Southern republic—in any sense that Davis, for example, could have accepted.

The astonishing part of the book is the almost perfunctory treatment of Rhett's course in the Confederacy and of the retrospective light which it throws upon his habit of mind. His intemperate opposition to Davis, the fury of his antagonism to any hint of centralization, his preoccupation with points of view which, in the midst of a war for existence, seem nowadays incredible—all this should not have been skimmed over in forty-five pages. The scant treatment of these bewildering matters contributes to producing the sad conclusion that the definitive biography of Rhett is still to be written.

Scripps College.

N. W. STEPHENSON.

King Cotton Diplomacy: Foreign Relations of the Confederate States of America. By FRANK LAWRENCE OWSLEY, Ph. D., Professor of History, Vanderbilt University. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1931. Pp. xi, 617. \$5.00.)

PROFESSOR OWSLEY's massive history of Confederate diplomacy is an important contribution. With all the materials available, he has been able to deal with the subject in the round, so that we have not only a discussion of the Confederate commissioners in Europe, but admirable and remarkably interesting accounts of such matters as the affairs of the Confederacy in Mexico and the management and mismanagement of her finances abroad. The value of this book lies in its completeness, which goes far toward making it a definitive study. But the author is even more interested in new interpretations than in new facts. Much of the story is unified by the theme of cotton—the unanimity of the South with regard to its power over Europe, the embargo of 1861–1862 to make the cotton famine worse, the failure of cotton to effect any diplomatic advantage, and the proper use of the staple as the basis of Confederate finances. It is a story not without drama and, as the author's main theme, is carefully and convincingly worked out. But Professor Owsley, like all other writers on the subject,

was constantly pulled toward the ever-central question "Why Europe did not intervene", until he gives it perhaps undue prominence. His answer occupies a final chapter of conspicuous emphasis and, as it differs from the usually current view, is worth discussion. First Napoleon III. is briefly and correctly dismissed as unable to intervene without England because he could not alone hazard a war with America. It is Great Britain, then, that is the real problem, and her continued neutrality was due to three factors. First—and this occupies most of the author's attention—she had no economic motive for intervention because her ability to make war profits more than counteracted the pressure of the cotton famine in favor of intervention. Secondly, she thought almost throughout the war that the South would win its independence without aid anyway; while, lastly, England knew herself very vulnerable in the event of war with the United States.

All this is true but hardly the whole truth. Professor Owsley says, quite rightly, that there is little in the wheat theory—King Corn as stronger than King Cotton; he says there is nothing in the old notion of the idealistic starving cotton operatives heroically refraining from pressing the government to get them cotton: they were not idealists and in any event they had no political weight. But this does not dispose of all rivals. There were other reasons than cotton and a desire to destroy the United States why men in England wanted intervention; and there were other reasons than war profits and fear of the United States why she did not intervene. There were fear and suspicion of Napoleon III., for example; there were politically powerful groups who for domestic reasons wished the Union to be preserved. Professor Owsley's handling of the whole situation, indeed, raises something of a problem, for the author suffers even more than his predecessors from a disability common to all American students of Civil War diplomacy. The fact is that the voluminous sources for Americo-European relations are not adequate to answer the question "Why Europe did not intervene". It seems to the reviewer that if the conduct of British statesmen is to be explained, not only economic forces but domestic politics and European diplomacy must be studied. Professor E. D. Adams did that somewhat, but Professor Owsley has made no attempt to familiarize himself with the European scene. His Confederates are real people whom the author knows and judges intimately; but his Englishmen and Frenchmen are hardly ever more than names. To say that J. A. Roebuck's position in Parliament "was very much like that of John Bright" (p. 466), or to call W. E. Forster the American minister's "man Friday" (p. 339), is to betray almost as complete a lack of interest in his cast of characters as to mention Sir John Russell (p. 49) and Sir Robert Cecil (p. 477). English Nonconformity, so extensively mobilized against the Confederacy after emancipation, is not mentioned; nor does Liverpool appear at all in the index of a book which devotes a chapter to blockade-running. It would seem that

Confederate diplomacy and economic forces have interested the author so greatly as to make unimportant such matters as European conditions, slavery, and even international law.

Technically the work is not impeccable. The style leaves a good deal to be desired. Misprints are few, but English proper names are frequently in error (the proof reading of French is nearly perfect), and there are many incorrect figures in chapter 5, including a conversion of sterling into dollars at about \$3.90 (p. 153). The bibliography is badly organized, the index excellent.

Clark University.

H. DONALDSON JORDAN.

Portrait of an Independent: Moorfield Storey, 1845-1929. By M. A. DEWOLFE HOWE. (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company. 1932. Pp. iv, 384. \$3.50.)

MR. HOWE'S life of Moorfield Storey is an excellent illustration of the fact that biographies of recent outstanding figures can be written in calm and scholarly fashion. Nor does Mr. Howe find it necessary to entitle his volume "Luck and Pluck" or "Mordant Moorfield". The result is a volume which will appeal to the student, the scholar, the lawyer, and, in general, people who are interested in the formation of public opinion in these United States of ours. Mr. Howe describes Storey's characteristics as "bearing no plainly marked signs of local identification, but belonging to the Anglo-Saxon gentleman of cultivation and distinction, wherever he may be encountered". The description may be applied to the book.

Storey, as everybody knows, was an out-and-out independent. In fact he was so independent and so inclined to magnify the principles which he singled out for especial advocacy that he was frequently "pesky". Late in life, Mr. Storey briefly stated his position as follows: "If Lincoln and Sumner were Republicans, I was a Republican; if Cleveland was a Democrat, I was a Democrat; if George William Curtis was an Independent, I was an Independent" (p. 141). It will not escape the reader that the most recent of these admired few finished his political career as long ago as 1897. McKinley he condemned long and vigorously because of "a disgraceful war of conquest", going so far as to lead opposition in the board of overseers at Harvard when the corporation of the university proposed to give the President a degree of LL.D. Roosevelt and Bryan, Taft and Wilson, Hughes, Harding, and Coolidge, and many others received his outspoken disapprobation.

Perhaps the best illustration of the difficulties to which Storey's individualism carried him appears in the election of 1916. Storey approved the most important parts of Wilson's foreign and domestic policies with an enthusiasm which, for him, was considerable. On the other hand, he dis-

approved Hughes's leaving the Supreme Court in order to reënter politics, and feared that Hughes contemplated an aggressive foreign policy. Under such circumstances Storey's choice would seem to be an easy one. Nevertheless, he decided to support Hughes on the ground, apparently, that Wilson had appointed Brandeis to the Supreme Court and that he had assisted in the passage of the Adamson Act.

Few young men are placed in an environment so generally stimulating and broadening as that with which Storey was blessed in his youth. Not only did he have the advantage of the usual courses in school and at Harvard, but his family connections were such as to give him uncommon opportunities to meet and know many leaders of American thought. Shortly after leaving college he became secretary to Charles Sumner, remaining in this position from 1867 to 1869. This was the period of the impeachment and trial of Andrew Johnson, and Storey's youthful, cocksure judgments of the leaders of both sides of the controversy are one of the most informing parts of Mr. Howe's book. Moreover, Sumner obviously took an interest in young Storey and took pains to see that he met the "lions", both foreign and domestic. Not improbably the somewhat doctrinaire qualities of the older man were inculcated in the younger by the processes of association and imitation.

During the remainder of his career Storey practiced law in Boston, but found time to identify himself with a great number of public interests, especially civil service reform, anti-imperialism, and the advancement of the negro. In these and other enterprises he showed energy, insight, courage, and a vast devotion to principles as he saw them.

Mr. Howe's style is simple and convincing. The format of the book exemplifies good taste. The reader may lose patience with the hero of the book, but not with the author's presentation.

Dartmouth College.

CHARLES R. LINGLEY.

Woodrow Wilson: Life and Letters. By RAY STANNARD BAKER. Volume III., *Governor, 1910-1913*; volume IV., *President, 1913-1914*. (New York: Doubleday, Doran and Company. 1931. Pp. xii, 483; vi, 518. \$10.00.)

MR. BAKER's earlier volumes, covering the youth and the academic career of Woodrow Wilson, have already been reviewed in these pages. The two succeeding volumes, as the titles indicate, take the story through the New Jersey governorship and the first year of the presidency; foreign relations are brought down to the summer of 1914, domestic problems to the end of that year. This was the period of Wilsonian triumphs, long before he won the adulation of millions, but during which he achieved almost constant political success and translated ideas into solid legislative achievement. Cir-

cumstances of the time suited Wilson's qualities. His main strength lay in the presentation of broad political principles, which he knew how to clothe in attractive phrases, rather than in the working out of details. He proved an ideal candidate in the conditions of 1910 and 1912, and the impetus that he secured gave him a control over the legislative branch which helped him temporarily, at least, to realize his early dream of combining the functions of premier and president, of party leader and national leader. He was always at his best in the launching of a cause, at the beginning of a struggle, whether earlier in Princeton or later in his advocacy of the League. The call to the New Jersey governorship rescued him from a difficult situation at Princeton, the call to the national presidency saved him from increasing embarrassments at Trenton, just as the World War later enabled him to rest on his early laurels of domestic legislation, escape the threatened economic depression, and turn to foreign affairs.

The first of the volumes under consideration, although it is entitled *Governor*, is in reality devoted almost entirely to the Wilson candidacy for President, from 1910 to 1912. Of the 460 pages, only seventy-six are devoted to his administration at Trenton. The volume opens with a sketch of the early suggestions of political office for Wilson, while he was at Princeton, the New Jersey situation and the developing realization of Boss Smith that the Princeton president, however enigmatic to one of his sort, was unquestionably available. Wilson himself returned to his political ambitions with a good deal of hesitation, not so much it would seem from love of the academic situation, but rather because he feared he might be chasing rainbows. He accepted the New Jersey nomination certainly with the thought that it might open for him a path to the presidency. Whether Mr. Baker is quite fair to his hero in passing over so rapidly the New Jersey reforms, may be questioned. But the thesis of the volume is the astounding march of the academic figure into the center of state politics, where he captured a control that was at least temporarily complete, and the rapid acquisition of a national reputation by means of frequent tours and superlative eloquence. The latter portion of the volume is devoted to the struggle for delegates to the national convention of 1912, the Baltimore victory, the presidential campaign, and the choice of a cabinet. The succeeding volume, I think, does better justice to Wilson's political creative capacity. After an introductory picture of the President in the White House and his difficulties with office-seekers, it sketches the problem of foreign relations as he found it, with especial emphasis on the repudiation of "dollar diplomacy", proceeds to tariff reform, currency reform, and anti-trust legislation, covers the Huerta crisis and the A. B. C. mediation, and concludes with the Panama Tolls controversy and Caribbean problems.

Even the rather monotonous eulogy of the biographer cannot rob the record of these early months of the Wilson administration of the fresh-

ness and vitality which it injected into politics. The President possessed courage and imagination; utilizing both, he displayed qualities of convincing leadership. He was well served: The Cabinet he had constructed contained marked administrative talent, all the more remarkable in that the Democrats had been so long out of power, and proved politically able to hold together the party in Congress so as to put through Wilson's legislative program. The success of that program was beyond question due in the first instance to the President's extraordinary capacity for expressing the prevalent demand for reform measures, the persuasive quality of his eloquence in its effect upon Congress and the public, his ability to clarify a complex problem and reduce it to simple principles. But Mr. Baker gives a false impression, I think, in his continual emphasis upon the quality of grand strategy which he ascribes to Wilson. The President was not remarkable for the sort of political sagacity necessary to translate ideas into actual legislation; the passing of the Federal Reserve Act, the Tariff Act, the Clayton Anti-Trust Act, the repeal of Panama Tolls exemption, demanded a degree of party discipline which Wilson himself, with all his prestige, could not have commanded, and a knowledge of the arguments to be used with individual Congressmen which he did not possess. In this respect the rôle of Bryan was of much greater importance than the reader of these volumes would guess. It was with the greatest reluctance that Wilson, who doubtless appraised Bryan's intellect at its exact value, allowed himself to be persuaded to appoint him to a cabinet position. But without his active influence in Congress it would have been impossible to pass the Federal Reserve Act. Mr. Baker follows convention in ascribing major credit for the Federal Reserve to those who wrote the bill. It does not seem to occur to him that most of its provisions had been previously worked out, many of them by Republicans, and that the credit belongs not to those who wrote it but to those who brought it into being as a law; to those primarily who persuaded Bryan to forget his financial heresies, and to Bryan himself for his loyal support of a bill he never really understood.

Another factor of importance in this, as in later phases of Wilson's career, and one not adequately emphasized by the biographer, is the contact with various shades of influential opinion supplied to Wilson by his advisers, contact which he could not of himself have developed and without which his own estimate of public opinion would almost certainly have been at fault. Mr. Baker assumes, apparently, that Wilson had an unerring estimate of public opinion; he has chosen to minimize the rôle played by Colonel House, whom he pictures in good-humoured but rather patronizing phrases as a simple-minded individual who failed to understand Wilson, for whom the President had warm personal affection but for whose advice he had small respect. It is possible to argue that House's advice was not sagacious, but it is bad history to intimate that the President did not solicit

it, respect it, and follow it; the fact emerges plainly from Wilson's letters to House, very few of which are printed by Mr. Baker. The President framed his own policies, but they were based upon the information and counsel furnished him by advisers. The extent to which Wilson was dependent upon well-informed advisers is apparent from a comparison of the success of his early legislative program with the confusion of his Mexican policy. It is obvious that he knew little of the conditions in Mexico with which he attempted to deal, that he disregarded the career diplomats and depended upon journalists and inexperienced special agents. Even Mr. Baker's defense of the Mexican policy, which incidentally slurs over the garbling of Admiral Fletcher's telegram of April 16, 1914, cannot conceal the fact that the nation and the President were rescued from the embarrassment if not tragedy toward which Wilson's idealistic policy had led us, simply by the proffered mediation of the A. B. C. powers. The confusion and the inconclusion of Wilson's Mexican policy resulted not from mistaken principles, for they were the same he was later to develop with general approval on a larger stage in other parts of the world; the essential fiasco of that policy was caused by mistaken application of sound principles.

Wilson's title to real statesmanship is not spoiled by the futility of this particular aspect of policy any more than by the fact that he was prone to commit cardinal errors when he approached a problem without authoritative and well informed advisers. He still remains the man of really large vision, even though his vision was that of a prophet who always ran the danger of mistaking a mirage for facts; he was none the less the inspired leader despite the continual temptation to construct for himself an unreal world to accord with his own principles. From such a fate he was saved, during these years, by shrewd advisers. This aspect of Wilson, although it is vital to our comprehension of the final tragedy, is not acknowledged by Mr. Baker, who would doubtless dispute it vehemently. But I think his book would do better justice to the grandeur of Wilson's administration if it had been conceived in a more critical spirit, with less imputation of unworthy motives to Wilson's opponents, of dullness to Wilson's subordinates, and a more exact analysis of the President's qualities and defects. A more important criticism of these volumes is concerned with the basic character of the work. Mr. Baker has chosen to attempt a comprehensive and mature biography, in form, a definitive interpretation. He provides lengthy introductions to his chapters with sketches of the historical background of the tariff and labor problems, foreign affairs. He quotes from numerous printed sources. He tells us what were the "real issues". The result is that the book contains more of Mr. Baker than of Wilson; the biographer is continually interposed between his subject and the reader. Instead of Wilson's papers for which historians have been waiting, the reader is given an interpretation; instead of the documents, such phrases as "a close examination of the docu-

ments reveals . . ." or "it is clear enough from the documents that . . ." or "we find that . . ." followed by Mr. Baker's summary conclusion. Analysis of the Wilson papers contained in these two volumes reveals that of the 940 pages only 108 represent in sum Wilson letters hitherto unpublished; and of these more than a third in bulk are letters to Mrs. Hulbert, which have some personal but very little political interest. Eight-ninths of the two volumes thus represent material already printed or Mr. Baker's interpretations. Apart from the historian's disappointment that the space which might have been devoted to original material has gone to other purposes, the question arises as to whether we are not too close to Wilson to attempt a biography of this sort. A biographer possessing the historical scholarship and the literary capacity of Morley might have succeeded. But these pages are marked by technical and literary defects; Mr. Baker makes no distinction between different types of sources, whether letters, diaries, reminiscences; he apparently selects his sources with a thesis in mind; he does not indicate whether his sources are printed or not; he burdens his pages with repetitive use of rhetorical questions and exclamation points; he is lavish in his use of adjectives, often utilizing two or three in succession, with preference for certain marked favorites.

The strength of these volumes thus does not lie in the value of new material, nor in critical treatment, nor in literary quality, but rather in clarity of exposition. Mr. Baker's task, in view of the mass of documents consulted, has been gargantuan; however much we may cavil at his selective process, his arrangement of the selected documents is admirable. No matter how intricate the story, neither he nor the reader is ever lost. If in the succeeding volumes he will utilize his genius for clear arrangement and exposition so as to let Wilson's papers tell their own story, giving us more documents and less interpretation, if he will undertake the rôle of editor rather than of biographer, he will confer a boon upon historians.

Yale University.

CHARLES SEYMOUR.

SHORTER NOTICES

L'Unité Humaine: Histoire de la Civilisation et de l'Esprit Humain. Par Paul Perrier. Tome I. (Paris, Félix Alcan, 1931, pp. xlvii, 404, 60 fr.) Under various aliases—"Historismus", "la synthèse historique", and "the New History"—the philosophy of history which flourished a century ago and then died has revived. During a tour of the world M. Paul Perrier has written an extensive survey of the human record, dedicated to Henri Berr and intended to bring all the facts of social evolution under a single law. This law is the progressive unification of human thought, "la poursuite de l'unité humaine, voilà le grand fait de l'histoire qui résume tous les

autres". Religion progresses from many gods to one, from a multitude of specific laws to a few simple dogmas; small societies give place to large ones, finally to an ecumenical state; laws are codified and simplified; science replaces a multiplicity of empirical rules by a few master generalizations. By a bold definition, or analogy, M. Perrier brings together the tendency of small societies to merge into larger ones, and the scientific process by which groups of facts are subsumed under ever larger general formulas. To the author the growing unity of the world under improved means of communication and the increasing power of science to deal with abstractions seem to be two phases of the same law.

Not only is this analogy deceptive, but in its second member, so general as to be useless for heuristic purposes. What M. Perrier has discovered, in his law of increasing abstraction, is not a law of history, but a general law of thought. It is about as valuable as would be the discovery that the pursuit of wealth has made mankind richer. The real interest of M. Perrier's work lies not in its contribution to the understanding of history, but in its testimony to the tendency of this age to pay homage to scientific progress and to the idea of a world society. Not in his conclusions, but in his method and presuppositions, he reminds me both of Hegel and of Boileau, those legislators who mistook the manifesto of a party for the discovery of the ultimate laws of nature.

Cornell University.

PRESERVED SMITH.

On Understanding Women. By Mary R. Beard. (New York, Longmans, Green and Company, 1931, pp. viii, 541, \$3.50.) Mrs. Beard's thesis is that "Woman and her work in the world can best be understood in relation to the total process that has brought mankind from primitive barbarism to its present state" (p. 32). Feeling that men who have written histories of civilization have not devoted due space to women, and despairing of any tendency among women who have entered the historical field toward correcting this defect, she has gallantly thrown herself into the breach and endeavored to provide a more balanced ration. She has begun with primitive man and ended with speculation about the future: inserting among the recognized male leaders women from the barbarian at her cooking and weaving to the modern woman who invents agricultural machinery, from the pythoness to Rosa Luxembourg, from Queen Hatasu to Veraigner.

The author has foreseen that the historian will question her method and must correct her narrative, but she disclaims the attempt to do more than blaze a trail, which others must clear. Yet it seems fairly certain that if she had not set herself so vast a task she would have made her point more effectively. In a carefully documented study of men and women working together in some one period for which she had a mastery of the sources she

could have gone farther toward making clear the nature and importance of woman's contribution than she has succeeded in doing by rambling over the whole field of human history.

Vassar College.

LOUISE FARGO BROWN.

Staatsform und Politik: Untersuchungen zur Griechischen Geschichte des 6. und 5. Jahrhunderts. Von Hans Schaefer. (Leipzig, Dieterich'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1932, pp. viii, 283, 11 M.) The author's point of departure is Hasebroek's thesis that the causes of imperialism in antiquity were altogether economic. This perilous simplification of historical problems, with which, in one form or another, we have become so familiar in recent years, challenges the critical judgment of Herr Schaefer, who embarks on a thorough and stimulating analysis of the functional evolution of international relations. The beginnings are in those remote days for which Homer is our only witness, when a man away from his own country had no rights whatever, but was dependent on the protection of his host who would be constrained to receive him, if at all, by religious scruples and common humanity, but by no law or convention. Mutual convenience, however, led to the development of a state of reciprocity in relation to hospitality and eventually to the device of proxeny, by which an individual of one city considered himself the regular and proper host for any person from some other city. So far the relation was a purely personal one, but proxeny speedily developed international aspects, for it was inevitable that the labors and expenses of the proxenus should be rewarded by the city whose citizens he received. Such reward might be mere compliment, but it might be the bestowal of valuable privileges or actual payment. In this case a formal relationship was established between an individual and a foreign state which was the natural prelude to a formal relation between states.

On the other hand, international relations were affected by relations within the state. That partial surrender of individual rights which is essential to the formation of a state could not but suggest the analogous advantages to be gained by a friendly combination between states based on similar concessions. But in Greece the spirit of concession had always to combat the forces of individualism and the intensely competitive aspect of all phases of public life. Later philosophers might debate the virtues of equality, but it was foreordained that a league, such as the Delian League, should become the Athenian empire by the inevitable domination of the strongest state. Leadership was not only a practical asset; it was an ideal against which not even the federal ideal of the Achæan League (which is beyond the scope of this book) could prevail.

Yale University.

ALFRED R. BELLINGER.

The Excavations at Dura-Europos: Preliminary Report of the Third Season of Work, November, 1929-March, 1930. Edited by P. V. C. Baur, Professor of Classical Archaeology in Yale University, M. I. Rostovtzeff, Sterling Professor of Ancient History and Classical Archaeology in Yale University, and Alfred R. Bellinger, Assistant Professor of Greek and Latin in Yale University. [Conducted by Yale University and the French Academy of Inscriptions and Letters.] (New Haven, Yale University Press, 1932, pp. xiv, 168, 20 plates, \$2.00.) During the season 1929-1930 the temples of Artemis and Atargatis and a large part of the adjacent "Priests' House" were completely excavated and work was carried on at the "Custom House" near the Palmyrene Gate, at baths in the same region, along the South Ramparts, at the Southwest Bastion, and at the Triumphal Arch. Numerous miscellaneous objects (pottery, glass, lamps, tools, etc.), many coins (Seleucid, Parthian, and Roman of various mints), twenty-two Greek and two Semitic inscriptions (one apparently Christian), and a number of interesting works of sculpture were found. In connection with a relief representing Atargatis and Hadad, Professor Baur contributes a learned treatise on fetichism, the Earth-Goddess and the Storm-God, and their cults and art forms. The Greek city of Dura was founded by Seleucus Nicator (306-281 B.C.) and was always in close touch with Antioch. It was conquered by the Parthians, then by the Romans, and under Caracalla became a Roman colony, Aurelia Antoniniana Europos. The Sassanid Sapor I. conquered and probably destroyed it, 256 A.D. These facts are established by the coins, inscriptions, and ruins. The excellent report contains a classified list of coins and much interesting discussion of individual objects and of the temples, their chronology and their relation to Babylonian and other buildings.

The Library of Congress.

HAROLD N. FOWLER.

A Bibliographical Guide to the History of Christianity. Compiled by S. J. Case, J. T. McNeill, W. W. Sweet, W. Pauck, M. Spinka. Edited by S. J. Case. (Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1932, pp. xi, 265, \$2.50.) Recent experience has given the reviewer a sympathetic approach to this manifestly useful little volume. In much of his philosophy of life he prefers the *both-and* solution to the *either-or*, but in the space restrictions of a manual, the latter becomes nearly a Hobson's choice. The detection of petty errors has merely irritated bruises not yet healed; a slight infusion from a sense of humor into Stoic resignation seems the only balm when pernickety blunders remind one of the total depravity of inanimate things. Scientific and literary language may yield to the colloquial in such an emotional area. One illustration will suffice: a recent work of one of the collaborators is listed as of 1939! More unfortunate are such slips as these: *The Dictionary*

of *American Biography*, "To be completed in twelve volumes" [for 20]; the beginning of the *American Historical Review* at 1912 [for 1895].

Reviewers' judgments in the matter of selection of titles, inclusions and exclusions, will differ from one another as much as each from that of the compilers of this work; with the statement of the possible uses in its preface, the present reviewer would have included some works of broader gauge which are omitted, even though it would have required the omission of some special studies. Monographs are so numerous, those selected might well have been clustered about important fields of historical investigation in ways which would have disclosed more definitely the controversial and the neglected areas. It is surprising that no reference was made to the approaching publication of the *Guide to Historical Literature* (May, 1931), in which three of the compilers had generously collaborated. The utility of the book as a syllabus would have been enhanced if a conspectus of its analysis had been included. The index, arranged chiefly by authors and less inclusive of topics, gives no ready aid to one who is searching for periodicals or biography.

W. H. A.

The Damascus Chronicle of the Crusades. Extracted and translated from the Chronicle of Ibn al-Qalānisi, by H. A. R. Gibb, M.A., Professor of Arabic in the University of London. (London, Luzac and Company, 1932, pp. 368, 15 s.) At last we have a translation into a Western language of the most important Arabic source for the early period of the Crusades. The manuscript in the Bodleian Library was edited in 1908 by H. F. Amedroz, who printed the Arabic text and supplied a summary and valuable bibliographical notes. This excellent edition, however, was little used and writers on the Crusades continued to quote Sibṭ ibn al-Jawzī, Ibn al-Athīr, Abū Shāma, and other later writers who had drawn most of their information from Ibn al-Qalānisi.

Professor Gibb has translated almost all the Chronicle from 1096 on. The author was a learned and devout Muslim who held important offices in Damascus, lived to be over ninety years of age (lunar years), and continued his Chronicle till within a month of his death, in 1160. His interest was centered in Damascus and he was not always well informed about events elsewhere, but he strove to be accurate and he had, in particular, much information about Egypt. He gave many dates which would have been useful to Röhrich and Hagenmeyer if they had had access to his work.

His Chronicle emphasizes the divisions among the Muslims which aided the Crusaders; the relations between Damascus and the Christians—even under Nureddin the city paid tribute to the Franks; the activities of the Assassins. His accounts of the death of Zangi and of the fruitless attack on Damascus at the time of the Second Crusade especially deserve notice.

He mentions the arrest by the Franks, in 1138, of 500 "Muslin merchants and men of Aleppo and traders" in Antioch and the coast towns (p. 246), the apostasy of the Qādī and about 400 Muslims in Buzā 'a who "turned Christian" when the town was captured (p. 250). We would gladly know what became of the countless books which the Christians got in the booty at Tripoli in 1109 (p. 89). These details give only a suggestion of the wealth of material in the Chronicle.

D. C. M.

Opera Hactenus Inedita T. Livii de Frulovisiis de Ferraria. Recognovit C. W. Previté-Orton, Litt.D., Acad. Brit. Socius, Collegii S. Iohannis Evangelistae, Socius et Bibliothecarius. (Cambridge, University Press; New York, Macmillan Company, 1932, pp. xxxvii, 397, \$8.50.) Titus Livius has hitherto been important for historians as the author of a fifteenth century life of Henry V. In 1915 Mr. Previté-Orton called attention in the *English Historical Review* to a manuscript text of seven comedies by this same author belonging to St. John's College, Cambridge. This he has now edited and published along with Livius's other unpublished works, a treatise on the state (*De Republica*) from a manuscript in the municipal library at Reggio-Emilia, and an *Encomium* addressed to the bishop of Bath. The task of editing these has been simplified by the fact that each of the manuscripts exists in a single copy. The editor assumes also, reasonably enough, that the plays and the *De Republica* are texts which were written or corrected by the author himself.

For the student of Humanism and of the Renaissance this volume will be of interest as showing the work of an early humanist (fl. 1430-1440), even when it is recognized that Titus Livius was a person of no very great talents or particular importance. He was probably typical of a large group of literary schoolmasters who had an arder for the new learning greater than their literary ability, and who had to make a living in an aristocratic society by their pens and their wits. In the present instance the comedies are presented by the editor as the "first purely secular plays imitated from classic play-wrights, yet drawing their theme from contemporary life and character, which are known to have been really performed". In this respect the author may be regarded as something of a pioneer in the development of the modern drama. As a political theorist it must be admitted that Titus Livius cannot rank very high, but it is claimed that his *De Republica* is the earliest presentation of a Renaissance view of the state, and that consequently it is of interest as illustrating a phase in the transition from the medieval point of view to the political ideas of Machiavelli.

Williams College.

RICHARD A. NEWHALL.

Sveriges Riksdag. Förra Avdelningen. Band I., Riksdagens Uppkomst och Utveckling intill Medeltidens Slut. By Sven Tunberg. (Stockholm, Victor Pettersons Bokindustriaktiebolag, 1931, pp. 224, 6.50 Swedish crowns.) This work is the first volume of a series of fifteen to be published under the auspices of the government as a memorial of the 500th anniversary of the establishment of the Swedish parliament. Written by Professor Sven Tunberg, of the University of Stockholm, it deals with the origin of the Riksdag and its development until the end of the Middle Ages. Although some literature is available on this period of Swedish history, chiefly the constitutional histories and commentaries of Naumann, Hildebrand, and Herlitz, there has been no previous comprehensive account of the genesis and early growth of the Riksdag. Based as it is upon almost wholly primary source material, most of which is extremely difficult to handle, Professor Tunberg's contribution is of great value.

The author outlines as the forerunners of the Riksdag the *Herredag* (cf. the German *Herrentag*), or exclusive assembly of notables, which is found as early as the close of the twelfth century, and the electoral assemblies provided in the old provincial laws for the election of the kings. In 1359 King Magnus Ericsson called a meeting at Kalmar to which all classes of the kingdom were summoned. This was an isolated instance, however, and had no great importance with respect to the later development. The increasing domination of the aristocracy, as well as the strong rule exercised by Marguerite, saw little need of the participation of wider elements of the population in the central government.

The revolt of Englebrekt against both the union with Denmark-Norway and the aristocratic council, demanded the coöperation of the masses and it is out of this national movement that the Riksdag was born. The assembly of estates which at the initiative of Engelbrekt gathered at Arboga in January, 1435, is definitely established by Tunberg as the first Swedish Riksdag. During that year and 1436 there were four such meetings, at all of which representatives from the important elements of the population participated. The democratic representative gathering which here saw its beginning became an important element in the awakening of nationalism and the reestablishment of independence. The extent to which the Riksdag became an accepted institution in the life of the state is demonstrated by the fact that when Christian II. arrived in Sweden in the spring of 1520 one of his first acts was to summon a Riksdag in Stockholm. At the break from Denmark and the birth of modern Sweden under Gustavus Vasa, the Swedish parliament, although not yet possessing any definite forms of procedure or legal standing, furnished a recognized means of consultation between king and people.

The University of California.

ERIC CYRIL BELLQUIST.

De Zinspreuk in Necessariis Unitas, in non Necessariis Libertas, in Utriusque Caritas: Eenheid in het Noodige, Vrijheid in het niet Noodige, in Beide de Liefde: Oorsprong, Beteekenis en Verbreiding. Door Dr. A. Eekhof. (Leiden, A. W. Sijthoff, 1931, pp. 87.) Professor Eekhof is secretary of the University of Leiden, and teaches Church history in that institution. Most of his numerous writings have been devoted to various phases of the Reformation. In the present one he throws welcome light on Petrus Meiderlinus, or Rupertus Meldenius, who, in his *Paraenesis votiva pro Pace Ecclesiae*, used for the first time the phrase, *In Necessariis Unitas, in non Necessariis Libertas, in Utriusque Caritas*. This phrase, as Dr. Eekhof clearly shows, is generally misunderstood and wrongly translated by writers who have quoted it since the middle of the eighteenth century. It should read in English, "Unity in things necessary to salvation, liberty in those not necessary to salvation, charity in both".

The University of Michigan.

A. HYMA.

A History of Europe from 1494 to 1610. By A. J. Grant, formerly Professor of History in the University of Leeds. [History of Medieval and Modern Europe, volume V.] (New York, G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1932, pp. xiii, 572, \$6.50.) A more accurate title for this book would be *A History of Politics, Diplomacy, War, and Religion in France and in Western Europe from 1494 to 1610*. Yet the author himself says that "it would be absurd to limit the history of the sixteenth century to international and domestic politics, and to ecclesiastical and religious matters, important as these were" (p. 528) and he defends himself in his preface for having extended his survey to cover the whole of Europe. A brief concluding chapter alone concerns itself with economic and social factors and contains the only serious examination in the whole book of such topics as art, literature, philosophy, or political theory. Eleven of the twenty-two chapters deal with France: of the four chapters devoted to areas not strictly Western European, only one is really successful (The Old World and the New). England is omitted. The author and his book suffer from a very narrow and, in this year of grace, indefensible definition of both *History* and *Europe*.

Despite too many facts and a great deal of repetition, the book is carefully planned and clearly written. The author is usually well-informed and occasionally stimulating. He thinks that the *Republic* of Plato provoked more speculation in Europe than the discovery of both Americas and all the Indies. He suggests that democracy, if it is the offspring of the Reformation, must have been the child of its extreme old age. There are excellent paragraphs on Paul IV., Charles V., Gustavus Adolphus, the Peace of Augsburg, and the Edict of Nantes. Savoy, for once, is adequately

treated. Few would agree, however, that "the decade from 1515 to 1525 is the most controversial in the history of Europe". The French Renaissance is slighted; the interpretation of the massacre of St. Bartholomew's Day is unsatisfactory. The extensive use of the Grand Design of Henry IV. "for the light it throws on the ideas of the times" is certainly curious in view of the author's own confession that it belongs neither to Henry IV. nor to the sixteenth century. There are no references to recent critical work bearing upon Sully's *Mémoires*.

The bibliographical lists are scattered and inadequate. The author gives no evidence of having read and certainly does not mention Preserved Smith's *Age of the Reformation* (1920), his *History of Modern Culture* (volume I., 1930), or Paul van Dyke's *Catherine de Médicis* (1922)—his *Ignatius Loyola* (1926) is listed. There are three appendixes, two of them needless, several genealogical tables, a good index, and a sufficient number of black and white maps. The format of the book is excellent.

This book is roughly similar to the well-known work on the seventeenth century by David Ogg; it differs almost completely in both scope and method from the masterly analysis of that same century which has recently come from the pen of G. N. Clark.

Smith College.

SIDNEY R. PACKARD.

De Handel op den Vijand, 1572-1609. Door Dr. J. H. Kernkamp. Deel I., 1572-1588. (Utrecht, Kemink and Son, 1931, pp. 257, 359. fl.) Trade with the enemy has been a constant, though more or less obscure, factor in modern wars, the World War, as we are beginning to know, not excepted. That it recurs in spite of efforts of belligerent governments to stop it, in spite of the severest penalties and the reprehension of patriots, suggests that there may be an underlying reasonableness in this phenomenon which awaits historical analysis. It is noteworthy that the Dutch, who were for a century and a half the foremost mercantile nation of Europe, and whose government was most closely in touch with economic realities, held practical views in regard to trade with the enemy. Dr. Kernkamp's thesis covers the years during which the fledgling republic was fighting for dear life against Spain. It affords many important sidelights on that struggle as also on an already vigorous Anglo-Dutch commercial rivalry, on the mutual relations of the provinces composing the Union of Utrecht, and on the tariff policy finally adopted by the states general. Trade with Spain, especially in grain, materials for shipbuilding, and munitions, was so profitable to the Dutch that it was suffered to continue without serious interruption except for the brief interval of Leicester's government. Trade with the southern provinces reconciled to Spain and occupied by Parma was another and a burning question. Here the inland provinces were arrayed against Holland and Zealand, and Holland and Zealand as usual against each other. The

policy of the states general fluctuated, and there were several periods of prohibition alternating with periods of connivance before Holland enforced her will in the matter in 1587. Thereafter trade to the southern provinces was open, though liable to heavy taxation in the form of licences. Justification for this unorthodox solution was found in the argument that if the Hollanders and Zealanders should abstain, enemy trade would fall to the unloved English and Hanseats, while the maritime provinces would be unable to find the revenue necessary for the war.

Vassar College.

VIOLET BARBOUR.

Cornwallis in Bengal: the Administrative and Judicial Reforms of Lord Cornwallis in Bengal, together with Accounts of the Commercial Expansion of the East India Company, 1786-1793, and of the Foundation of Penang, 1786-1793. By A. Aspinall, M.A., Ph.D., Lecturer in History in the University of Reading, formerly Lecturer in History in the University of Rangoon. [Publications of the University of Manchester, Historical Series, no. LX.] (Manchester, University Press, 1931, pp. xv, 210, 15 s.) The career of Lord Cornwallis reflects the shift of British imperial interest from the west to the east which followed the American Revolution. With the great secession of 1776-1783 Great Britain's possessions in India assumed new importance and value in mercantile opinion. William Pitt was expressing that opinion when he said, in 1784, that India "had at all times been of great consequence to this country from the resources of opulence and strength it afforded; and that consequence had, of course, increased in proportion to the losses sustained by the dismemberment of other great possessions; by which losses the limits of the Empire being more contracted, the remaining territories became more valuable". Cornwallis, whose name is indelibly associated with the loss of an empire, played a not unimportant part in the upbuilding of a new one.

The scope of Dr. Aspinall's monograph is indicated by its subtitle. In the body of the book the internal reforms of Cornwallis's governor-generalship are described, and two appendixes deal, respectively, with the trade of the East India Company at the time and with the founding of Penang, the first of the Straits Settlements. The author leaves out of consideration, on the ground that they have been treated adequately elsewhere, the permanent settlement of the land revenues of Bengal which Cornwallis brought about and his war with Tipu of Mysore. On the basis of sources published and unpublished he describes the administrative, commercial, and judicial reforms of Cornwallis's administration. He is thoroughly objective and impartial throughout, and his study is free from that smug national self-satisfaction that marks so much of what Englishmen—even scholarly Englishmen—have written about India. He does full justice to the governor-general's integrity and high sense of duty, and to the sincerity of his desire

to improve the material conditions of the natives. But he makes it clear that Cornwallis had little insight into the nature and needs of the people he was called upon to govern. He had an undue confidence that institutions would work as they were intended to work, and it was his policy, for which he was not exclusively responsible, "to make everything as English as possible in a country which resembles England in nothing". He had a deeply rooted conviction that Indians were untrustworthy in public office and replaced Indian judges of the criminal courts by Englishmen. It is Dr. Aspinall's opinion that "the Cornwallis system" tended to "debase rather than uplift the people". The company's government of Bengal was superior in certain respects to that which it had destroyed, but the advantages were purchased at a heavy price.

Columbia University.

R. L. SCHUYLER.

The French Revolution, 1789-1799. By Leo Gershoy, Associate Professor of History, Long Island University. [Berkshire Studies in European History.] (New York, Henry Holt and Company, 1932, pp. x, 111, \$1.00.) In this book Professor Gershoy presents an adequate brief sketch of the Revolutionary period. After explaining "What the Revolution Was and Was Not", he demonstrates that it was "... an effort to effect reforms long deferred and badly needed", and shows how finally "a severe financial crisis precipitated revolutionary developments". The author then proceeds to his theme—the eighteenth century evolution of modern order out of medieval chaos. This he develops through *The Essay in Constitutional Monarchy, 1789-1792*, *The Rise and Fall of the Jacobin Commonwealth, 1792-1795*, and *Trial and Failure of the Constitutional Republic, 1795-1799*, completing the study with an epitome of the Revolution and a survey of conditions in 1799.

The chief value of the work lies perhaps in the writer's simple treatment of such intricate matters as the economic difficulties, the international complications, and the political clubs and parties. His descriptive powers, too, manifesting themselves in frequent provocative passages, enhance the quality of the book, for example (p. 21), his remark that "July 14 had promised the people political control, and August 4 social equality, but these promises were not to be redeemed without a struggle", and (p. 44) his estimate of the Girondins as "much too fastidious to overlook the tattered clothes, the dirty faces, and the sweating bodies of the people".

The faults of the volume, while not serious, are none the less obvious. A broader interpretation of the old régime might well have been given to show more effectively the need for reform in 1789. The bibliography, although necessarily brief, should scarcely omit Acton's *Lectures on the French Revolution*, Henderson's *Symbol and Satire in the French Revolution*, Sorel's *L'Europe et la Révolution Française*, Lowell's *Eve of the French*

Revolution, and the volume *La Révolution Française* in Hachette's *Encyclopédie par l'Image*. Biographical studies of the king and queen are missing, as are the University of Pennsylvania *Translations and Reprints*; and an otherwise excellent list of novels seems incomplete without Barrington's *Empress of Hearts*.

Withal, Professor Gershoy has provided a useful guide for beginners, and those interested in the Revolutionary period will doubtless await with pleasure his more extensive forthcoming work.

Western Reserve University.

JOHN HALL STEWART.

Venice and Bonaparte. By George B. McClellan, Professor of Economic History in Princeton University. (Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1931, pp. 307, \$3.50.) The story of the actual extinction of the Venetian state has usually been narrated in a few paragraphs as an episode in the career of Bonaparte, rather than recounted in detail as an event of intrinsic significance. By performing this latter task the present author has done a real service to English readers. Despite its merits the volume lacks the distinction of style necessary to attract the general reader and falls short of the exhaustiveness of research and breadth of treatment demanded by the historical scholar. The author has made good use of the Venetian archives; but those of other countries, notably France and Austria, have not been consulted. The bibliography lists about two hundred titles in Italian, French and English, but omits so important a work as Guyot's *Le Directoire et la Paix de l'Europe*. German works are lacking so that the Austrian side of the case is unrepresented. The Napoleonic scholar will criticize the correlation with the campaign of 1796 as something less than adequate, the student of Italian history will regret that the integration with the history of the peninsula has not been more perfect, and the historian of Austria will be still more severe in his indictment of the inadequate consideration of Hapsburg interests and activities.

One-third of the narrative is devoted to a survey of the background and a description of the political, economic, and social life of Venice in the eighteenth century. The other two-thirds, which are the real essence of the book, recount chronologically, in eleven chapters, the events of 1796-1797. Probably most writers have passed a much too severe judgment on Bonaparte's abrupt intervention in Venice and his summary diplomatic disposition of the city and its territories, but the present author seems to sin as much on the side of leniency. The accounts of the disturbances in Bergamo, Brescia, and Verona in March and April, 1797, and the attribution of responsibility are plausible but not fully convincing. The later chapters which describe the overthrow of the republic, the period of French control, and the transfer to Austria are, doubtless, the best, though the reader may refuse

to indorse all the judgments. The concluding chapter presents a reasonable interpretation of Bonaparte but will raise a multitude of questions in the mind of the intelligent reader. It is unfortunate that so good a book should offer to the reviewer so many temptations to be critical.

Wesleyan University.

GEORGE MATTHEW DUTCHER.

Der Freiherr vom Stein in seinem Verhältnis zu Religion und Kirche. Von Dr. Herbert Hafner. (Berlin-Grunewald, Walther Rothschild, 1932, pp. xiv, 109, 5.60 M.) The Prussian statesman and reformer, the Freiherr vom Stein, died in 1831. The centenary of his death has produced a very considerable addition to the literature about him. In general these volumes, monographs, and source collections have added little that was strikingly novel. They have in most cases served a useful purpose in supplementing the work of Pertz, Lehmann, Meier, and others, and in emphasizing special phases of his career.

Dr. Hafner's monograph is an excellent example of what can be done by the intensified study of a single phase. He has searched the printed sources and read again family letters in the archives at Capenberg. He has followed this up with an analysis to the second or third intellectual generation of those with whom Stein came in contact or whose works he may have read. The mother, the tutor, his superior Heinitz, the preachers he heard, such as Eylert and Schleiermacher, his friends Brandes and Rehberg, his mother's friend, the mystic and physiognomist, Lavater, the Catholics and Herrnhüter and Calvinists with whom he had to deal, and back of them the philosophers, theological writers, and conservative pamphleteers like Burke, are all passed in review. With praiseworthy industry he has arranged these influences, direct and remote, and Stein's own utterances into chapters that follow chronologically from his youth to his old age. The whole study does not reveal a new Stein nor any novel interpretation of the relation of religion to his personality and policy, such as Lenz offered in his essay on Bismarck's religion or could be derived from Bismarck's letter to Herr von Puttkammer asking for the hand of his daughter. We knew Stein well from the angle of his relations to religion and the church on the basis of such a picture as is given by Eylert in the excerpt I translated in my brief biography of Stein.

Stein was neither pietist nor rationalist nor philosopher. He repudiated the old orthodoxy and its forms but retained a simple faith in divine revelation in the Bible. Doing his duty, learning all he could, and leaving the rest to Providence were characteristic of him at all times. When Napoleon triumphed and Prussia was prostrate, and again when reaction was in the saddle his utterances on political ethics, the moral character of the state, his exaltation of the fatherland with a fervent faith, take more and more the pietistic color of a superrational, traditional religious belief reinforced by

personal experience and what he called "sound common sense". At all times as man or statesman he was free from denominational prepossessions. The study as a whole is a good piece of scholarly workmanship, and chapters IV. and V. are especially commendable.

The University of Minnesota.

GUY STANTON FORD.

The Suez Canal: its History and Diplomatic Importance. By Charles W. Hallberg, Ph.D., Syracuse University. [Studies in History, Economics, and Public Law, no. 348.] (New York, Columbia University Press, 1931, pp. 434, \$5.25.) The salient points in the history of the Suez Canal have been set forth on a number of occasions since the opening of that "Second Bosphorus" in 1869. Mr. Hallberg, in writing on this interesting subject, has justified a new work and performed a service in unifying previous studies relating to the canal, in adducing some new evidence from British, French, and Austrian archives, and in bringing the account down to date. It is a bit surprising that the author should consider it appropriate to devote his first three chapters, almost one-sixth of his narrative, to a review of ancient, medieval, and early modern canals and canal projects in Egypt, inasmuch as the present waterway is the lineal descendant of none of these, but rather of the French plan represented by the survey of 1799. The remainder of the book, however, presents a very fair account of the evolution of the present canal through the last century and a quarter. The successive obstructions raised by the British government, British acquisition of control of the completed waterway, and the subsequent incompatibility of the neutralization of the canal with adequate protection of British interests in the East are treated in detail, the commercial and financial history of the canal being relegated to a series of appendixes.

There is little in Mr. Hallberg's interpretation of national attitudes toward the canal or of the commercial and strategic importance of that artery which need be questioned, or, for that matter, little which is new. For the most part the author is content to present his evidence without comment. He appears to believe that while the canal is extremely important to British commercial interests, it is not necessarily vital to the British empire because of the existence of the old and reliable Cape route. He demonstrates the truth of the frequent assertion that the independence of Egypt must needs be circumscribed by British measures for the defense of the canal. But he omits mention of one important and complicated factor in the political situation of Egypt—that the operation of the canal depends on a constant supply of fresh water which must necessarily be drawn from the Nile through the Sweet Water Canal, and that the questionable advantage which the Egyptian government thus possesses is fully offset by British control of the sources of the Nile itself.

Although the book is well written for the most part, it bears some

unfortunate marks of amateurishness. This is most evident in certain doubtful generalizations, in the treatment of incidental subject matter, and in the author's failing always to verify the sources used. These and other slight imperfections, however, do not obscure the sound qualities of a useful addition to the literature of the Suez Canal.

Tufts College.

HALFORD L. HOSKINS.

Friedrich List: Schriften, Reden, Briefe. Band II., *Grundlinien einer Politischen Oekonomie, und Andere Beiträge der Amerikanischen Zeit, 1825-1832.* Herausgegeben von William Notz. [Im Auftrag der Friedrich List-Gesellschaft, E.V.] (Berlin, Reimar Hobbing, 1931, pp. xiv, 530, 18 M.) This is the second volume of a seven volume edition of the works of Friedrich List, and covers the period of his residence in the United States, 1825-1832. It is edited by Dr. William Notz, of Georgetown University, who has brought to his task scholarship and painstaking industry. A critical essay on "Friedrich List in America" introduces the volume and very full notes and commentaries conclude it. The body of the book consists of List's *Outlines of American Political Economy*, his Philadelphia Speech, Harrisburg Address, and numerous shorter articles, excerpts from his journal, and from the *Readinger Adler*, of which he was editor for five years. Some of these are here printed for the first time, while practically none was previously available in complete form in any book. For the service of rendering this material accessible thanks are due the Friedrich List-Gesellschaft of Germany.

List's career is of interest both to German and to American students, for he influenced the development of economic thought in each country, and was in turn profoundly influenced by his residence in the United States. It has usually been assumed that List obtained his ideas about protection from his observations in this country and from reading Hamilton, Clay, Carey, and other American writers, and that his *National System of Political Economy* was based upon these experiences. A careful reading of these documents shows, however, that he had already developed the main principles of his system before coming to this country and that he only enlarged and clarified his original views with the rich experiences from the New World. On the other hand his vigorous protest against the individualism and free trade teaching of Adam Smith fitted in admirably with the American System proclaimed by Henry Clay and appeared at the psychological moment to give theoretical support to the doctrine of protection to infant industries and the development of a home market.

List's teachings had a more marked affect upon economic thought in Germany than upon that in the United States, but even in this country his writings have not been without influence. It is to be hoped that the ex-

cellent volume under review may be published in this country in translation and thus be rendered even more useful.

The University of Illinois.

E. L. BOGART.

Johann Gustav Droysen und die Preussisch-Deutsche Frage. Von Felix Gilbert. [Beiheft 20 der *Historischen Zeitschrift*.] (Munich, R. Oldenbourg, 1931, pp. vi, 148, 7.20 M.) Gilbert differs from Hintze and other commentators on Droysen's *Alexander*. They see in the portrayal of the Macedonian military monarchy, opposed to particularistic Hellas, a parallel to the desired supremacy of Prussia over the lesser German states. He argues that Droysen emphasized, not the conquest of the Greek states, but the spread of Greek culture in Asia. Droysen's parallel is to be found in the idea, which he held until late in 1848, that the problem of the relation of Prussia to Germany lay in a contest, not of living state personalities but of spiritual values; that the disappearance of Prussia in a future German national state would not be a sacrifice of Prussia, but the realization of "the Prussia idea". Unlike most of his liberal contemporaries, he rejoiced that the United Diet of 1847 did not lead to a Prussian constitution. He feared that the success of the Prussian constitutional assembly of 1848 and the establishment of a Prussian parliament at Berlin, would prevent the accomplishment of what he believed essential to German unity: the division of Prussia into three or four territorial states in personal union under the dynasty which could find its compensation and its real center of interest in the headship of the Reich. The grant of the constitution by Frederick William IV. dashed his hopes, but it completed the opening of his eyes to the real cohesion of the Prussian monarchy and to the practical necessities of the problem. The idea of the Prussian conquest of Germany took shape in his mind. He undertook a study of the history of Prussian state policy and found a remarkable coincidence of the interests of the Prussian state with the interests of Germany.

The reader will find here much else of interest about the development of Droysen's historical views, in his departure from the influence of Hegel and in his difference from Ranke. At the moment, however, the main theme stands out, for the problem of the relation of Prussia to Germany, which was practically in abeyance during the years of the empire, has again become a question of vital importance.

The University of Minnesota.

LAWRENCE D. STEEFEL.

Histoire de Belgique. Par H. Pirenne, Professeur à l'Université de Gand. Tome VII., *De la Révolution de 1830 à la Guerre de 1914.* (Brussels, Maurice Lamertin, 1932, pp. xii, 416, 55 fr.) One is accustomed to dismiss the Belgian Revolution of 1830 with the thought that once the dif-

ficulty of the selection of Leopold of Saxe-Coburg was over, all went smoothly in the new nation. Professor Pirenne's latest volume shows that this was not the case and that the new king had an exceedingly difficult rôle to play.

By nature Leopold I. was a conservative, but he had to put into operation a constitution that weakened the executive in every way—"une monarchie républicaine". Placed between a conservative reactionary force and a bourgeoisie more liberal than that which dominated France, any other king might easily have had anarchy or revolution on his hands. But Leopold led Belgium through the danger. The situation, in fact, was not a purely political one; there were, as well, economic difficulties. The loss of the Dutch markets and colonies caused a violent reaction in Belgium while the closing of the Scheldt interfered with the trade that the Belgians had had with Germany. As well, England, of course, inundated the country with her wares. Such a situation gave credit to the reactionaries or "orangistes" who desired a return to the conditions imposed by the arrangements of 1815.

Pirenne is not sparing in his praise of Leopold I. and in this volume one realizes that the new king was an astute director of Belgian destinies and not simply important in his rôle of "Uncle of all Western Europe". The test and proof of the dynasty's endurance came in 1848 when Leopold, in spite of the influence and intrigues of the Paris radicals, brought Belgium safely through the storm of March that swept from Paris all over Western Europe.

From that year, the real life of Belgium as a nation began. Her literary and intellectual life was quickened. When, in 1890, the country passed through the crisis of a constitutional revision, her solidarity was established, and with the successful conclusion of the personal venture of Leopold II. in the Congo, the prestige of Belgium in the European family of nations was accomplished. Belgium became prosperous.

The last chapter, written in Pirenne's habitually moderate and careful style, relates briefly the events of the years preceding the War of 1914.

This is the seventh volume of Pirenne's monumental work on the history of his country. He announces in his preface that he will leave to his successors the task of relating the story of Belgium's struggle after 1914. The series which he has just concluded is a brilliant and inspired piece of work that is equal to his other earlier social and economic studies of medieval Europe. He has behind him an imposing list of splendid efforts. One hopes that we may soon have other works from his pen.

Yale University.

JOHN M. S. ALLISON.

Bibliographie de l'Histoire de Belgique. Par Henri Pirenne, Henri Nowé, et Henri Obreen. (Brussels, Lamertin, 1931, pp. viii, 440.) All stu-

dents and scholars will welcome the third edition of this most important bibliographical manuel. The second edition published in 1902 contains 270 pages while the new volume has as many as 440. Titles of books and articles that have appeared since 1902 are added. The list contains only indispensable titles, all others being omitted. The history of Belgium is so closely woven into that of other lands of Europe that this manual should have a place on every shelf beside the compilations of Gross, Dahlmann-Waitz, Molinier, Hauser, and Bourgeois. The titles deal with the political, social, religious, and economic history of the country. Those concerning the history of art for which Flemings and Walloons have been famous are omitted. But there must be limits and no one really has a right to expect all things between the covers of a book. Literature on the other hand is well represented. What is particularly pleasing is the accuracy with which titles and the necessary bibliographical data are given. The author had the able help of Dr. H. Obreen and Dr. H. Nowé, both excellent scholars. Professor Pirenne is to be congratulated on the completion of an arduous task which will long remain a standard achievement.

University of Washington.

HENRY S. LUCAS.

International Adjudications, Ancient and Modern, History and Documents. Edited by John Bassett Moore. Modern Series, volume IV., *Compensation for Losses and Damages caused by the Violation of Neutral Rights, and by the Failure to perform Neutral Duties: Mixed Commission under Article VII. of the Treaty between Great Britain and the United States of November 19, 1794.* [Publications of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace.] (New York, Oxford University Press, 1931, pp. xxvi, 600, \$2.50.) The questions of neutral rights and duties which came before this Anglo-American Mixed Commission of 1794 for adjudication recall the recent Anglo-American controversy when British cruisers, in disregard of international law, again seized American merchantmen bound for Continental ports. But when we later joined the Allies in repelling the still more serious assaults of Germany upon neutral rights, we took a leaf from the English book and the controversy was merged in the peace settlements.

This commission has, as the author indicates, another especial claim upon the interest of all students of international law and American history, in that it was the precursor—one might say “the direct and immediate progenitor”—of the great arbitration at Geneva, in regard to which Judge Moore remarks: “The final triumph of reason over impulse has rarely been so clearly exemplified as in the eventual disposition of the controversy by means of a judicial sentence”; and upon the work of the present commission the author passes the following judgment: “The proceedings of the

commission under Article VII. of the treaty of 1794 were characterized by unusual ability and learning. The opinions delivered were worthy of any tribunal that ever sat. All the members of the tribunal were men of high standing. The two commissioners appointed by the government of the United States were, by reason of their long detachment from activities and opportunities at home, compelled to undergo sacrifices which nothing but a high sense of public duty could have induced them to make; but, placing honor above emolument, they performed a service the remembrance of which should ever be cherished."

The interesting historical outline of the proceedings and decisions of the commission is made still more vivid by the genial personal touches of the author. Rarely has an authoritative statement of events so complicated been made so clear and readable. It is not alone the specialists in the field who will be grateful for this publication. Judge Moore makes evident the satisfaction he feels in rescuing from a partial oblivion the names and patriotic services of Christopher Gore and others who contributed to make this arbitral commission a milestone to mark the progress of arbitration as a practical method for the peaceful settlement of international differences.

American University.

ELLERY C. STOWELL.

Readings in European International Relations since 1879. Selected and edited by W. Henry Cooke, Ph.D., and Edith P. Stickney, Assistant Professors of History, Pomona College. (New York, Harper and Brothers, 1931, pp. xxxiv, 1060, \$4.00.) Here are a thousand pages covering international relations from the Dual Alliance of 1879 to the Lateran treaties and the Young Plan. The compilers have rigorously excluded everything which does not bear upon international relations, and have therefore covered a field different from that covered by Robinson and Beard's well-known volumes, or the more recent work of Scott and Baltzley. Within this field of international relations the book is a little library in itself. The editors, having at their disposal the vast treasure which Herbert Hoover has given to Stanford University, have packed an incredible amount of material between the covers of their book. If in the few instances here noted the reviewer's judgment would have differed from theirs, the divergence testifies rather to the vastness and complexity of the available documentation than to any lack of competence on their part.

In the treatment of the period from 1879 to 1914 the reviewer would have been tempted to leave out the Marschall memorandum of June 13, 1894, and to use the space for a few more documents on the Anglo-German alliance proposal of 1901. The well-known difference between Lansdowne's and Eckardstein's accounts of their March conversation offers a delightful problem to the student mind, and the material can be presented

in three pages. On the outbreak of the war it might have been possible to include some of the record of the Austrian council in which policy toward Serbia was defined, if space had been saved by leaving out the relatively unimportant Austro-British communications. The chapter on the Peace Conference could have been improved by making a more extensive use of the Miller Diary materials, particularly the materials on Poland. The editors have printed three documents on Poland, two of them being presentations of the Polish point of view. Available excerpts from the report of the commission on Polish frontiers and records of the Council of Four discussions would give the student a better idea of how the frontier was actually drawn and a clearer picture of the conflicting policies of the Allies. In the later chapters the reviewer would have suggested omitting something—possibly the Dariac report—in order to find a place for a document on the Irish settlement. These criticisms are trivial when set against the solid value of the work.

Western Reserve University.

ROBERT C. BINKLEY.

Europe and China: a Survey of their Relations from the Earliest Times to 1800. By G. F. Hudson, M.A., Fellow of All Souls College, Oxford. (London, Edward Arnold and Company; New York, Longmans, Green and Company, 1931, pp. viii, 336, \$5.50.) While several good accounts have been written of the relations between Europe and China during the last hundred and fifty years, this work by G. F. Hudson is the only comprehensive and up-to-date survey in English, which your reviewer has seen, of the less well-known, but equally important, period from the earliest times to 1800. His survey is concluded at the end of the eighteenth century, for "it closes the period during which the two worlds of culture confront each other intact and on approximately equal terms". Radical changes in European-Chinese relations appear during the nineteenth century.

A fundamental distinction between European and Chinese culture is found in the mercantile, republican, city-state tradition inherited from the ancient Greeks, as distinct from the conservative, agricultural, monarchical, country-state traditions of old China. The earliest reference to China in European literature is found in the *Arimaspea* of Aristeas in the sixth or seventh century B.C., who tells of the Hyperboreans. These are convincingly identified as the Chinese, who dwelt, not beyond the north wind, as Herodotus supposed, but in the far east beyond the severe winter winds of Central Asia. An interesting and connected narrative tells of many occasions during ancient, medieval, and early modern times on which both Europeans and Chinese reached out toward each other along the land routes of the silk caravans and across various seas until the successful all-sea voyages of the Portuguese around Africa. China, already withdrawn from an

influential position on the seas, and almost surrounded by the aggressive maritime powers along her coasts and by the Russians on her northern frontier, continued to maintain her strong position on land. Through the Jesuit missionaries at her court, certain Chinese ideas exerted "a greater effect on Europe than did the missionaries' religion on China".

Some of the new and suggestive theories offered by our author are: the possibility of the introduction into Europe by trade routes through Russia of the idea of printing by movable types; the great influence of the Genoese in stimulating Portugal's successful efforts to find a new route to the east; Columbus's lack of originality and of scientific information; and lastly the significance for the future of China's central emphasis on the study of man in society.

Colorado College.

CARROLL B. MALONE.

S. M. le Roi Albert, Commandant en Chef devant l'Invasion Allemande. Par le Général Galet, Conseiller Militaire du Roi pendant la Guerre, Chef d'État-Major, Général de l'Armée Belge. Préface de S. M. le Roi Albert. (Paris, Plon, 1931, pp. 405, 30 fr.) The author of this account of King Albert's activities as commander in chief of the Belgian army was well equipped for the task. At maneuvers he instructed the king in the history and principles of war, and during the period covered by the volume he served as his military adviser. He had access to his own records, to the Belgian archives, to the personal papers of the king, and evidently has read many of the French, German, and English works dealing with this period.

The book begins with an account of the state of the Belgian army and ends with the successful defense of the Yser line. The king's efforts to increase the effectiveness of the army were frustrated by the apathy of the public, the parsimoniousness of parliament, and by the strong faith of certain members of the general staff in the doctrines of the French general staff, particularly in the efficacy of the *offensive brutale et à l'outrance*. Galet makes no pretenses about the state of the army in 1914; he shows it to be ill-trained, ill-disciplined, and ill-equipped.

He devotes the greater part of seven chapters to the defense and fall of Antwerp. King Albert was eager to sustain the defense, but with the memory of Bazaine at Metz in mind, he could not contemplate the investment of his field army in the fortress. Contact had to be maintained with the Allied armies or a line of retreat kept open toward France. Galet declares that Churchill's effort to prolong the resistance of Antwerp did not in the least influence the king's plans, but that he valued the intervention of the first lord of the admiralty and used his support against those who urged the premature evacuation of the fortress.

The three chapters on the Battle of the Yser should be read along with

the *Memoirs of Marshal Foch*. The relation of the king and the future generalissimo appear here in a somewhat new light. At the Yser the king demonstrated the utmost vigor and tenacity in the defense. Against the advice and influence of French and British generals he insisted on defending the last remaining part of his territory.

General Galet is a professional soldier, and does not, for the most part, give references for his voluminous quotations. Because of his personal and professional relationship to the king, one could hardly expect him to be over-critical. There are five maps, but unfortunately no index.

Denison University.

H. A. DE WEERD.

The Fall of the Kaiser. By Maurice Baumont, Docteur ès Lettres, University of Paris. Translated from the French by E. Ibbetson James. (New York, Alfred A. Knopf, 1931, pp. xiv, 256, \$2.75.) The author of this volume has aimed to show "in what manner it would appear that William II.'s decision to abdicate was taken, at first for him and then by him". The discussion of the question of the abdication up to the evening of November 8, reveals clearly the contrast between the views of the civil leaders of Berlin, who believed that the emperor's abdication was absolutely essential in order to save the empire and the dynasty, and those of the military at G. H. Q., who approved and supported William II.'s decision to remain at his post. The second chapter is the most valuable part of the book and discusses "the Ninth of November at Spa". Here the author examines in detail the vicissitudes of that day: the morning conference with the emperor, Prince Max's noon message, the afternoon meeting in Hindenburg's quarters, the increasing tension in the army, and the final incident when, at 4:30 A. M., without any special signal the emperor's train moved off, two red lights on the last carriage being "the only indications to the few persons present that the Emperor was leaving Germany". The third chapter narrates the course of events at Berlin on the same day, showing the lack of understanding and coöperation between the G. H. Q. and the capital.

This work probably constitutes the most thorough discussion of the downfall of William II. that is to be found within the pages of a single volume. It is based upon a careful examination of memoirs, memoranda, letters, reports, notes, and diaries of high German officials—military and civil—many of whom were close associates and intimate advisers of the emperor. The information from these sources is further supplemented by evidence given before the Reichstag Committee of Enquiry in 1923 and in the Munich trial of 1925. The author brought to his task, it would appear, little of that bias or hatred which sometimes beclouds one's judgment. The translation is well done.

Indiana University.

F. LEE BENNS.

Archives of British Honduras. Volume I., From the Earliest Date to A. D. 1800. Edited, with Historical Note, by Major Sir John Alder Burdon, K.B.E., C.M.G., M.A., Governor and Commander-in-Chief in and over the Colony of British Honduras. [Published by Authority of the Governor in Council on behalf of the West India Committee.] (London, Sifton, Praed and Company, 1931, pp. xv, 304.) The British Caribbean is to-day one of the most popular fields of research in colonial history. The great amount of interest evinced in the past of the possessions located there occasions no surprise when it is recalled that, for more than two centuries, they constituted the most highly valued portion of the motherland's far-flung empire and that innumerable knotty problems arising out of Anglo-Saxon expansion were first encountered and solved in them.

Attention has been centered on the sugar islands and an imposing array of bibliographical works, archival guides, and monographs affords ample evidence of the enthusiastic activities of both American and British students of imperial history in unfolding the fascinating tale of their amazing development and later spectacular crash to ruin. Now, as the opportunity for original investigation there has lessened, Guiana and Honduras, on the mainland, are much in vogue.

This catalogue of documents relative to the logwood colony is the work of the present governor and a group of officials, two of whom perished in the 1931 hurricane. It was prepared through their own keen interest in the dependency's history and a natural desire to promote its serious study. Despite a disarming avowal that they are wholly untrained in such labors and a modest craving for indulgence on the part of scholars, their volume betrays no signs of amateurishness save the antiquated use of symbols in footnote references and a method of listing titles which is distinctly individual. It is sponsored by the West India Committee of London, that ardent supporter of Caribbean causes for nearly two hundred years, and will inevitably attract large numbers of investigators, to whom it will be of incalculable service.

Scores of Public Record Office and British Museum papers and a large number of local documents have been calendared carefully. The latter, consisting of court and magistrate records, Mosquito Shore correspondence, and Burnaby's Laws have thus become available for the first time and will shatter many myths concerning the turbulent early days, Anglo-Spanish controversies on the spot, and relations with Jamaica and Great Britain.

The carefully annotated historical survey is the best extant. Four of the five excellent maps are contemporary eighteenth century ones. The chronology and list of governors and superintendents are of great convenience. The index, typically British, falls short of the American standard.

A second volume will appear at an early date.

George Washington University.

LOWELL JOSEPH RAGATZ.

Guide to Materials for American History in the Libraries and Archives of Paris. By Waldo G. Leland. Vol. I., *Libraries*. (Washington, Carnegie Institution of Washington, 1932, pp. xi, 343, \$3.00.) Another Carnegie Institution guide, of the series started twenty-five years ago by Dr. J. Franklin Jameson, so many years director of the historical division, is an achievement and an event. So universal is the confidence of historical scholars in the publications of this program that any reviewer at the outset would anticipate nothing but praise to say. Anticipations are not mistaken in this instance of Waldo G. Leland's long-awaited guide to Paris libraries. In fact anticipation is scarcely the correct word here, for this reviewer some years ago was privileged to make use of the guide, then in galley proof, in blocking out material for photostating for the collection of the Library of Congress. He wished then that he had the companion volumes (on Paris archives), the preparation of which is still lingering, but promised in the preface of the volume at hand, and which are needed even more than the guide for American material in Paris libraries—which after all are catalogued, if not specifically as regards American material. The institutions covered in this volume I. are: Bibliothèque Nationale, Bibliothèque de l'Académie de Médecine, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, Bibliothèque de la Chambre des Députés, Bibliothèque de l'Institut de France, Bibliothèque Mazarine, Séminaire des Missions Étrangères, Bibliothèque du Muséum d'Histoire Naturelle, Bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève, Bibliothèque Municipale du 16^{me} Arrondissement, Bibliothèque du Sénat, Bibliothèque de l'Université de Paris (Sorbonne), Bibliothèque Victor Cousin (Sorbonne). In each case the manuscript material relating to the area now comprised within the United States and Canada—with many references also to Mexico and the West Indies—is scrupulously noted, with adequate descriptions to earmark its contents, and the required call numbers. A voluminous index makes the mass workable. Short analyses of the major collections, in which occur the manuscripts noted, appraise the general value of the groups for the scholar. This guide will be an eagerly-sought handbook for American historical scholars who use Paris libraries henceforward. More than that, it will be a guide for investigators into the photostatic facsimiles in the Division of Manuscripts of the Library of Congress; for practically all the American manuscript material in Paris libraries has now been duplicated for that national library in Washington.

George Washington University.

SAMUEL FLAGG BEMIS.

The Development of American Political Thought: a Documentary History. By J. Mark Jacobson, Ph.D., Department of Political Science, University of Wisconsin. [The Century Political Science Series.] (New York, Century Company, 1932, pp. xiv, 723, \$5.00.) Here is a volume compact with valuable material. There are eight chapters: Puritanism;

the American Revolution; Federalism; Democracy, Jeffersonian, Jacksonian, Intellectual; Slavery; Particularism versus Nationalism; Government and Economic Institutions; and "America of Age". The larger part of the volume is documentary, containing selections from such contributors to American political thought as the author deems of sufficient importance. Each group of selections is introduced with a suggestive essay summarizing and interpreting the various periods under review. The combination makes the volume one of distinct value to the student of American history and political science. In the author's essays many influential writers are recognized who are not represented in the documentary material.

New England Puritanism finds its forerunner in Calvin and his *Institutes*, its spokesmen in Cotton Mather, Thomas Hooker, and Roger Williams. Jonathan Edwards is entirely omitted, and Benjamin Franklin, though not a Puritan, deserves some place in our colonial thought. He finds none here, and but little in the period of the Revolution. In the author's analysis of the slavery controversy no place is open for Birney and the Liberty party, and Lincoln is too closely identified with the Free-Soilers. The apologists for slavery (Calhoun, Dew, Harper) are given equal space with its assailants (Garrison, Channing, Wayland). The historical argument for particularism and state sovereignty is ably presented. In the struggle following the Civil War between the policies of *laissez faire* and a larger social control of political forces, we have the thought and teaching of Professor William Graham Sumner set forth as against the newer school of economics, politics, sociology, and law, represented by writers like R. T. Ely, E. A. Ross, Woodrow Wilson, and Roscoe Pound. In the final chapter the compiler presents materials including, among others, Wilson's Fourteen Points, Professor Shotwell's War as an Instrument of National Policy, and copious extracts from Everett Dean Martin on public opinion.

The author claims that the framers of the Constitution intended to give the Supreme Court a check on Congressional legislation. He calls John Marshall "a politician rather than a jurist", and he puts the Whiskey Rebellion in *eastern* Pennsylvania. If these are flaws they are quite minor and do not detract from the great usefulness of the volume.

Ann Arbor.

JAMES A. WOODBURN.

Dialogues Curieux entre l'Auteur et un Sauvage de Bon Sens qui a voyagé et Mémoires de l'Amérique Septentrionale. Par Baron de Lahontan. Publiés par Gilbert Chinard, Professeur à l'Université Johns Hopkins. (Baltimore, Johns Hopkins Press, 1931, pp. 268, \$4.00.) In this reproduction of the writings of the famous seventeenth century traveler in North America, Professor Chinard wishes to show him as the precursor of Old World ideas rather than as the discoverer of New World lakes and rivers.

Thus it is his descriptions of Indian life and customs and especially his vivid picture of the charms of living without laws or government that his editor here republishes. The introduction, which constitutes a fourth of this volume, is a carefully wrought treatise on the influence of Lahontan's work on the thinkers of the eighteenth century. After a brief recapitulation of the facts of Lahontan's career, and a characterization of him as a mediocre adventurer, turbulent and rebellious, lacking in courage and in the virtues of his time, Professor Chinard proceeds to show that Lahontan was very influential in developing the picture of the "natural man" so fondly regarded by the philosophers of the eighteenth century. Lahontan in his *Dialogues* produced not only a mordant and effective criticism of all the institutions of contemporary Europe, but he also showed Adario as a noble savage, endowed with good sense and with a broad comprehension of basic morals—living in the forests of America the good life. Professor Chinard traces the influence of this picture of primitive virtue upon contemporary philosophers like Leibnitz; upon the English *littérateurs*—such as Addison, Steele, and preëminently Swift; and upon the French philosophers—Le Sage, Montesquieu, Voltaire, Diderot, and Chateaubriand. Thus he considers Lahontan's *Dialogues* and *Mémoires* essential to the history of philosophical thought in the eighteenth century, and a source that has been somewhat neglected for the doctrine of primitivism.

No recent editions of Lahontan have appeared in France; the editor notes in passing that the English edition of 1703, which he considers the first printing of the *Dialogues*, was reëdited in 1905 by Reuben G. Thwaites. It is not, however, this first form of the *Dialogues* that Professor Chinard gives us, but that retouched by the unfrocked monk Gueudeville, and issued in 1705 at The Hague.

The format of this volume is unusually beautiful; it is printed on fine paper with an excellent type, illustrated by superb reproductions of Lahontan's original engravings, has a good index and a fine binding. The reviewer thinks that Professor Chinard has produced a very scholarly and useful contribution to the history of philosophical thought and given the Baron de Lahontan a new rank in the world of letters.

State Historical Society of Wisconsin.

LOUISE PHELPS KELLOGG.

The Papers of Sir William Johnson. Prepared for Publication by the Division of Archives and History, Alexander C. Flick, Director and State Historian. Volume VII. (Albany, University of the State of New York, 1931, pp. xiii, 1160, \$2.50.) Historical students are again under heavy obligation to the state of New York for making possible the continuation of the publication of the papers of Sir William Johnson, and to the compilers and editors for the production of this seventh installment. The work

of salvaging many hundreds of damaged pièces has been long and arduous. The preparation of historical documents for publication is difficult under favorable conditions, but the responsibility of editing materials which have been partially destroyed and of filling gaps from other sources requires great skill and patience.

But the volume is more than a mere illustration of skill. Like its predecessors, reviewed in this journal (XXVIII. 758-760; XXXI. 584-585; XXXIII. 191-192; XXXIV. 393-394), it furnishes to scholars a storehouse of information. The documents cover the period from May, 1769, to February, 1771, important though little known years in the history of Indian relations. There are printed approximately eight hundred and forty-five papers, of which one hundred have been drawn from other sources, such as the Public Record Office, the Library of Congress and the libraries of Harvard University, the American Antiquarian Society, and the Historical Society of Pennsylvania. Some fifty-four items are listed as having been totally destroyed, but twenty-eight of these are noted as printed in various documentary collections. Of the 745 papers drawn from the Johnson collection in Albany, slightly more than 450 are more or less damaged. In some instances but little remains of the original document.

The relations of the western and northern Indians to each other and to the white race continue, as heretofore, to be the central theme. Such subjects as the maintenance of peaceful relations, Indian trade, land grants, finance, boundary questions, and missionary activities, are prominent. Scholars will also find much of value relating to provincial politics and imperial relations.

People great and small are Sir William Johnson's correspondents. One hundred and eighteen names appear as writers or as recipients of letters. Representative of the higher official class in the correspondence are Lord Hillsborough, General Thomas Gage, Governors Penn, Carleton, Colden, and Moore, and among subordinate Indian officials whose names figure prominently are George Croghan, Alexander McKee, and Daniel Claus. Johnson also conducted an extensive correspondence with merchants, lawyers, and ministers of religion.

One notes with regret the absence of an index.

Washington, D. C.

CLARENCE E. CARTER.

Thomas Sumter. By Anne King Gregorie, Ph.D. (Columbia, R. L. Bryan Company, 1931, pp. 313.) Miss Gregorie's *Sumter* tells the story of a typical American of the Revolutionary and early national period who rose from humble origin by sheer forceful merit. This ambitious, Virginia-born South Carolinian reminds one of Andrew Jackson, in face, character, and career, although "Old Hickory" would have made a poor show in bodily

combat with the larger edition of frontiersman, who at the age of seventy vaulted into the saddle without the aid of stirrup, and at the age of eighty-six was sued in that he "did beat, wound, and ill treat" a fellow citizen. In a manner thoroughly frank and judicious Miss Gregorie pictures Sumter as land-speculating frontiersman, soldier, and politician who made a powerful appeal to the yeomanry back of the cultured coast belt because he was so thoroughly of that yeomanry. Of the merits of the quarrels and jealousies of various leaders she leaves the reader to judge. The same impartiality she extends to the Tories and British. The stark savagery of both sides is presented without apology or railing.

Miss Gregorie traces with clearness the rapid movement of the campaigns in which General Sumter played one principal part and General Greene the other on the American side. Without inclining the scales to her subject she depicts the calm insubordination of Sumter and Greene's sensible adjustment to circumstances which he could not control. Sumter was distinctly the soldier. In no other of his activities was he eminently successful, beyond the success of almost continuous election to one or other of the two branches of Congress. He was always aggressive, even to the extent of living a life of lawsuits when he was not living a life of arms. Miss Gregorie brings out his power of drawing men to him by his personal influence when there was no legal organization on which he could depend; his quickness of perception and his vigor of attack, and at the same time his power of forming widely extended plans.

Such errors as have slipped in are aside from the main theme, as, placing the Jacksonborough Assembly in 1781 instead of 1782, or mislocating the Indian village of Burningtown (in which she may have been misled by a diarist whose work I have not seen). The failure to distinguish between South Carolina "currency", proclamation money (five times the value of "currency"), and pounds sterling (seven times the value of "currency") is misleading, as it magnifies small possessions into an apparent fortune.

General Sumter has waited long; but he has now been presented in a scholarly, judicious, and thoroughly human biography.

Wofford College.

D. D. WALLACE.

Jeffersonian Democracy in North Carolina, 1789-1816. By Delbert Harold Gilpatrick, Ph.D., Associate Professor of History in Furman University, sometime Instructor in History, University of North Carolina. [Studies in History, Economics, and Public Law, no. 344.] (New York, Columbia University Press, 1931, pp. 257, \$4.25.) In miniature, national politics unfold through the pages of Dr. Gilpatrick's study of a dominant agrarian democracy in its fight against an aggressive commercial minority. Nascent Republicans, controlling the state from 1789 to 1796, fought

steadily the invasions of the central government until the threat of war gave them a wiser appreciation of Federal strength. As a result Federalism triumphed for four years, but the election of 1800 marked the return of the Republicans to power, who thereafter, only slightly hampered by the four Federalist districts, managed the affairs of the state in the interests of the small farmer. The War of 1812 did not divide the Republicans sufficiently to permit important Federalist victories, though in 1815 they carried seventy-nine seats in a legislature of two hundred members.

Dr. Gilpatrick has made a thorough study of the state records and offers a contribution of value to our knowledge of the period, a contribution largely in the careful detail with which he has traced the outward workings of Jeffersonian democracy. The inner workings are still obscure. We are uninformed of the manner in which the Macon-Jefferson machine was organized; its activities are only vaguely traceable in the straightforward account of measures and elections. No effort is made to discover Jefferson's influence in the election of 1800; the account implies that the defeat of the Federalists was the result of the natural reversion to Republicanism that peace would bring. Macon's interference in the Halifax Congressional election of 1803 is passed over without mention. On the other hand, the book is free from minor errors. Without further evidence, however, the statement should not have been made that the North Carolina delegates defeated assumption in April, 1790 (p. 45). The style is clear and happily without irritating mannerisms.

Agnes Scott College.

PHILIP G. DAVIDSON.

Forgotten Frontiers: a Study of the Spanish Indian Policy of Don Juan Bautista de Anza, Governor of New Mexico, 1777-1787. From the Original Documents in the Archives of Spain, Mexico, and New Mexico. Translated into English, edited, and annotated by Alfred Barnaby Thomas. (Norman, University of Oklahoma Press, 1932, pp. xvii, 420, \$5.00.) *Forgotten Frontiers* adds a chapter to the biography of Juan Bautista de Anza, whose California career is so fascinatingly portrayed in Professor Bolton's monumental work. In New Mexico, Anza was again an explorer opening a new and better route to Sonora, but his efforts were chiefly directed toward Indian control. At Yuma and elsewhere along his California trail he had shown special aptitude for dealing with Indians; now in New Mexico he proved himself a master hand. After reorganizing the colony's defenses, he proceeded to a vigorous campaign in the Pikes Peak region culminating in a decisive defeat for the Comanches. He saved the Moqui from extermination and brought the Navajos to terms. But his most brilliant exploit was the alliance with the chastened Comanches, which made possible the subjugation of the Gila Apaches and added security along New Spain's entire northern frontier.

Professor Thomas unfolds this story through excellent translations of six diaries and related correspondence, practically all of which are here made available for the first time. Of greatest interest is Father Morfi's hitherto unknown description of New Mexico in 1782, its population, climate, geographical features, resources, Pueblo and Spanish settlements. Morfi's word picture is supplemented by a contemporary map by Miera y Pacheco, not to mention reproductions of two other maps, a Comanche document, and a sketch showing the Anza routes.

The book's alliterative title suggests a popularized account, but the reader will not find it. The translations follow the originals closely and have not been distorted in an effort to polish their literary style. Although praiseworthy in the translations, this subordination of literary style detracts from the value of the historical introduction and makes for hard reading. Phrased clearly, this sketch of the background and significance of Anza's Indian policy in New Mexico would have been a thrilling narrative.

Besides illustrating the reinvigoration of the Spanish borderlands during the later eighteenth century, and the part Anza played in the process along with such men as Bucareli, Neve, Croix, De Mézières, and Bernardo de Gálvez, this volume has a wealth of ethnological information. It is appropriate, as well as welcome, as the first of a series by the University of Oklahoma Press on the Civilization of the American Indian.

University of California at Los Angeles.

JOHN CAUGHEY.

American Relations with Turkey, 1830-1930: an Economic Interpretation. By Leland James Gordon, Ph.D., Professor of Economics, Denison University. (Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Press, 1932, pp. xv, 402, \$4.00.) This book, as the author explains, is "written primarily as a study of economic relations". Part I. deals with the background of the commerce of Turkey and America and surveys the political developments of the century under observation. Part II. discusses the "romance of trade", takes up the early aspects of Turco-American commerce, and traces its development through the twentieth century. Part III. discusses the American struggle with England, France, and Germany to enter Ottoman trade, the question of railway development, the well-known Chester project, and the tariff issue. Part IV. includes a fine chapter on "America's good will investment in Turkey"—the missionary enterprise, with its colleges and other establishments, involving our largest investment. Two good chapters tell the story of "the open door versus imperialism". Part V. is devoted to the treatment of the movement of peoples, and points out that something like 370,000 people came from Turkey to the United States between 1905 and 1915. Of these only five per cent. were Turkish, the rest being largely Greek, Armenian, and Syrian. The final section consists of a summary and pertinent conclusions. The author notes that the United States has

assumed second place as an importer of Turkish goods—tobacco, fruits, nuts, and rugs—but ranks seventh as an exporter to that country.

While the author has used much unpublished material, particularly obtained in the American embassy at Istanbul, his work is not without its weaknesses. In the reviewer's opinion the organization of the book makes the treatment of various subjects somewhat fragmentary. The volume is not free from typographical errors, and the author is inclined to be somewhat repetitious. His treatment of the Chester project and of the Lausanne Conference raises some questions as to American policy and the "open door" in Turkey and the Near East. Perhaps most serious of all is his apparent failure to utilize such important sources as D. H. Miller's *My Diary at the Conference of Paris, with Documents*, and the six volumes which the French government has published on the Conference of Lausanne, both of which throw considerable light on the political and economic aspects of American policy. But these weaknesses and omissions should not be allowed to obscure the fact that Mr. Gordon has made a substantial and important contribution not only to the study of Turco-American relations, but to that of the Turkish question itself.

Miami University.

HARRY N. HOWARD.

Frontier Life in the Army, 1854-1861. By Eugene Bandel. Translated by Olga Bandel, and Richard Jente, Associate Professor of German, Washington University. Edited by Ralph P. Bieber, Associate Professor of History, Washington University. [The Southwest Historical Series, edited by Ralph P. Bieber, no. II.] (Glendale, Arthur H. Clark Company, 1932, pp. 330, \$6.00.) The letters and journal of Eugene Bandel, who marched six thousand miles over the West, fought Indians, took part in the military demonstrations against the Mormons, helped to survey the Kansas boundary, and finally settled in a California arsenal, form the volume which Professor Bieber has edited and entitled *Frontier Life in the Army, 1854-1861*. The title promises too much. If the reader looks for a well-balanced account of frontier life in the army, he will be disappointed. The author has simply presented the journal and letters of a soldier of very limited experience. Bandel engaged in hardly any fighting, merely a short campaign against the Sioux Indians and a fruitless expedition into the Mojave country. Furthermore he was by temperament utterly opposed to the military life and the crude conditions of the frontier which he described.

Still, his writings illuminate considerably the varied activity of the American army on the frontier. His descriptions apply almost entirely to the infantry, which was the least effective fighting instrument on the Western plains. Bandel's portrayal of the American infantry as transformed by frontier environment is anything but romantic—a collection of ragamuffins without a semblance of uniform, a rough familiarity between officers and

privates, and the life of the common soldier vibrating between stupid leisure and the most violent physical exertion and hardships. His letters are interspersed with intimate glimpses of the infantry in action, chastising the Indians, protecting the overland mail, establishing forts, surveying boundaries, and making possible the expansion of population into the Southwest.

Bandel was an educated man and he recorded his observations with the definite purpose of preserving them for posterity. His letters and journals accordingly contain pictures of characteristic Western scenes, buffalo-hunting, mushroom towns, the homesteader building his log house, and the habits of certain Indian tribes. Much of this material is a twice-told story, but Bandel's racy style and his careful accuracy make it interesting.

The editing of the volume is excellent. A short introduction furnishes valuable data for understanding the narrative. The editor has made an extensive use of government documents, manuscripts in the Indian Office, Western newspapers, and parallel diaries.

Lafayette College.

W. CLEMENT EATON.

Hudson's Bay Company. By Robert E. Pinkerton. Introduction by Stewart Edward White. (New York, Henry Holt and Company, 1931, pp. viii, 357, \$3.50.) Many books have been written concerning the Hudson's Bay Company but no one of them can in any sense be regarded as a definitive history of the organization. One reason, of course, is that the basic sources have until very recently been inaccessible to the public. Mr. Pinkerton's volume makes no pretensions to scholarship in the conventional sense of the word. There are almost no specific citations of authorities, no index, and even chapter titles are lacking. It is apparent, however, from the very interesting bibliographical chapter at the end, and from many allusions in the text, that the author has studied the literature of his subject, including certain unpublished sources, with a good deal of care, and certainly from a critical viewpoint. Equally significant, perhaps, is the fact that he writes as one who has himself dwelt in the region which is to-day the scene of operations of the "Great Company".

In addition to presenting a narrative of events, Mr. Pinkerton raises some extremely controversial issues with respect to the history of the company. He has strong prejudices, and one feels that a great deal of scholarly research will ultimately be necessary in order to determine whether he is right or wrong. His thesis, in brief, is as follows. The history of the Hudson's Bay Company has been uniformly misunderstood and much of legend has grown up about it. During the first century and a half of its history it was stupidly managed and accomplished little worth while in the way of commerce, exploration, or extension of British influence. The turning point came with the union of the Hudson's Bay and North West companies in 1821, when the Scotch "thunderbolts" from Montreal became

the dominant influence in the Hudson's Bay organization. From then on, Mr. Pinkerton's attitude toward the company is one of the highest praise, because the character of the concern had been totally transformed. He displays enthusiasm throughout for the methods and achievements of the Scotch merchants of the North West Company.

The book is interestingly written and contains many original suggestions. The author is a firm believer in monopoly and holds competition to have been the curse of the fur trade. There are accounts of the activities of famous explorers connected with the company from Radisson down. Certain chapters contain valuable descriptions of the methods of the fur trade which reflect the writer's own experience in the northern wilderness. Though its conclusions may sometimes be open to question, it is certain that any future student of the history of the Hudson's Bay Company will do well to read this stimulating, if somewhat unconventional, volume.

Dartmouth College.

WAYNE E. STEVENS.

Catalogue of the Wymberley Jones DeRenne Georgia Library at Wormsloe, Isle of Hope near Savannah, Georgia. Three volumes. (Wormsloe, privately printed, 1931, pp. xxxiii, 448; x, 449-895; ix, 897-1396, \$100.) Descending from Noble Jones, companion of Oglethorpe, the DeRennes have not only retained his country seat but have made its name Wormsloe celebrated among those concerned with Georgia history. Two or three generations ago George Wymberley Jones DeRenne assembled a notable collection of Georgiana in that mansion, and from it issued a superb series of privately printed quartos embodying salient Georgia materials. Vicissitudes, including a raid by some of Sherman's men, destroyed or dispersed that library; and not even a quarto copy remained as a nucleus when Wymberley Jones DeRenne of the next generation, after many years in distant lands, took up residence at Wormsloe a decade before the nineteenth century's end. He nevertheless fell into the ways of his father and began to collect Georgia materials anew, sparing neither zeal nor money and erecting a fire-proof temple under the moss-draped liveoaks to house his treasures. To his two tables, the one enriched from an ancestral cellar of sherries and madeiras, the other laden at command with manuscripts and rare pamphlets, he welcomed friends and students, as I can warmly testify; and to make his possessions better known to the historical craft he printed two catalogues of his growing library. The technique of these did not content him, and he died with a purpose of a thorough, collated catalogue unattained.

His children, cherishing the library and their father's memory, have now put into print this monumental issue. Thanks largely to Mr. Leonard L. Mackall's enthusiastic and expert services, it is elaborate in the details dear to bibliographers; and it is adorned with many rare title-pages in re-

production. As a catalogue, it leaves nothing to be desired unless it be the price of a hundred dollars at which sets are for sale. To an historian, however, it may be more tantalizing; for its extremely copious listing of books, pamphlets, newspapers, maps, and manuscripts makes one hanker for not a mere visit but a sojourn at Wormsloe where these riches of print and pen very safely but remotely wait on their shelves.

Yale University.

ULRICH B. PHILLIPS.

History and Theory of Agricultural Credit in the United States. By Earl Sylvester Sparks, Ph.D., Dean of the College of Arts and Sciences, Director of the School of Business Administration, Professor of Economics, University of South Dakota. With a Foreword by Thomas N. Carver, Ph.D., LL.D., Professor of Political Economy, Harvard University. (New York, Thomas Y. Crowell Company, 1932, pp. xiii, 476, \$3.75.) This book is mainly a history of agricultural credit systems in the United States. It is divided into six parts. In the first part the "flow of capital into frontier agriculture" and the rôle of the merchant in financing agriculture are described. The next two parts trace the evolution of land banks and other sources of mortgage credit from colonial times to the present. Part IV. describes the evolution of commercial banks and theories of banking. Part V. surveys intermediate credit institutions and the activities of the Federal Farm Board. Part VI. is a summary of conclusions.

The author has emphasized certain phases of agricultural credit and neglected others. Detailed consideration is given the structure and operating methods both of early and modern agricultural credit institutions; the ancestry of modern institutions is traced to colonial times; commercial banking experiments and theories of banking receive much discussion; and the experiments of governmental units with loans to farmers are described. Little is said, however, of the vast changes in agricultural production, markets, and prices, which have had such an important bearing on farmers' demands for credit and their ability either to use credit profitably or to carry debt burdens. Virtually no account is taken of the differences in farm credit requirements and banking practice that grow out of the various types of agriculture.

Subject to these omissions, the book is a well-organized historical account of the long succession of experiments in the United States, with various systems of agricultural credit, and it tells what the public has thought, from time to time, about its financial institutions. Much of this story was already available in financial and economic histories, but the author has added new detail and has combined the various threads of the story so that they now are available in one volume. Unfortunately the author has seldom attempted to give new meaning to events of the past but generally is content to record the views of preceding historians. More stress is placed on

the general monetary results of given agricultural credit systems than on their specific relation to the welfare of farmers.

The book adds little to the theory either of money or agricultural credit. Monetary theory has an important place in the book, but it consists mainly of the views of others. Singularly, the author has not closely related farm credit problems to the major price movements. Attention is directed chiefly to that phase of monetary theory dealing with depreciated currencies. The author does not show intimate acquaintance with the problems of farmers and their financial institutions, and hence develops no comprehensive philosophy on this subject.

Department of Agriculture.

FRED L. GARLOCK.

COMMUNICATION

TO THE EDITOR OF THE *American Historical Review*:

Although deeply appreciative of the commendatory paragraph of Dr. F. S. Rodkey's review of *England, Russia, and the Straits Question, 1844-1856*, in the April number, it might not be inappropriate to make some observations on certain points in the concluding paragraph. I might not take exception to the vigorous expressions in opposition to a few of the sentences in the book provided proof and not merely personal opinions were forthcoming. The method of the reviewer is to be regretted, particularly in reference to the value of Goriainov. It is only fair to state that I checked him for all the important points used through numerous British and other documentary sources (as cited) and found nothing fundamentally wrong. To illustrate, the example raised in the review may be employed: In 1908 A. M. Zaionchkovskii (unnoticed by the reviewer, Puryear, p. 3) published several important documents from the Russian archives on the making of the secret Anglo-Russian agreement of 1844, including the ministerial letters of acceptance of the Nesselrode memorandum of that year; in 1912 S. M. Goriainov published an English version of some of these documents and excerpts from others (not merely a "thesis"). Careful comparisons which I made with the original publication revealed no inaccuracies, while on the British side, for example, Aberdeen in 1854 publicly admitted that he had subscribed to the memorandum (p. 73). There apparently is no basis, therefore, for the unique conclusion of unsoundness of the former Russian state archivist, particularly as regards the agreement of 1844. As is well known, Goriainov is indispensable in any treatment of the Straits Question in the nineteenth century. He is accepted by scores of noted scholars; I shall continue to accept his principal contributions until he is found in fundamental error. Being drawn to proof, furthermore, by the reviewer's statement that the ministerial letters "prove something quite different", *i.e.*, that they did not "give official confirmation to what was contained in the Nesselrode Memorandum", the latter having been a résumé of the verbal agreement in 1844 (pp. 51, 72-73), it is only necessary to refer to the memorandum and to the following from the letters: Nesselrode stated that "the principles which [his memorandum] establishes will be the most certain guide as to the course we [the ministers of Russia and England] are to follow in common in eastern affairs"; Aberdeen, the responsible minister concerned, in a well-considered reply (even after British relations with France, strained at the time of the making of the agreement, p. 42, had improved perceptibly, p. 61), found that "no differences exist respecting the accuracy of your statement, to which I already

had borne my humble testimony" (pp. 72, 442, 443-444). Perhaps the reviewer has confused the original agreement with its subsequent fluctuations which attended British cabinet changes, as treated in great detail in chapters III. and IV. The language of these documents is quite clear, and this writer is unable to accept the only other alternative, an assessment against the British of outright deception of Russia in 1844.

It is surprising to find in the only statement offered as proof that the reviewer passed over the bulk of the evidence respecting the making and history of the agreement and attacked it on constitutional grounds. The merit of the review on this point may be judged from the fact that the very document used to bolster the criticism was misapplied. As published by the reviewer himself (see *Am. Hist. Rev.* XXXVI. 346), Palmerston in 1841 officially stated to Russia: "But, if the engagement were merely verbal, *though it would bind the Ministers who made it,*¹ it might be disavowed by their successors; and thus the Russian Government might be led to count upon a system of policy on the part of Great Britain which might not eventually be pursued." In three chapters I recounted an episode in which these principles were applied, asserting repeatedly the identical constitutional attributes here indicated: "The agreement was secret and verbal" (p. 2); "no written alliance was formulated" (p. 52); "the agreement arranged was oral, and hence subject to interpretations later of quite varied types . . . cabinet changes in Great Britain might alter or nullify the engagements taken" (p. 53); "the major responsibility continued to be borne by Lord Aberdeen" (p. 72); "Aberdeen's obligation was personal" (p. 73); "the Anglo-Russian agreement was made during a conservative administration . . . it ran the chance of being disputed, however, if the policy of the cabinet should change when the liberals returned to power" (p. 143). It would thus appear that this treatment of the constitutional question, also emphasized in the preface (p. xiii), is well supported by Palmerston's contemporary interpretation. The failure of the reviewer to cite the applicable section of the document he published, no doubt an oversight, accounts for the untenable conclusion drawn.

Albany College.

VERNON J. FURYEAR.

¹ The italics are mine.

HISTORICAL NEWS

AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

The forty-seventh annual meeting of the American Historical Association will be held in Toronto, Canada, on December 27, 28, and 29. All sessions will be held at the University of Toronto. The University is amply provided with residences for the accommodation of both men and women. One of the residences will be reserved for married couples. Meals including the special luncheons and dinners on the program will be provided at Hart House where common rooms and other social facilities will be placed at the disposal of the Association.

Those who wish to take advantage of the accommodation available in the residences will be asked to make reservation and payment in advance in order that the number to be provided for may be known to the university authorities. It is expected that the charge per person for rooms, meals, and other facilities including the registration fee of the Association will not exceed \$12.00. For those who avail themselves of this arrangement an incidental advantage will be the elimination of delay in making registrations, reservations for luncheons, etc. Detailed information will be provided as usual with the regular program. If further information is desired before that time inquiries may be addressed to Professor George W. Brown, secretary of the local arrangements committee, Baldwin House, University of Toronto, Toronto, Canada.

The chairman of the program committee is Professor Chester Martin of the University of Toronto. Regular sections of the Association are being arranged as follows: Ancient History (Round Table Discussion on Economic History of the Ancient World), Medieval History, Renaissance and Reformation, United States (Colonial Period), United States (A Generation of the Frontier Hypothesis), United States (The Twentieth Century), Modern Europe, British History, The Far East, Economic History, Diplomatic History, Hispanic America, The British Commonwealth, Graduate Studies, and Public Archives. Sections will be limited where possible to two papers in order to admit of adequate discussion. There will be joint sessions also with the Mississippi Valley Historical Association, the Agricultural History Society, the American Society of Church History, the Conference of Historical Societies, the Canadian Historical Association, and several other societies. An exhibit is being arranged for the occasion by the Public Archives of Canada. The business meeting will be held on the afternoon of the second day following a general luncheon at Hart House. The program

will include a smoker and an afternoon reception. On December 27 the Association and affiliated groups will be guests of the University of Toronto at dinner in the great hall at Hart House. Special dinners and luncheon conferences are being arranged as usual for the Mississippi Valley Historical Association and other organizations meeting with the Historical Association.

The report of the committee of the Association on the Planning of Research, of which Professor A. M. Schlesinger is chairman, is embodied in a volume entitled *Historical Scholarship in America, Needs and Opportunities* (Ray Long and Richard R. Smith, pp. viii, 146, \$1.50). It will be reviewed in an early number of this journal.

CONGRESS OF HISTORICAL SCIENCES IN WARSAW

The international committee charged with the organization of the Seventh International Congress of Historical Sciences, to be held in Warsaw in August, 1933, has set December 1 next, as the final date for receiving titles of papers that are to be included in the program. Since all papers must be offered through the various national committees it is important that scholars in the United States who wish to take part in the program of the congress should submit, not later than November 15 to the offices of the American Historical Association, 40 B Street, S. W., Washington, D. C., the titles of the papers that they propose to offer.

INTERNATIONAL UNION OF ACADEMIES

The thirteenth annual meeting of the International Union of Academies was held in Brussels on May 23-26, 1932. The American Council of Learned Societies was represented by Messrs. W. G. Leland, Berthold L. Ullman, George Lacombe, and David Stevens. Unanimous agreement was reached respecting the form of a proposed amendment to the statutes of the Union, to be voted on at the next meeting, which will make it possible, exceptionally, and in the interests of the Union's activities, to hold the annual meetings elsewhere than in Brussels, upon invitation from an affiliated Academy. Gratifying progress was reported in most of the undertakings of the Union. Those in which the American Council of Learned Societies is most actively participating are the following: corpus of ancient vases, collection of material relating to Indonesian customary law, dictionary of medieval Latin, catalogue of current bibliographies in the humanities, corpus of medieval philosophers (catalogue of manuscript Latin translations of Aristotle), and paleographical guide to Latin manuscripts prior to 800 A. D. A new project taken under the auspices of the Union is the publication of a concordance and index to the books of the canonical Mohammedan tradition.

INTERNATIONAL COMMITTEE OF HISTORICAL SCIENCES

The International Committee of Historical Sciences held its sixth annual meeting at The Hague on July 4-6, 1932. Thirty countries were represented, and one new country, Egypt, was admitted to representation, bringing the total number of countries affiliated with the committee to forty. The delegates of the United States were Mr. Waldo G. Leland and Mgr. George Lacombe.

The report of the treasurer showed total receipts in 1931 of \$10,669.62, and expenditures of \$7432.62. The latter were distributed as follows: annual meeting, \$1250; secretariat, \$2400; treasurer's office, \$15.75; *Bulletin*, \$1706.87; *Yearbook of Historical Bibliography*, \$1000; expenses of committees, \$1060. The treasurer also reported that since the organization of the International Committee in 1926, the direct contributions to its support, in addition to subventions from the Rockefeller Foundation, had amounted to \$7602, while indirect contributions, that is, expenditures incurred on behalf of committee activities in the various affiliated countries, had exceeded \$25,000.

Satisfactory progress was reported on most of the projects under way, a standing Committee on Historical Geography was established, and exterior commissions or groups were authorized on the Vatican archives and on colonial history.

The following declaration was unanimously adopted:

The International Committee of Historical Sciences, convinced that absolute freedom of research, achieved in principle during the past century, is an imperative condition of continued progress in science and letters, and having observed that the political, economic, and social conflicts of the present time tend to restrict this freedom, appeals to the governments of all civilized countries with the plea that they maintain in its entirety the freedom of research and of investigation, inasmuch as truth, which is the object of all scientific work, can result only from the varied efforts and investigations of different men.

The hospitable arrangements made for the meeting by the Dutch committee (Dr. H. T. Colenbrander, chairman, Dr. N. B. Tenhaeff, secretary) were highly appreciated, and made the meeting one of the pleasantest in the history of the Committee. The seventh annual meeting will be held in conjunction with the International Congress of Historical Sciences in Warsaw, in 1933.

PERSONAL

Carl Russell Fish, professor of history in the University of Wisconsin, died suddenly, in the midst of Summer Session teaching—in harness, as was his wish—on July 10 at the age of 55. He took his A.B. at Brown in 1897 and his doctorate at Harvard in 1900. He was at once called to Wisconsin by Professor F. J. Turner and remained steadily on its staff until the close

of his life. His scholarly production began with the *Civil Service and the Patronage* (1904) and was continued with the *Guide to Materials for American History in Roman and Other Italian Archives* (1911), which he prepared in Italy as research associate of the Carnegie Institution, and with his well-known college textbook, *The Development of American Nationality* (1913); then, for some years his publication turned to diplomatic and social history; and at the time of his death he was well advanced in his book on the Civil War, which for a considerable period has formed the center of his productive and teaching interests. His reputation as a brilliant and engaging teacher and speaker was widespread. His vivid and spirited personality, his wit and dauntlessness, even his cherished eccentricities, endeared him to students, colleagues, and public. He loved the Middle West as the most truly American part of the country and the Middle West responded with its affection. The editor of the Madison *Capital Times*, a former student, in the course of a touching editorial appraisal, well expressed that regard:

His life, like the history he wrote, was one long research into the "usable past", the beautiful past, the enlightening past. Upon such wisdom he reared the superstructure of a more glorious future. But so woven into the texture of his actions and thoughts was his personal philosophy and natural affability that his span on earth was an integrated monument and, for us, his students, an inspiring example.

G. C. S.

Walter Lynwood Fleming died on August 3 at the age of 58. He took his doctorate in Columbia in 1904. For a year he had been professor of history in West Virginia University, and he remained there until 1907, when he accepted a similar chair at the University of Louisiana. In 1917 he became professor of history in Vanderbilt University. Six years later he was also appointed dean of the College of Arts and Sciences and director of the Graduate School. Ill health after 1928 compelled him to retire from a part of his activities. As a student and writer he held a leading position in the investigation of different phases of the Reconstruction period. Among his works were: *Civil War and Reconstruction in Alabama* (1905); *Documentary History of Reconstruction*, 2 vols. (1906, 1907); *The Sequel of Appomattox: a Chronicle of the Reunion of the States* (1919, *Chronicles of America*); *The Freedman's Savings Bank* (1927). At the time of his last illness he was engaged upon a biography of Jefferson Davis and a history of the Ku Klux Klan. The esteem in which he was held by his students and colleagues is evidenced by the fact that not long ago a volume on the South entitled *I'll Take My Stand*, written by twelve Southerners, was dedicated to him.

DeCourcy Wright Thom, banker, publicist, and vice president of the Maryland Historical Society, died on August 6 at the age of 74. He was prominent in the work for the preservation of Maryland antiquities, and was founder of the *Maryland Historical Magazine*.

H. Nelson Gay, the author of the leading article in this number, died on August 13 at the age of 62. A graduate of Amherst College, of the class of 1891, and a graduate fellow of Harvard University, 1900-1903, he had lived in Rome for many years. During that time he had built up what has been esteemed to be the most comprehensive library dealing with the history of Italy from 1815 to 1870, the period of the Risorgimento. He did much to interest Italians in American history, contributing to a series on illustrious Americans the volume on *Abraham Lincoln*. His house in Rome was a center of studies for those interested in Italian history.

Stanley Lane-Poole, the eminent Arabist and historian, died on December 29 at the age of 77. He began his career in the coin department of the British Museum and prepared the *Catalogue of Oriental Coins*, 14 vols. (1875-1890). He was employed by the British and other governments on archaeological missions. He contributed several volumes to the series of Rulers of India, Heroes of the Nations, and Story of the Nations. He was also the author of the *Life of Stratford Canning, Viscount de Redcliffe*, 2 vols. (1888), and the *Life of Sir Harry Parkes*, 2 vols. (1894).

L. Cecil Jane died on February 15. He was translator and editor of *Select Documents illustrating the Voyages of Columbus*, published by the Hakluyt Society (1930), and author of *Liberty and Despotism in Spanish America* (1929).

Julien Hayem, an eminent writer on French economic history, died on March 5 at an advanced age. He was an industrialist by vocation, carrying on a business established by his father, but his avocation was history, and he found time to edit and contribute to a series of volumes entitled *Mémoires et Documents pour servir à l'Histoire du Commerce et de l'Industrie en France*, of which the thirteenth is in press.

Jean Jules Jusserand, distinguished scholar and diplomat, died in Paris on July 18 at the age of 77. For the last twenty-three years of his diplomatic service he was ambassador in Washington. His name was frequently coupled with that of James Bryce in the esteem of the American people. In 1920 he was chosen president of the American Historical Association and presided over the annual meeting held in St. Louis. He entered the diplomatic service after completing his studies at the universities of Lyons and Paris. He became counselor of the French embassy in London in 1887. He had already published a volume on the English theater, and his contributions to history and the history of literature soon won him a notable position in international scholarship. In 1884 he published a volume on *Les Anglais au Moyen Age*, which also appeared in England under the title of *English Wayfaring Life in the Middle Ages*. Perhaps his chief work was his *Literary History of the English People*, the first volume of which in its French

edition was published in 1894. Several of his works were crowned by the French Academy. A still greater reward was his election to be one of the Forty Immortals. In 1929 appeared his *Instructions aux Ambassadeurs de France en Angleterre, 1648-1690*, an important contribution to a great series of diplomatic documents. His latest volume, published last year, and reviewed in this journal, was *Le Sentiment Américain pendant la Guerre*. He was always an eloquent and persuasive advocate of a more perfect understanding, the French of the Americans, and the Americans of the French.

The May number of the *Annales Historiques de la Révolution Française* is devoted to the memory of Albert Mathiez. It opens with a discriminating review by his successor as editor, Professor Georges Lefebvre, of Mathiez's *Cœuvre Historique*. Among the other articles is a discussion by Professor L. R. Gottschalk of Mathiez's influence upon the younger historical writers of the United States. An interesting document is the letter of Mathiez to Dr. Gottschalk, explaining the beginnings of his break with M. Aulard.

C. K. Webster, until recently professor of history in the University of Wales, and visiting professor at Harvard University for half of each year, has become Stevenson Professor of International History in the University of London. Two other new appointments in the University of London are: N. H. Baynes as professor of Byzantine History, and Charles Singer as professor of the History of Medicine.

Dr. Dana G. Munro, recently United States Minister to Haiti, has been appointed professor of Latin American History and Affairs at Princeton University.

Dr. Nathaniel Schmidt, professor of Semitic languages and literature and Oriental history at Cornell University, has been made professor emeritus.

Dr. William B. Hesseltine, of the University of Chattanooga, has been appointed acting assistant professor of American history at the University of Wisconsin for the current year. Professor Delos S. Otis will remain at Wisconsin for this year also.

Professor James Westfall Thompson, of the University of Chicago, has accepted an appointment to the Sidney Hellman Ehrman professorship of European history at the University of California, to begin work in January.

The following promotions may be noted: *University of Chicago*, Carl F. Huth, to be professor of Ancient history, Frances E. Gillespie, to be associate professor of English history, Eugene N. Anderson, to be assistant professor of Modern European history; *Miami University*, William E. Smith, to be professor; *University of Nebraska*, James L. Sellers, to be professor.

Professor J. J. Van Nostrand, of the University of California, and Dr.

Yamato Ichihashi, of Stanford University, have been granted leave of absence for the year.

The Huntington Library has appointed to its International Research Fellowships for the current year F. M. Salter, of the University of Iowa, and J. W. Ashton, of Kansas City.

Professor Tenney Frank delivered a lecture on Cicero before the British Academy on June 8.

After two years of service of great value to this journal, Phoebe A. Heath resigned her position as assistant editor. On July 2 she was married to Mr. H. M. Stoker, and shortly afterwards sailed for South Africa to take up her residence at Pretoria. Mrs. Janet Woodburn Wiecking, formerly assistant editor, has resumed her work on the *Review* for a time.

GENERAL

The International Committee of Historical Sciences has recently established a committee for the preparation of a bibliography of the peace movement in the past. The chairman is Dr. Jacob ter Meulen, author of *Der Gedanke der Internationalen Organisation* and librarian of the Peace Palace at The Hague. Another member is Dr. Chr. L. Lange, author of *L'Histoire de l'Internationalisme*. Dr. Lange has served for many years as secretary-general of the Interparliamentary Union. He also built up the remarkably rich library of the Nobel Institute. The American member is Professor Merle Curti, of Smith College.

The International Institute of Intellectual Coöperation issued in July the first number of a quarterly *Index Translationum, International Bibliography of Translations*. This number lists translations which have appeared in France, Germany, Great Britain, Italy, Spain, and the United States.

The second *Year-Book* (1931) of the International Labour Office, published in Geneva, is available in this country through the World Peace Foundation, 40 Mt. Vernon St., Boston (pp. xvi, 547, \$3.00). The World Peace Foundation also distributes *Ten Years of International Jurisdiction, 1922-1932* [Permanent Court of International Justice] (Leiden, A. W. Sijthoff, pp. 74, \$1.25).

The American Council of Learned Societies offers in 1933 (July 1) grants in aid of research and post-doctoral fellowships for training and research in the humanities. The grants are in two categories: small grants, not exceeding \$300, and larger grants, not ordinarily exceeding \$1000. Applicants for grants must possess the doctorate or its equivalent, and must be actually in need of the desired assistance and unable to secure it from other sources. The grants are made for specific purposes (other than living ex-

penses or in lieu of salary), such as travel, photostats, secretarial assistance, etc., in connection with projects of research actually under way. The fellowships have a basic stipend of \$1800, to which allowances of travel, expenses of research, and other purposes may be added. Applicants must have the doctorate, must not be more than thirty-six years of age, and must have demonstrated unmistakable aptitude for constructive research. Information respecting grants and fellowships, as well as application blanks, may be secured from the American Council of Learned Societies, 907 Fifteenth St., N. W., Washington, D. C. All applications must be filed by December 15, 1932, and awards will be announced in March, 1933.

Isis (Apr.) contains the thirty-second Critical Bibliography of the History and Philosophy of Science and of the History of Civilization (to Oct., 1931).

In the *Annales d'Histoire Économique et Sociale* for July, J. Denucé, of the municipal archives of Antwerp, presents a conspectus of a class of documents of importance for the economic history of Antwerp, and of Europe, for a period beginning with the sixteenth century. This category of documents is known under the name of "Chambre des Fonds insolubles" or "Fonds des Faillites". A great many of the papers have perished through neglect, some through the burning of the Hôtel de Ville in 1576, but the present collection represents the affairs of a hundred firms. M. Denucé says that the collection forms, with the archives preserved in the Plantin-Moretus museum, an uninterrupted series of important documents extending over a period of three or four centuries, and he believes that it is unique in the world.

The volume entitled *Faith, Hope, and Charity in Primitive Religion*, by R. R. Marett, of the British Academy (Macmillan Co., pp. 239, \$3.00),¹ embodies lectures given in Boston two years ago at the Lowell Institute, and amplified the following year as the Gifford Lectures at the University of St. Andrews. The lectures deal with such topics as the Religious Complex, Fear, Cruelty, and Curiosity.

Various aspects of the causes of war are given consideration by a group of distinguished men in the published reports of a commission of the World Conference for International Peace through Religion (*The Causes of War*, Macmillan, pp. xxix, 235, \$1.50). Among the contributors are Sir Arthur Salter, Alfred Zimmermann, Wickham Steed. The editor is Mr. Arthur Porritt. On the same general subject is the *Development of the Peace Idea*, a collection of addresses and essays by Benjamin Trueblood, secretary of the American Peace Society, 1892-1915. The essays include, among others, one

¹ Articles mentioned in the following lists appeared in periodicals dated from January to August of the current year; books are of the current year unless a date is given.

on William Penn's Holy Experiment and one on Richard Cobden's Influence toward the Peace of the World. Mr. Edwin D. Mead contributes a preface (Plimpton Press, pp. xxviii, 243).

In a brief article entitled *A Propos des Histoires Générales de Cambridge*, in the *Revue de Synthèse* for June, M. Louis Halphen, himself the editor of a notable coöperative general history, comments suggestively upon the four series, dealing with Ancient, Medieval, Modern, and Imperial history, published under the auspices of the Cambridge University group of historians.

The volume on the *Principles of Social Legislation*, by Mary Stevenson Callcott, Ph.D., in collaboration with Willoughby C. Waterman, A.M. (Macmillan, pp. xix, 416, \$3.00), is primarily concerned with social legislation in the United States since the beginning of the twentieth century, but in dealing with every topic the authors go back to the earlier methods of treating the problem. For example, the development of the English Poor Law is briefly but adequately explained as an appropriate background for a discussion of the theme of Relief of Poverty. Professor Harry J. Carman has contributed a foreword.

The *Catholic Historical Review* for July continues its reviews of the present situation of the Catholic Church by articles on the Church in Contemporary Ireland, by James F. Kenney, in Russia, by Edmund A. Walsh, and in France, by Charles L. Souvay.

Copies of the first two volumes of cumulative indexes of this journal are in demand, and persons desiring to dispose of theirs may communicate with the office of the Association.

ANCIENT HISTORY

General review: W. Otto, *Zur Universalgeschichte des Altertums* [chiefly Eduard Meyer's *Geschichte des Altertums*, vol. II.] (*Hist. Zeitschr.*, June 29).

A group of European scholars interested in prehistoric and "proto-historic" art and archæology have issued the first fascicle of *Préhistoire*. The editor-in-chief is Raymond Lantier, assistant director of the Musée des Antiquités Nationales at Saint-Germain-en-Laye, and the publisher Ernest Leroux. This fascicle contains *Les Sculptures du Roc (Charente)*, by Dr. Henri Martin, *Cœuvres d'Art du Magdalénien*, *Objets d'Art de la Grotte del Pendo, près Santander*, by Hugo Obermaier, and *Les Chars Culturels et leurs Survivances Historiques*, by Robert Forrer. The fascicles for a year will make up a volume of about 240 pages and the subscription price is 250 francs.

Two notable pamphlets lately published by Humphrey Milford for the British Academy are *Minoan Art*, by E. J. Forsdyke (Henriette Hertz Lec-

ture, pp. 30, with excellent illustrations), and *Magical Texts from a Bilingual Papyrus in the British Museum*, demotic and Greek, edited and translated by H. I. Bell and others (pp. 54, and facsimile plates).

The American publisher for Ulrich Wilcken's *Alexander the Great*, translated by G. C. Richards, is the Dial Press (pp. ix, 337, \$5.00).

Professor M. L. W. Laistner, of Cornell University, has revised and enlarged his *Survey of Ancient History*, emphasizing in the additional paragraphs and chapters art and literature, economic phenomena, the development of the Athenian constitution, and the Hellenistic period. The title of the new book is *Greek History* (D. C. Heath, pp. xiii, 485, \$3.40).

The July *Bulletin* of the John Rylands Library contained a first installment of a group of about forty private letters of the "Golden Age of Hammurabi" which belong to the non-Sumerian cuneiform material in the library. The editor is Dr. T. Fish, special lecturer in the Semitic department of the University of Manchester. The letters are presented in copy, transliteration, and translation.

A bibliography of Graeco-Roman Egypt appears in the *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* (May), the papyrological publications being reviewed in departments by J. G. Milne, H. I. Bell, N. H. Baynes, F. De Zulueta, and others, the epigraphical by M. N. Tod. In *Historia*, VI. 1, there is a *Rassegna di Etruschologia*, and a *Rassegna di Epigraphia Romana* by A. N. Modona, and a *Bibliographia di Diritto Antico* by L. Canesi.

In the *Archiv für Orientforschung*, 8, 1-2, are reports of the excavations and expeditions of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, in Chaldea, Mesopotamia, Anatolia, Palestine, Sinai, and Egypt. F.-A. C. Schaeffer publishes his report of the 3rd campaign at Minet-el-Beida, and Ras Shamra, in *Syria*, 13.1. A full account of the Serabit expedition of 1930, by K. Lake, A. Barrois, S. New, and R. F. Butin, appears in the *Harvard Theological Review* for April. One may note also P. Collart and P. Devambez, *Voyage dans la Région du Strymon*, in the *Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique*, 55.1; New Items from Athens, by E. P. Blegen, in the *American Journal of Archaeology*, June; and J. Keil's 16th preliminary report of the excavations at Ephesus in *Jahreshefte*, 27. 1. In the *Illustrated London News* of June 18, walls of the Canaanite fortress of Shechem; June 25, sculpture from the Agora excavations at Athens, also pottery and terra cottas dating from 1000 B. C. to the 4th century A. D.; July 16, report of the digging of a pit at Nineveh to virgin soil; finding of Assyrian records and Hittite tablets; July 30, objects from Rhodes and Calchi ranging from early Ægean to Hellenistic work; Aug. 13, the earliest church with mural decorations, from Dura-Europos.

Among articles criticizing source materials may be noted: E. Dhorme,

Les Peuples issus de Japhet d'après le Chapitre X de la Genèse (*Syria*, 13.1); A. Momigliano, La Leggenda di Carano, Re di Macedonia (*Atene e Roma*, n. s., 12. 4); C. D'Amico, La Battaglia di Salamine, in Eschilo e Erodoto (*ibid.*); G. de Sanctis, La Genesi della Elleniche di Senofonte (*An. d. R. Scuola Normale Sup. di Pisa*, ser. II. 1); Piero Treves, Jeronimo di Cardia e la Politica di Demetrio Poliorcete (*Riv. di Filol.*, June); B. L. Hallward, Cicero Historicus (*Cam. Hist. Jour.*, 3.3).

Material of interest to the student of economic history appears in F. W. v. Bissing's article On the Occurrence of Tin in Asia Minor (*Jour. of Hellenic Stud.*, 1932.1), and G. A. Wainwright's article on Iron in Egypt (*Jour. of Egypt. Arch.*, May). E. Grier discusses Accounting in the Zenon Papyri (*Class. Philol.*, May), and W. L. Westermann, Entertainment in the villages of Graeco-Roman Egypt (*Jour. of Egypt. Arch.*, May). Note also M. I. Rostovtzeff, The Caravan-gods of Palmyra (*Jour. of Rom. Stud.*, 22.1); J. Curle, Roman Crift in Caledonia (*ibid.*); and H. Mattingly, Hoards of Roman Coins found in Britain (*ibid.*).

Legal, military, and institutional antiquities have received considerable attention. One may mention Ph. Finger, Die drei Grundlegungen des Rechts im 1. Buch von Cicero's Schrift *De Legibus* (*Rhein. Museum*, 81.2); M. A. Levi, L'Appellativo *Imperator* [a criticism of the views of Mommsen, Rosenberg, and Momigliano] (*Riv. di Filol.*, June); G. Vinay, Nota su *consul e imperator* (*ibid.*); S. Weinstock, *Templum* (*Röm. Mitt.*, 47, 1-2). E. Fabricius writes Some Notes on Polybius' Description of Roman Camps (*Jour. of Rom. Stud.*, 22.1); A. Klotz, Die Bezeichnung der Römischen Legionen (*Rhein. Mus.*, 81.2); E. Birley, Roman Garrisons in the North of Britain (*Jour. of Rom. Stud.*, 22.1); and E. v. Nischer, Die Quellen für das Spätromischen Heerwesen (*Am. Jour. of Philol.*, June).

Articles: S. Smith, *An Egyptian in Babylonia* (*Jour. Egypt. Arch.*, May); H. Bauer, *Ein Aramäischer Staatsvertrag aus dem 8. Jahrhundert v. Chr. Die Inschrift der Stele von Sudschin* (*Archiv f. Orientforsch.*, 8.1-2); S. Mowinkel, *Die Chronologie der Israelitischen und Jüdischen Könige* (*Acta Orient.* 10.3); W. F. Albright, *The Seal of Eliakim and the Latest Pre-exilic History of Judah, with some Observations on Ezekiel* (*Jour. Bib. Lit.*, June); F. Schachermeyr, *Zur Chronologie der Kleisthenischen Reformen* (*Klio*, 25.3); R. v. Fischer, *Der Zahlenproblem im Perserkriege, 480-479 v. Chr.* (*ibid.*); F. Maurice, *The Campaign of Marathon* (*Jour. Hellenic Stud.*, 52.1); H. W. Parke, *The Tihe of Apollo and the Harmost of Decelea, 413-404 B. C.* (*ibid.*, 55.1); C. Barratt, *The Chronology of the Eponymous Archons of Boeotia* (*ibid.*); W. H. Pater, *Aratus in Corinth* (*Hermathena*, 46); A. E. R. Boak, *A Petition for Relief from Guardianship* *P. Mich. Inv. no. 2922* (*Jour. Egypt Arch.*, May); F. Leifer and E. Goldmann, *Zum Problem der Foruminschrift unter dem Lapis Niger* (*Klio*, Beiheft 27);

R. S. Conway, *The Etruscan Influence on Roman Religion* (Bull. John Rylands Libr., July); E. Bickermann, *Bellum Antiochicum* [a fresh analysis of the pre-war diplomatic relations between Antiochus and the Roman senate] (Hermes, 67.1); M. Segre, *Mitridate e Chio* (Il Monco Class., II.2); J. G. C. Anderson, *The Genesis of Diocletian's Provincial Organization* (Jour. Rom. Stud., 22.1); M. Rostovtzeff, *Foreign Commerce of Ptolemaic Egypt* (Jour. Ec. and Bus. Hist., Aug.); Fr. Cumont, *Le Testament de Ptolémée le Jeune, Roi de Cyrène* (Jour. des Sav., Apr.); G. Bardy, *Les Écoles Romaines au Second Siècle* (Rev. d'Hist. Ecclés., July).

T. R. S. B.

MEDIEVAL HISTORY

General reviews: F. M. Powicke and Carl Stephenson, *The Recent Trend in Medieval Studies* (History, Apr.); Gino Luzzatto, *The Study of Medieval Economic History in Italy: Recent Literature and Tendencies* (Jour. Ec. and Bus. Hist., Aug.).

In the great series *Acta Conciliorum Oecumenicorum*, five volumes have been allotted to the Council of Chalcedon. The fourth of these has appeared first; it contains letters written by or addressed to Pope Leo I. before and after the council. The title of this important work is *Concilium Universale Chalcedonense; Leonis Papae I. Epistularum Collectiones* (Berlin, De Gruyter, pp. xlvii, 192). The editor is E. Schwartz.

Acta Sanctorum Novembris instead of being vol. V. as might have been expected, is called vol. II., *pars posterior*, the first part having been published in 1894. The new volume is taken up entirely by a commentary by Hippolyte Delchaye on the important Hieronymian Martyrology (Brussels, Quentin, 1931, pp. xxiv, 721). An explanatory article on the new volume appears in *Analecta Bollandiana*, L. 1-2.

To *Studi Bizantini e Neo-ellenici*, vol. III., edited by S. G. Mercati (Rome, Anonima Romana Editoriale, 1931, pp. 304), J. Compennass has contributed *Zwei Psalmenhomilien des Arethas von Kaisareia*; P. Lefous, *Materiali Essicali e Folkloristici Greco-Otrantini*; A. Vasiliev, a study of the *Viaggio* of Giovanni V. Paleologo in Italia e l'Unione di Roma; G. Gerola, *Le Vedute di Constantinopoli di Cristoforo Buondelmonti*; while the editor publishes certain *Testi Volgari Neo-ellenici* found in the Biblioteca Vallicelliana and critical notes on various *Testi Bizantini*.

In the July *Bulletin* of the John Rylands Library is a review of the work of Dr. A. Mingana, who has been keeper of the library's Oriental manuscripts since 1915, and who has now taken a similar position in the Rendel Harris Library of the Selly Oak Colleges at Birmingham. Dr. Mingana's most notable work was the completion of the Catalogue of Arabic Manuscripts. In the course of this work he discovered the "earliest known

apology for Islam as against Christianity, written about 850 A. D., at Baghdad, by 'Ali Tabari, at the court of and with the assistance of the Caliph Muttawakkil". Another discovery was a "Charter of Protection granted to the Nestorian Christian Church in A. D. 1138 by Muktafi II., the Mohammedan Caliph of Baghdad". No similar charter had before been found. Some 600 Syriac and Garshūni manuscripts, obtained in Dr. Mingana's successive journeys to the East, which were financed by Mr. Edward Cadbury, form the most important element in the Rendel Harris Library, which Mr. and Mrs. Cadbury have given to the Selly Oak Colleges. The study of these manuscripts will be significant for the history of early Christianity.

A collection of essays dealing with *Classical Authors in Florilegia*, by Professor B. L. Ullman, of the University of Chicago, has been brought together from various issues of *Classical Philology*. A study of these anthologies is important for a more exact appraisal of the classical heritage of the Middle Ages.

In *Quellen und Forschungen aus Italienischen Archiven und Bibliotheken*, published by the Prussian Historical Institute in Rome, vol. XXIII. (Rome, W. Regenber, 1931-1932, pp. 301), there are several articles of interest in the medieval field, among them the following: *Die Aufrufe Gerberts und Sergius' IV. für das Heilige Land*, by Carl Erdmann; *Analekten zur Geschichte des Reformpapsttums und der Cluniazenser*, by Johannes Ramackers; *Benevent als Territorium des Kirchenstaates bis zum Beginn der Avignonesischen Epoche*, pt. 2, by Otto Vehse; and *Die Konstantinische Schenkung in der Abendländischen Literatur des Ausgehenden Mittelalters*, by the late Gerhard Laehr.

Bulletin no. 10 of the *Progress of Medieval Studies in the United States of America*, edited, in the continued absence of Professor James F. Willard, by Irene P. McKeehan and Erwin F. Meyer, includes Canadian medievalists in its lists. Among its valuable features are a list of forthcoming books and a list of doctoral dissertations in progress or completed. It also reports the progress of the several projects upon which the Mediaeval Academy of America is engaged.

Articles: Philipp A. Becker, *Vom Christlichen Hymnus zum Minnesang* (Hist. Jahrb., Heft 1, 1932); Luigi Schiaparelli, *Note Diplomatiche sulle Carte Langobarde, i Notai nell' Età Langobarda* (Arch. Stör. Ital., Apr.); H. E. del Medico, *Essai sur Kahrié Djami au Début du XII^{ème} Siècle* (Byz. Zeitschr., XXXII. 1, 1932); Paul B. Schaeffer, *The Popes and the Twelfth Century Renaissance* (Pac. Hist. Rev., June); Albert Vogt, *S. Théophylacte de Nicomédie* [text of unpublished ninth century Greek life of this bishop] (An. Boll., L. 1-2); Paul Peeters, *Les Débuts du Christianisme en Géorgie*

d'après les Sources Hagiographiques (*ibid.*); Robert Lechat, *Les Fragmenta de Vita et Miraculis S. Bernardi par Geoffroy d'Auxerre* [Latin text, cir. 1145] (*ibid.*); Ferdinand Kloss, *Das Räumliche Bild der Grundherrschaft in Böhmen bis zum Ende des XII. Jahrhunderts* (Mitteil. des Verein. für Gesch. der Deutschen in Böhmen, LXX. 1-2); Heribert C. Scheeben, *Der Literarische Nachlass Jordans von Sachsen* (Hist. Jahrb., Heft 1, 1932); Gabriele C. Medici, *Note per la Ricostruzione del Diritto Volgare Gallo-Italico* (Arch. Stor. Lomb., Mar.); A. A. Vasiliev, *Was Old Russia a Vassal State of Byzantium?* (Speculum, July); D. C. Munro, *A Crusader* (*ibid.*); H. G. Richardson, *A Norman Law Suit* (*ibid.*); Martin Grabmann, *Eine Lateinische Uebersetzung der Pseudo-aristotelischen Rhetorica ad Alexandrum aus dem 13. Jahrhundert* (Sitzungsb. der Bayerisch. Akad. der Wissenschaft, Philos.-Hist. Abt., 1931-1932, Heft 4); Émile van Moé, *Recherches sur l'Histoire des Ermites de St-Augustin* [I.] (Rev. des Ques. Hist., Apr.); D. G. Morin, *Béranger contre Béranger: un Document Inédit des Luites Théologiques du XI^e Siècle* (Recherches de Théol. Anc. et Méd., Apr.); H. Dannenbauer, *Die Römische Petruslegende* (Hist. Zeitschr., June 29); John L. La Monte, *To what Extent was the Byzantine Empire the Suzerain of the Latin Crusading States?* (Byzantion, VII. 2, 1932); A. Vasiliev, *Pero Tafur, a Spanish Traveler of the Fifteenth Century and his Visit to Constantinople, Trebizond, and Italy* (*ibid.*).

G. C. B.

MODERN EUROPEAN HISTORY

General review: Giuseppe Messina, *Storia della Religioni* (N. Antol., July 1).

A work of interest in the field of historical literature is *La Vie et l'Œuvre d'un Cosmopolite Philosophe, Sismondi, 1773-1842*, by Jean R. de Salis (Paris, Champion, 2 vols., 70 fr.). It is accompanied by letters and other inedited documents, and forms tome 77 of the Bibliothèque de la *Revue de Littérature Comparée*.

The publication of M. Émile Mâle's *L'Art Religieux après le Concile de Trente* (Paris, Colin, pp. x, 532, 294 engravings, 160 fr.) marks the completion of a great work. Unlike its predecessors this volume does not restrict its treatment to the religious art of France alone, but deals with that of other Catholic countries. The period is from the close of the sixteenth century to the end of the eighteenth.

Since Friedjung wrote his account of the Crimean War in 1907, the policy of the Central European states during that crisis has been restudied and found less simple than supposed. Austria feared that Russia's victory over Turkey would result in a break-up of the Turkish empire through revolution and the creation of democratic republics with a fatal attraction for Austria's southern provinces. She therefore desired with the help of

Western Europe to replace Russia's influence in the Balkans with her own. Among the latest monographs in this general field is *Die Deutsche Frage und der Krimkrieg*, by Eduard Heller, former archivist in Vienna (Berlin, Osteuropäische Forschungen, N. F. 9, 1931, pp. 215).

In a large and handsome volume, the Danube commission has published an account of its remarkable work during the first seventy-five years of its existence. The editor-in-chief is Professor Carlo Rossetto, minister plenipotentiary and delegate of Italy, with the collaboration of Francis Rey, secretary-general of the commission. The work, which bears the title *La Commission Européenne du Danube et son Œuvre de 1856 à 1931* (Paris, Imprimerie Nationale, 1931, pp. 526) is based on the archives of the commission and special studies made by a group of its technical experts.

When Roumania entered the World War, a military mission was sent to its assistance. The chief of staff of this mission, General Pétin, is well fitted to describe the events in that sector, in many of which he had a personal share. The account, which is detailed and technical, bears the title *Le Drame Roumain, 1916-1918* (Paris, Payot, 3 vols.).

Mr. James H. Powers, foreign editor of the *Boston Globe* is the author of *Years of Tumult: the World since 1918* (W. W. Norton, pp. 345, \$3.00). By an analysis of the Treaty of Versailles, and a narration of events since 1919 in the more important countries of Europe and Asia, the author hopes to clarify some of the world's dilemmas of 1932. The final chapter is on New Phases of American Foreign Policy.

Articles: Attilio Amato, *Marengo* [account of battle in 370 pages] (Riv. di Storia, Arte e Arch. per la Prov. di Alessandria, Apr.); Anton Ernstberger, *Charles Mackay und die Idee der Vereinigten Staaten von Europa im Jahre 1848* (Hist. Zeitschr., June 29); Marcel Handelsman, *La Guerre de Crimée: la Question Polonaise et les Origines du Problème Bulgare* [with documents] (Rev. Hist., Mar.); Egon Gottschalk, *Die Diplomatische Geschichte der Serbischen Note vom 31. März 1909* (Berl. Monatsh., Aug.); Eduard Ritter von Steinitz, *Berchtolds Politik während des Zweiten Balkankrieges, das Endergebnis der Krise 1912-13* (*ibid.*, July); J. Isaac, *Le Problème des Origines de la Guerre: Trois Solutions Américaines* [a discussion of the contributions of Barnes, Fay, and Schmitt, I.] (Rev. d'Hist. Mod., Mar.); Albert Pingaud, *La Mission de M. Doumer en Russie, 1915* (Rev. des D. M., June 15); Anna-Léo Zévaès, *Le Mouvement Anarchiste de 1870 à nos Jours* [I., II., to be cont'd] (N. Rev., June 1, 15).

GREAT BRITAIN

Select Cases concerning the Law Merchant, A. D. 1251-1779, edited for the Selden Society by Hubert Hall, has now reached vol. III. The Supplementary Central Courts is the subject of the volume.

H. M. Stationery Office has issued part III. of the *Register of Edward the Black Prince*. This deals with the administration of the estates and household in the palatinate of Chester for the period 1351 to 1365. The Stationery Office has also published addenda to vol. I., part II. of the *Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, of the Reign of Henry VIII*.

Vol. IV. of the *Calendar of the Clarendon State Papers*, preserved in the Bodleian Library, covers the years 1657-1660. It is edited by F. J. Routledge, and published by the Clarendon Press.

Among the recent issues of the Facsimile Text Society (Columbia University Press, 1931) are John Wheeler, *A Treatise of Commerce*, and Christopher Goodman, *How Superior Powers Ought to be Obeyed*. Professors George Burton Hotchkiss and Charles H. McIlwain respectively are responsible for the bibliographical notes. Wheeler's *Treatise* is reproduced from a copy of the London edition of 1601 in the Seligman Library of Columbia University, which differs in details from the Middleburgh edition which was reprinted by the New York University Press with an historical introduction by Professor Hotchkiss. Wheeler was secretary of the Merchant Adventurers and compiled the Laws and Ordinances of that company reprinted in 1902 by Professor W. E. Lingelbach. Goodman's work, according to Professor McIlwain, is one of a series of sixteenth century political writings which "marks the first definite shift of opinion under the pressure of religion away from the doctrine of almost unlimited obedience". It is reproduced chiefly from the copy in the Union Theological Seminary Library, though some pages imperfect in that copy are from photostats of the copy in the British Museum. W. T. L.

The Bank of England from Within, by W. Marston Acres, a member of the bank's staff, studies phases of this great institution's history which have not been included in previous books. As the words "from within" suggest, the author deals with the bank's staff, and its buildings, as well as its financial practices. The work is in two volumes, printed for the "Governor and Company" of the bank (Oxford, University Press, 1931, 30 s.).

The new volume of the *Calendar of the Court Minutes of the East India Company*, by E. B. Sainsbury (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 18 s.) covers the years 1671-1673. The introduction is by W. T. Ottewill. This was a period of great prosperity for the company, for the dividends declared rose to thirty per cent. in 1672, in spite of the fact that war with the Dutch brought extraordinary risks in its train. The price of spices at the time caused as much discussion as the price of rubber in recent years. The Dutch monopoly of cinnamon forced the price up to seven or eight shillings a pound, and the price of nutmegs to twelve shillings. Pepper on the other hand was only one shilling.

The Lord Provosts of Edinburgh, 1296-1932, by Dr. Marguerite Wood, keeper of the burgh records, assembles all the information available about these noteworthy officials, giving each a brief biography, and accompanying about sixty of the sketches with portraits. The volume has been printed by the Edinburgh University Press for Sir Thomas Whiston, the present lord provost. It is intended for private circulation.

Under the title of *The English Newspaper: Some Account of the Physical Development of Newspapers printed in London between 1622 and the Present Day* (Cambridge, University Press, 45 s.), Stanley Morison has made an important contribution to the history of the format, typography, and other conditions of publication.

Mark Longaker's *English Biography in the Eighteenth Century* (University of Pennsylvania Press, 1931) is a history of the art of writing biography in the period when, the author maintains, it first found "complete illustration in England". There are chapters on Roger North's *Lives*, Johnson's *Lives of the Poets*, and Boswell's *Life of Johnson*.

Dr. John D. Comrie's *History of Scottish Medicine*, first issued in 1927 to conclude with 1860 has now been brought down to 1931 and issued in two volumes by Ballière, Tindall, and Cox.

An important phase of British-Indian history has at length been given adequate treatment in *The Problem of the North-West Frontier, 1890-1908* by C. C. Davies (Cambridge, University Press, 12 s. 6d.). One of the difficulties of the situation has been the length of the frontier and the varied character of the tribal population. The author believes that the troubles were increased by the persistent intrigues of the amirs of Afghanistan. His work is largely based on foreign office papers recently open to investigators, and on Secret Border Reports which were made available by special permission.

Professor Paul Knaplund's edition of Sir Edward Grey's *Speeches on Foreign Affairs, 1904-1914*, of which the English edition was noticed here in the January number, has now been republished by the Harvard University Press.

The British Academy's Raleigh Lecture for 1931 was delivered by Professor R. W. Seton-Watson, and is published by Humphrey Milford as a pamphlet with the title *The Rôle of Bosnia in International Politics, 1875-1914*.

Mr. Humphrey Milford publishes for the British Academy, as pamphlets, the commemorative biographical addresses read before the academy respecting Sir Israel Gollancz, Thomas W. Arnold, and Thomas Ashby.

Students proposing to examine documents relating to local government

and social history should not ignore the invaluable series found in the archives of Norwich, England. The Muniment Room at the Castle Museum has recently been placed under the administration of the Norwich Public Libraries Committee. The series includes Leet Rolls, Assembly Books (1434-1833), Mayor's Court Books (1440-1835), Chamberlain's Accounts (1384-1835), Freeman's Roll, by-laws and rules for trades and merchandise, Coroner's Inquests, Pleas, the Guild of St. George (1421-1718), Quarter Sessions Books, etc.

Articles: H. M. Cam, *Manerium cum Hundredo: the Hundred and the Hundredal Manor* (Eng. Hist. Rev., July); A. L. Poole, *Henry Plantagenet's Early Visits to England* (*ibid.*); H. G. Richardson and George Sayles, *The King's Ministers in Parliament, 1272-1377* [pt. III.], *The Parliaments of Edward III.* (*ibid.*); K. L. Wood-Legh, *The Knights' Attendance in the Parliaments of Edward III.* (*ibid.*); E. Margaret Thompson, *A Fragment of a Witham Charterhouse Chronicle and Adam of Dryburgh* (Bull. John Rylands Libr., July); E. F. Jacob, *Two Lives of Archbishop Chichele* (*ibid.*); James F. Willard, *The Dating and Delivery of Letters Patent and Writs in the Fourteenth Century* (Bull. Inst. of Hist. Research, June); Graham Pollard, *The Bibliographical History of Hall's Chronicle* (*ibid.*); Freda Nicholas, *The Assize of Bread in London during the 16th Century* (Ec. Hist., Jan.); A. L. Rowse, *The Plymouth Fishery, 1584-1591* (*ibid.*); J. G. Muddiman, *Francis Smith the Elder, Bookseller, Anabaptist Preacher, and Author, 1659-1692* (Notes and Queries, July); R. D. Richards, *The Bank of England and the South Sea Company* (Ec. Hist., Jan.); Norman Sykes, *Episcopal Administration in England in the Eighteenth Century* (Eng. Hist. Rev., July); Raymond Guyot, *Quelques Aspects Nouveaux du Règne de Victoria* (Rev. Hist., May); Ralph M. Hower, *The Wedgwoods: Ten Generations of Potters* [II.] (Jour. Ec. and Bus. Hist., Aug.); E. Lipson, *England in the Age of Mercantilism* (*ibid.*); Lewis Patton, *Coleridge and Revolutionary France* (South Atlantic Quar., July); William Thomas Morgan, *The British Ministerial Revolution of 1931* (*ibid.*); Pierre Crabitès, *England's Fifty Years in Egypt* (Nineteenth Cent. and After, July).

FRANCE

General review: André Lasseray, *La Bibliographie Militaire Française en 1930* (Rev. d'Hist. Mod., Mar.).

A comprehensive survey of the treasures of French local libraries, manuscripts, rare books, prints, coins, and other objects of historical interest, is embodied in *Les Richesses des Bibliothèques Provinciales de France*, edited by Pol Neveux, inspector general of libraries, and Émile Dacier, assistant director of the Bibliothèque Nationale (Paris, Editions des Bibliothèques Nationales de France, 1000 fr.). This work is due to government initiative,

and the editors have received the assistance of the directors of provincial libraries.

Les Presses Universitaires de France has recently issued the third and last fascicle of tome I. of *Bibliographie des Travaux Publiés de 1866 à 1847 sur l'Histoire de la France de 1500 à 1789*, edited by E. Saulnier, archivist at the ministry of the colonies, and A. Martin, assistant director of the Bibliothèque Nationale.

Students of Roman Gaul are promised an instrument of great value in *Forma Orbis Romani, Carte Archéologique de la Gaule Romaine*, the first sections of which deal with the departments of the *Alpes-Maritimes* and *Basses-Alpes* (Paris, Leroux, 1931, pp. 55, 3 plates, map, 75 fr.). The authors are Paul Couissin, of the museum of Marseilles, and Henry de Gérin-Ricard, a well-known archæologist of the region portrayed. The map is based upon that of the geographical service of the French army. The localities which have yielded archæological remains are numbered in order that corresponding paragraphs of text may indicate the exact nature of the finds. The whole project is under the direction of Adrien Blanchet.

The volume by the late Paul Raveau entitled *Essai sur la Situation Économique et l'État Social en Poitou au XVI^e Siècle* (Paris, Rivière, 1931, pp. 107, 16 fr.) was originally planned to be for industrial life the complement of the author's *L'Agriculture et les Classes Paysannes*. Although incomplete, it makes valuable contributions to the study of the price of wheat and to the relation of the local authorities to the enterprises of the guilds. These studies have been brought together from the pages of the *Revue d'Histoire Économique et Sociale*.

In *French Mercantilist Doctrines before Colbert*, Charles Woolsey Cole (New York, Richard R. Smith, 1931, pp. xiv, 243, \$2.50) takes as his point of departure the year 1453, when the process of unification was sufficiently complete to create among the French a sense of common nationality. The book is devoted mainly to a discussion of the systems of Laffemas and Montchrétien, and of their contemporaries. It serves as an introduction to the study of the economic policies of Richelieu and Colbert.

The Facsimile Text Society as vol. VI. in its series of Language and Literature has reprinted the *Letter to Gén. Lafayette by James Fenimore Cooper and Related Correspondence on the Finance Controversy* (Columbia University Press, 1931). Cooper's letter appears both in the English (Baudry) and French (Paulin) versions. Professor Robert E. Spiller has furnished a bibliographical note.

The first president of the Third Republic is the subject of several recent studies, two of which are *Thiers* by Henri Malo, former librarian of the

Institut Thiers, who has had access to a large number of unpublished documents (Paris, Payot), and *Les Derniers Jours de l'Empire et le Gouvernement de M. Thiers* by Charles Chesnelong, deputy and senator from 1871 to 1899 (Paris, Perrin).

We have recollections of diplomats in abundance, and sometimes memoirs written by members of a diplomat's family, but it would be hard to find in this literature a book of better temper or greater charm than *Enfances Diplomatiques: Saint-Petersbourg, Copenhague, Lisbonne, Athènes, Bruxelles*, by M. Wladimir d'Ormesson (Paris, Hachette, pp. 256, 12 fr.). The author's first clear memories date from his father's stay at Copenhagen, at the patriarchal court of Christian IX., the "grand-père" of Europe. At Lisbon he was one of the playmates of the crown prince, destined to so tragic a fate, and the late ex-King Manuel, too young to join in the games, was a very pretty child "avec ses grandes boucles blondes, son teint mat, son air royal". As the family's longest stay was at Athens, M. d'Ormesson's recollections of Greece and the Greek court are especially detailed and interesting.

Admiral de Faramond's *Souvenirs d'un Attaché Naval en Allemagne et en Autriche, 1910-1914* (Paris, Plon, pp. xxvii, 234, 15 fr.) is more than a volume of recollections; it is an attempt of an observer, with unusual opportunities for assembling information and gaining impressions, to clarify the problem of war origins. He was persona grata in German society because while naval attaché in Washington he had married Miss Langham, sister of the Baroness Speck von Sternberg. Of none of the German officials whom he knew are his appreciations harsh, except Von Jagow whom he regarded as a "menteur" and a "fourbe". His characterization of the Kaiser is balanced. From the conversation which he had with the Archduke Franz Ferdinand the inference is that the archduke regarded with anxiety the growing tension between Germany and England. Naturally the volume abounds in interesting comments upon individuals. For those familiar with the documents in the case its chief value will be the impressions of the actors in the drama, the characterization of situations, and the comments on atmospheres. The preface is written by Jules Cambon.

Articles: G. Pagès, *Essai sur l'Évolution des Institutions Administratives en France, du Commencement du XVI^e Siècle à la Fin du XVII^e* [II.] (Rev. d'Hist. Mod., Mar.); J. L. de Lucinge, *Les Infortunes de René de Lucinge, Ambassadeur de Savoie, et le Traité de Lyon, 1601* (Rev. d'Hist. Dipl., Apr.); Comte de Saint-Aulaire, *Richelieu: l'Apprentissage, 1607-1617* (*ibid.*, Jan.); Paul Bondoïs, *Une Négociation Difficile: Madame de Chevreuse en Angleterre* (*ibid.*, Jan., Apr.); Émile Magne, *Le Château de St. Cloud au XVII^e Siècle* (Rev. de Paris, June 15); Henri Froidevaux, *François Martin à Pondichéry de 1674 à 1686* (Rev. d'Hist. Col., May);

Arthur Le Moy, *La Grande Prêtresse* [Jeanne Charlotte de Trégnibé, wife of the advocate-general Le Prestre de Châteaugiron, 1761-1782] (An. de Bretagne, XL. 1); G. Pagès, *La Vénalité des Offices dans l'Ancienne France* (Rev. Hist., May); Louis Mazoyer, *Exploitation Forestière et Conflits Sociaux en Franche-Comté à la Fin de l'Ancien Régime* (An. d'Hist. Éc. et Soc., July); Edmond Soreau, *La Révolution Française et le Proletariat Rural* [III.] (An. Hist. de la Rév. Fr., July); Albert Mathiez, *Fauvelle et Danton* [among the late Professor Mathiez's papers still to be published] (*ibid.*); Comtesse Le Marois, ed., *Lettres à M. de Staël* [written by Mme. de Staël; I.] (Rev. des D. M., June 15); F. Charles Roux, *France et Afrique du Nord avant 1830* (Rev. Hist., May); Jacques Boulenger, *Napoléon III. aux Tuileries* (Rev. de Paris, May 1).

THE NETHERLANDS

In vol. LII. of *Bijdragen en Mededeelingen van het Historisch Genootschap* (Utrecht, Kemink and Son, 1931, pp. lxxxi, 396, 57, 7.75 fl.) are presented ten documents edited by J. Z. Kannegieter and relating to the draft of the constitution prepared in 1832 for King William I. of the Netherlands. The committee appointed by the king for this purpose labored in great secrecy, and not until 1928 were the documents removed from the secret cabinet archives to the general archives in The Hague. A second article gives the text, with excellent footnotes, of the journal of Admiral Tromp, written on board the warship *Amelia* in 1639, and edited by S. P. L'Honoré Naber. This journal was first published two years ago in English translation by Lieutenant C. R. Boxer. Volume LIII., for 1932 (same publishers), contains a reprint of the journal of Peter White, "One of the Four Masters of Attendance in England's Navie", serving under Admiral Pennington in 1639, when the second Spanish Armada was defeated by the Dutch near Dover; it has been edited by S. P. L'Honoré Naber. A second article concerns the iconoclasm of 1566 in Utrecht, a familiar episode in Dutch history, and presents a reproduction of numerous documents from (1) the family archives of Heereman van Zuydtwyck, (2) the general archives in Brussels, and (3) the national government archives in Utrecht, edited by J. C. J. Kleijntjens and J. W. C. van Campen. A. H.

The publication of the financial accounts of the bishopric of Utrecht, 1378-1573 (*Rekeningen van het Bisdom Utrecht, 1378-1573*, Utrecht, Kemink and Son, pp. 632; lxxxi, 171), has been completed by two volumes edited for the Historisch Genootschap by Dr. K. Heeringa. Vol. II. reproduces the accounts of the ecclesiastical jurisdiction exercised by the bishop, while vol. III. contains a very extensive index besides a useful introduction. This introduction is divided into four sections, devoted respectively to the

revenues of the bishop in general, the revenues of the temporal power in the two separate parts of the bishopric, and the expenditures of the same. A. H.

The characteristic relationship between Dutch civil authorities and academic administrations is illustrated in the history of the University of Utrecht as told by Dr. J. A. Cramer, *De Theologische Faculteit te Utrecht ten Tijde van Voetius* (Utrecht, Kemink and Son, pp. vii, 542). The university was closely controlled for a long time by the civil authorities and even the professors of theology were appointed by the town council. On the other hand, leading theologians were often successful in swaying the opinions of those who controlled the government. Theology and zeal for orthodoxy had a greater rôle in the University of Utrecht than even in the University of Leiden. Besides a sketch of the faculty and the work of Voetius and his colleagues, numerous documents are reproduced that are very important sources for ecclesiastical affairs in Holland during the seventeenth century. These documents have been found in a manuscript that seems never to have been utilized before by historians. A. H.

GERMANY, AUSTRIA, AND SWITZERLAND

General review: Marc Bloch, *Histoire de l'Allemagne, Moyen Age* [I.] (Rev. Hist., May); Siegfried Frey, *La Storia della Svizzera* [II, publications of 1920-1929] (Riv. Stor. Ital., Jan.).

Justus Hashagen, whose special field has always been the intellectual and social life of the Reformation period, has written an exhaustive and very learned monograph on *Staat und Kirche vor der Reformation; eine Untersuchung der Vorreformatorischen Bedeutung des Laieneinflusses in der Kirche* (Essen, Baedeker, 1931, pp. xxv, 556).

Professor Hans Preuss of Erlangen is engaged on a three-volume biography of Luther, in which he will consider the reformer successively as artist, German prophet, and Christian man. Of this work, the first volume, *Martin Luther; der Künstler* has appeared (Gütersloh, Bertelsmann, 1931, pp. vi, 319).

An important collection of 264 letters received by the diplomat Soria, one from Ferdinand the Catholic, 114 from Charles V., twenty-eight from Ferdinand, king of the Romans, etc., is inventoried in a *Catálogo de los Documentos del Archivo de Lope de Soria Embajador del Emperador Carlos V.*, appearing in the *Bol. de la Academia de la Historia*, XCVIII. 353-416. Only a few of these letters, published by Rodriguez Villa, have hitherto been known.

The problem of communal autonomy in Prussian cities has already been studied by Schmoller, but he drew his materials exclusively from the state archives at Berlin, neglecting local sources. His conclusions are rectified on

several points by Ilse Barleben's monograph, *Die Entwicklung der Städtischen Selbstverwaltung im Herzogtum Kleve während der Reform Friedrich Wilhelms I.* (Rheinisches Archiv; Veröffentlichungen des Instituts für Geschichtliche Landeskunde der Rheinlande an der Universität Bonn, fasc. 18; Bonn, Röhrscheid, 1931, pp. xi, 138).

To the new material now being published in commemoration of the Stein centenary should be added *Die Reorganisation des Preussischen Staates unter Stein und Hardenberg*, edited by the Prussian archivist Georg Winter (Publikat. aus d. Preuss. Staatsarch., Leipzig, Hirzel, 1931, vol. I., pp. xv, 575) and the *Briefwechsel Sacks mit Stein und Gneisenau, 1807-17*, edited by Wilhelm Steffens (Veröffentl. d. Histor. Kommission f. Pommern, Stettin, Saulnier, 1931, pp. xiii, 163).

In *Das Reich und Preussen im Kampf um die Führung, von Bismarck bis 1918* (Berlin, Carl Heymann, 1931, pp. xvi, 363, 23 M.), Hans Goldschmidt, of the Reichsarchiv, has assembled 117 documents from state and imperial archives to illustrate the dualism in the constitutional situation and the means by which Bismarck sought to emerge from its embarrassments. The introduction is unusually comprehensive and the documents themselves are annotated.

Articles: Wilhelm Weizsäcker, *Heinrich Brunner und die Deutsche Rechtsgeschichte der Gegenwart* (Mittel. des Vereines für Gesch. der Deutschen in Böhmen, LXX. 1-2); Ernst Staehelin, *Des Basler Buchdruckers Ambrosius Froben Talmudausgabe und Handel mit Rom [1578-1581]* (Basler Zeitsch. für Gesch. und Altertumsk., XXX.); Walter L. Dorn, *The Prussian Bureaucracy in the Eighteenth Century [III.]* (Pol. Sci. Quar., June); Gustav Steiner, *Mittel und Wege zur Helvetischen Revolution [1797]* (Basler Zeitsch. für Gesch. und Altertumsk., XXX.); Ed. Schweizer, *Die Entstehung der Dreissiger Wirren im Kanton Basel; eine Historische und Staatsrechtliche Untersuchung [1830-1831]* (*ibid.*).

E. N. C.

ITALY AND SPAIN

General review: Carlo Morandi, *Histoire d'Italie du XV^e au XVIII^e Siècle [II.]* (Rev. Hist., Mar.) Cesare Foligno, *Some Books on Italian History* (History, Apr.).

There still exist some 600 statutes of Italian communes anterior to the year 1400. This material has been in course of publication since 1912 in the *Corpus Statutorum Italicorum*, edited by Pierre Sella. Vol. XIV. includes part of the statutes of Modena and is entitled *Respublica Mutinensis 1306-1307 a cura di Emilio Paolo Vicini* (Milan, Hoepli, pp. 360),

The collection Scrittori d'Italia devotes two volumes to *Fra Paolo Sarpi; Lettere ai Protestanti*, edited by Busnelli (Bari, Laterza, 1931, pp. 288, 297).

Most of these letters have been published, but in incorrect editions, difficult to consult.

The life of Cardinal Alberoni is being told by Piero Castagnoli in three volumes, of which the first was concerned with his ministry in Spain (without portfolio) and the second deals with his flight and trial (1719-1734). The title is *Il Cardinale Alberoni* [II.]; *Il Processo* (Piacenza, 1931, pp. 359).

Fresh material for the history of the Italian national revival is contained in N. Tommaseo's *Venezia negli Anni 1848-49; Memorie Storiche Inedite* with preface and notes by P. Prunas [I.] (Florence, Lemonnier, 1931, pp. xciii, 420). The book constitutes vol. VII. of the collection *Studi e Documenti di Storia del Risorgimento*, edited by G. Gentile and M. Menghini.

A useful study of parliamentary evolution in one of the most progressive parts of Italy is to be found in *I Parlamenti di Sardegna nella Storia e nel Diritto Pubblico Comparato* by Antonio Marongiu (Rome, Anonima Romana Editoriale).

Articles: Emilio Nasalli Rocca di Corneliano, *Sui Poteri Comitali del Vescovo di Piacenza* [10th-12th c.] (Riv. Stor. Ital., Jan.); Ferdinando Rondolino, *Il Castello di Torino; Palazzo Madama nel Medioevo* (Atti della Soc. Piemont. di Arch. e Belle Arti, XIII.); Piero Maranzana, *Re Manfredi e le sue Origini Monferrine* (Riv. di Stor., Arte e Arch. per la Prov. di Alessandria, Apr.); Earl J. Hamilton, *En Période de Révolution Économique: la Monnaie en Castille, 1501-1650* [II.] (An. d'Hist. Éc. et Soc., May); Giuseppe Agnello, *Memorie Inedite Varie sul Terremoto Siciliano del 1693* (Arch. Stor. per la Sicilia Orient., XXVII. 3); Umberto de Ferrari di Brignano, *La Nobiltà Tortonese secondo la Revisione Ordinata da Casa Savoia nel 1752 e nel 1776* (Riv. di Stor., Arte e Arch. per la Prov. di Alessandria, Apr.); Albert Pingaud, *Le Premier Royaume d'Italie, l'Œuvre Intellectuelle* (Rev. d'Hist. Dipl., Apr.); Lucia La Bella, *Vincenzo Fardella Marchese di Torrearsa i suoi Tempi e i suoi Amici* [I., 1848] (Arch. Stor. per la Sicilia Orient. XXVII. 3); G. Emilio Curatulo, *Vittorio Emanuele e Garibaldi* (N. Antol., June 1); Vittorio Fainelli, *Come si Venne a Quarto; Documenti e Particolari Inediti* [Garibaldi and Sicily] (*ibid.*):

E. N. C.

NORTHERN EUROPE

A bibliography of Norwegian history for the year 1929, prepared by Reidar Omang, is published in the current issue of the (Norwegian) *Historisk Tidsskrift* (1932, 1). A similar though somewhat more extensive bibliography of Swedish history for the year 1931 is published by Percy Elfstrand in the (Swedish) *Historisk Tidsskrift* (1932, 1).

The Danish Historical Society has recently published a useful volume on historical research and writing in Denmark to the year 1890, by Ellen

Jørgensen (*Historieforskning og Historieskrivning i Danmark indtil Aar 1800*, Copenhagen, 1931, pp. 266, 8 kr.).

Svenskarna i Finland och Estland, by Thorsten Wennerström, is a sympathetic account of the difficulties experienced by the Swedish Finlanders in Finland and Esthonia in their struggle to maintain their Swedish nationality in speech and culture (Gothenburg, 1931, pp. 319, 5:50 kr.).

The agrarian movement in Norway which developed considerable political strength in the thirties and forties of the past century has found a sympathetic student and historian in Arne Bergsgaard, who deals with it in a biography of its great leader and chieftain O. G. Ueland (*Ole Gabriel Ueland og Bondepolitiken*, Oslo, Aschehoug, 1932).

The personality, character, and purposes of Charles XII. continue to be matters for lively discussion and wide disagreement among Swedish historians. In the yearbook of the 'Caroline Society' (Karolinska Förbundet) for 1930 (publ. 1931), Per Engdahl (in *Karl XII.*) argues that the famous king was a many-sided personality, one of the greatest men of all time. On the other hand, Colonel Claes Bratt finds that he was a great military leader and nothing more; in government, culture and social problems he had no interest (*Karl XII. som Härförare*, Lund, Gleerup, 1931).

During the period since the World War Sweden has been engaged in the reconstruction of her educational system, and it is the possible influence of American experience which is discussed in *The Educational Crisis in Sweden*, by Christina Staël von Holstein Bogoslovsky (Columbia University Press, pp. xiv, 301, \$3.50). The historical background is discussed in a preliminary chapter and this is followed by a description of the existing situation, as an introduction to the main theme.

The Esthonian state archives have recently published an account of the material they contain relating to Poland, which starts with the sixteenth century and is especially rich for the nineteenth. The documents are in Esthonian and German; the publication, which is by N. Treumuth and O. Lilu, is entitled *Polonica im Estnischen Staatlichen Zentralarchiv* with an appendix on material in other Esthonian archives (Tartu, Rigii Keskarchivi, 1931, pp. 159).

Professor Richard Salomon, of the University of Hamburg, in an article entitled *Zur Lage der Geschichtswissenschaft in Russland* (*Zeitschrift für Osteuropäische Geschichte*, Heft 3, 1932), discusses the growing movement in Russia against historical studies which do not have an orthodox Marxian basis. Historians like Tarlé and Platonov are proscribed as conspirators. Professor Salomon limits his review to the period since 1930, supplementing, therefore, a presentation which Dr. Epstein had made in 1930 in an article on *Die Marxistische Geschichtswissenschaft in der Sowjetunion seit 1927*.

The story of the Bolshevik revolution is told by one of its partisans, A. F. Ilyin-Genevsky, a student, who was conscripted, wounded, and finally placed on duty at Petrograd, in a little book entitled *From the February Revolution to the October Revolution, 1917* (International Publishers, 1931, pp. 121, \$1.00).

Articles: J. Dünninger, *Untersuchungen zu Gøngu-Hrólf's Saga* (Arkiv för Nordisk Filologi, 1931, 1-2); R. Ekblom, *Idrisi und die Ortsnamen der Ostseeländer* (Namn och Bygd, 1931, 1-2); Olof Jägerskiöld, *Från San Stefano till Berlin* (Historisk Tidskrift, 1932, 1); Salomon Kraft, *Erikskrönikans Källor* [sources of the Eriks-chronicle] (*ibid.*); *Vardvaekt og Strandvern langs Norges Sydvestkyst i det 17de Aarhundrede* [beacons and shoreguards along the southwestern coast of Norway in the seventeenth century] (Historisk Tidsskrift, Norwegian, 1932, 1); A. M. Tallgren, *Finland vid Slutet af Hednatiden* [Finland at the close of the heathen age] (Fornvännen, 1931); Éli F. Hecksher, *Un Grand Chapitre de l'Histoire du Fer: le Monopole Suédois* [II.] (An. d'Hist. Éc. et Soc., May); Miron Korduba, *Der Ukraine Niedergang und Aufschwung* [conclusion] (Zeitsch. für Osteur. Gesch., Heft 3, 1932); Manfred Laubert, *Beiträge zur Verschwörung der Kosyniery in Posen und Polen* (*ibid.*); Michael T. Florinsky, *World Revolution and Soviet Foreign Policy* (Pol. Sci. Quar., June).

L. M. L.

UNITED STATES

GENERAL

Among recent accessions to the Division of Manuscripts in the Library of Congress, the following may be noted: Joseph Ball's letter-book, 1743-1780, and Gaspard Gabriel Baron de Gallatin's narrative of the voyage of Rochambeau's army to America and its march south, and his journal of the siege of Yorktown; a letter-book of John Sherman, 1837-1848, chiefly correspondence with his mother; papers of James A. Bourland relating to the Red River (Texas-Oklahoma) border, 1837-1867, about 175 pieces; 130 pieces relating to William H. Harrison, and 152 papers of or pertaining to Benjamin Harrison; 75 papers of Dr. Crawford W. Long of Georgia, 1842; 10 letters by Robert B. Roosevelt (father of Theodore Roosevelt) to his wife, June 4-July 1, 1862, and his narrative of the second expedition of the 71st New York Regiment to Washington; 11 portfolios of additional correspondence of Richard Olney, 1902-1925; typewritten biographies and letters (copies) of Rear-Admiral George C. Remey (16 volumes), Mary Josephine Mason Remey (17 volumes), and Judge Charles Mason of Iowa (17 volumes); a typed transcript of accounts kept by Tobias Lear for Washington, 1789-1791, from "Ledger G" in private possession; and many photostats of material from Europe. The five-year period of Mr. Rockefeller's great grant

for the procuring of such photocopies expired on August 31, but the Library expects to go forward with the procedure, though on a reduced scale, with its own means.

The *List of Manuscript Collections in the Library of Congress, to July, 1931*, compiled by Curtis Wiswell Garrison, has been reprinted from the last *Annual Report* of the American Historical Association. Dr. J. Franklin Jameson's *Notes from the Archives of Scotland concerning America*, which appeared in the same report, has also been reprinted.

The Carnegie Institution of Washington and the American Geographical Society of New York have issued an *Atlas of the Historical Geography of the United States*. The author is Charles O. Paullin, of the Division of Historical Research of the Carnegie Institution. It also received the editorial care of Joseph K. Wright, of the American Geographical Society. The price is \$15.00, and subscriptions may be sent to the American Geographical Society, Broadway, at 156th Street, New York City.

Everett E. Edwards, associate agricultural economist, United States Department of Agriculture, has prepared two important bibliographies: *Agriculture of the American Indians* and *Washington and Agriculture*. They are nos. 22 and 23 of the Bibliographical Contributions of the library of the department.

Bulletins nos. 94, 102, 104 of the Bureau of American Ethnology of the Smithsonian Institution are: Tobacco among the Karuk Indians of California, by John P. Harrington; Menominee Music, by Frances Densmore; and A Survey of Prehistoric Sites in the Region of Flagstaff, Arizona, by Harold S. Colton. The *Forty-Seventh Annual Report* (1929-1930) of the bureau has also appeared. Aside from the official statement of M. W. Stirling, chief of the bureau, the volume (pp. 1108) includes papers embodying extended researches in Indian customs and lore, four dealing with Zúñi ceremonialism, myths, poetry, and Katcina, the dominant Zúñi cult.

Scripps' College Papers, no. 3, entitled *Lectures on Typical Americans and their Problems*, by Nathaniel Wright Stephenson, includes four lectures: Jefferson and the Real Purpose of Democracy, Calhoun and the Divine Right of the Majority, Davis and the Validity of Sectionalism, and Roosevelt and the Stratification of Society.

Three sumptuous volumes privately printed for Edward Le^e McClain, of Greenfield, Ohio, are entitled *The Washington Ancestry and Records of the McClain, Johnson, and Forty Other Colonial American Families*. The work was prepared by Charles Arthur Hoppin, genealogist, who has been engaged on the study since 1915. Public interest in the books is found in vol. I. which is concerned with the ancestry of General Washington in Virginia and in England. Many important documents are included. It was

through the great-aunt of General Washington, Anne Washington Wright, that the family of McClain is descended.

The Contribution of Belgium to the Catholic Church in America (1523-1857), by Rev. Joseph A. Griffin, M.A., is a doctoral dissertation published under the auspices of the Catholic University of America (pp. 235). The author remarks that another long and interesting chapter might be written concerning the rôle of the American College of Louvain which was founded in 1857.

Among the cases studied by Maurice Soulié in *Les Procès Célèbres des États-Unis* (Payot, pp. 270, 18 fr.) are those of Benedict Arnold, Aaron Burr, Professor Webster, John Brown, and John Wilkes Booth. The author unhappily believes that the impulses which led to these crimes may be explained by certain characteristics which he considers typically American.

A paper entitled *A Critical Period in American Religion, 1875-1890*, which Professor Arthur Meier Schlesinger read before the Massachusetts Historical Society, and which is included in vol. LXIV. of its *Proceedings*, has been issued separately.

Articles: A. J. Wall, *Historical Records: their Lack of Care and Restoration* (Hist. Quar. of the New York Hist. Soc., Apr.); Bernard Duhr, *The Columbus Problem* (Mid-America, July); Francis Borgia Steck, *Neglected Aspects of the De Soto Expedition* (*ibid.*); James J. Walsh, *Scholasticism in the Colonial Colleges* (New Eng. Quar., July); John F. Byrne, *The Redemptorists in America* [cont'd] (Records of the Am. Cath. Hist. Soc., Mar.); Elizabeth S. Kite, *General Washington and the French Engineers: Duportail and Companions* (*ibid.*); Donnal V. Smith, *The Influence of the Foreign-Born of the North-West in the Election of 1860* (Miss. Valley Hist. Rev., Sept.); W. Norwood Brigrance, *Jeremiah Black and Andrew Johnson* (*ibid.*); Claude M. Fuess, *Carl Schurz and Henry Cabot Lodge in 1884* (New Eng. Quar., July); Julius W. Pratt, *The "Large Policy" of 1898* (Miss. Valley Hist. Rev., Sept.); Kenneth W. Porter, *Trends in American Business Biography* (Jour. Ec. and Bus. Hist., Aug.); M. J. Fields, *The International Steam Pump Company: an Episode in American Corporate History* (*ibid.*); James C. Malin, *The Background of the First Bills to Establish a Bureau of Markets* (Agricultural History, July).

NEW ENGLAND

Among the papers published in the *Transactions, 1927-1930*, of the Colonial Society of Massachusetts are: Harvard College Lotteries, by John Noble; On the Panama Route during the Gold Rush to California, by Philip Putnam Chase; The Course of the Arbella from Cape Sable to Salem, by Samuel Eliot Morison. Another paper by Mr. Morison is on the Great

Rebellion in Harvard College, and the Resignation of President Kirkland. A new edition of the Autobiography of Thomas Shepard, based upon a fresh study of the manuscript, and following it exactly, is also included in the volume. The book is volume XXVII. of the *Publications* of the Society.

The Letters to Dr. Channing, 1837, edited by Fulmer Mood and Granville Hicks, and printed in the July *New England Quarterly*, will be read with especial interest by those who recall the Channing letters included in the Documents section of the *American Historical Review* for April.

The Connecticut Historical Society has published as a memorial to two of its distinguished members, Charles Jeremy Hoadly, and his brother, George Edward Hoadley, a collection of letters and documents found among the papers of Dr. Charles Hoadly and evidently assembled and prepared for publication by him. This *Hoadly Memorial* is vol. XXIV. of the *Collections* of the society (Hartford, the Society, pp. xv, 210). It is edited by Albert C. Bates, the corresponding secretary, who has added notes to those already prepared by Dr. Hoadly. The letters and papers belong to the period from 1642 to 1710. Although both brothers were interested in collecting historical papers, Dr. Charles seems to have been unable to persuade Mr. George to drop the letter "e" in the surname, which Charles regarded as an unhistorical intrusion.

Articles: Henry B. Parkes, *Morals in Colonial New England* (New Eng. Quar., July); Roy T. Honeywell, *Nathaniel Chipman* (*ibid.*); *Record of Entrances and Clearances of the Port of Salem, 1750-1769* [cont'd] (Essex Institute Hist. Coll., July).

MIDDLE COLONIES AND STATES

The papers read before the New York State Historical Association at the Schenectady meeting last year are printed in the July number of *New York State History*.

The New York State Historical Association, with headquarters at Ticonderoga, has begun a state-wide survey of historical materials under the supervision of its new director, Julian P. Boyd. This survey will include MSS. in libraries and historical societies as well those in private hands so far as they can be discovered. A bibliography and inventory of New York newspapers is also planned. Materials for research have been so broadly defined as to permit almost anything relating to the backgrounds of life in New York to come within the scope of the survey. Economic and other related materials that have not hitherto been emphasized in the collections of local historical societies are being given prominent place in the survey. Large industries are being invited to protect their records and permit accredited students to use them. Thus the Witherbee, Sherman, and Company, hold-

ers of large iron ore deposits on Lake Champlain, and the Delaware and Hudson Railroad, the Lake George Steamboat Company, and the Lake Champlain Transportation Company, have granted permission to have their vast records included and to allow research students to use them. The survey has brought to light a considerable number of school and church records, justice of the peace dockets, account books, and other similar materials that were in private hands, chiefly in northern New York.

The New Jersey Historical Society is making a complete catalogue of its newspaper files and miscellaneous copies of newspapers.

The Historical Society of Pennsylvania has made important additions to its manuscript collections, among them the following: the original Grace Galloway diaries kept in Philadelphia from June 17, 1778, to Sept. 30, 1781, besides numerous Galloway letters, which, with the diary, are of great importance for the history of the Loyalists; 2156 miscellaneous manuscripts, including letters to Pierce Butler, surveys, accounts, plans, and invoices concerning Butler Island and the Pierce Butler estate; twenty-one patents for lots in Sunbury (1773-1776); five patents granted to Edward Tilghman in Wayne County (1810); and eighteen letters (1828-1845) relating to the Columbia Bank and Bridge Company of Lancaster. Another addition of much interest is six manuscript music books of the late eighteenth century, which belonged to Betsy and Eliza Henry. The society is preparing for publication a Register of the Jockey Club (1766-1773), from the original in its possession.

The Western Pennsylvania Historical Survey, launched in September, 1931, by the Historical Society of Western Pennsylvania and the University of Pittsburgh, under the direction of Dr. Solon J. Buck, is pushing forward its initial projects, including a bibliography of published material on western Pennsylvania history; a survey of unpublished materials relating to the same subject to be found in American repositories outside the region and in Canadian, British, and French archives and libraries; a calendar of the materials thus found; a survey of the archival and other manuscript materials in the counties of western Pennsylvania; a bibliography and list of extant files of newspapers of the region; and the collection of materials as such, with due attention to the hitherto neglected history of "the newer immigration". Among the recent accessions of material, the most notable is a large collection of letters and documents including the papers of General James O'Hara, those of Major Ebenezer Denny, those of Harmar Denny, and miscellaneous material concerning the O'Hara and Denny families.

Articles: *The Amherst Expedition, Extract from Captain Money Penny's Orderly Book* [in the Fort Ticonderoga Museum] (Bulletin of the Fort Ticonderoga Museum, July); D. R. Fox, *Washington at Newburgh* (New

York State History, July); C. J. McCarthy, *Lieut.-Col. Francis Barber of Elizabethtown* (Proceedings of the New Jersey Hist. Soc., July); Charles W. Parker, *New Jersey Supreme Court of September Term, 1776* (*ibid.*); Maurice Jefferis Babb, *David Rittenhouse* [Commemoration Address on April 9, in connection with the Rittenhouse Bicentennial Celebration] (Pennsylvania Mag. of Hist. and Biog., July); Matilda W. Evans, *Elihu Embree, Quaker Abolitionist, and some of his Co-Workers* (Bulletin of the Friends' Hist. Assoc., spring); T. Kenneth Wood, *The "Great Bend" of the Susquehanna River* [Journal of Samuel Harris, made during his survey in Bradford and Susquehanna counties in 1774] (Now and Then, July); Charles W. Dahlinger, *The Marquis Duquesne, Sieur de Menneville, Founder of the City of Pittsburgh* [cont'd] (Western Pennsylvania Hist. Mag., May, Aug.); Louis E. Graham, *Fort McIntosh* (*ibid.*, May).

SOUTHERN COLONIES AND STATES

The Virginia State Library has published pt. IV. of *A Bibliography of Virginia*, prepared by Wilmer L. Hall, assistant state librarian. It supplements pt. II., "recording three series of sessional documents of the House of Delegates of Virginia which are omitted from that publication".

In the July *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* appears the address of Dr. Charles M. Andrews on Virginia's Place in Colonial History, delivered before the Virginia Historical Society on the occasion of its centennial celebration, December 29, 1931. Dr. Andrews emphasizes the fact that the thirteen colonies were but parts of a larger colonial world and that the historian of the colonies must have an understanding of the influences which this larger world exercised upon the lives of the colonists. Virginia, says Dr. Andrews, surpassed all the other colonies of the New World "in the length of its membership in the British family, in the uniform and consistent development of its political and economic life, and in the completeness with which it seemed to conform to British expectations of what a colony should be". Indeed it was the only one of the colonies that presents all the characteristics of a normal British colony.

The *William and Mary College Quarterly Historical Magazine* has in the July number a letter, dated March 8, 1795, from St. George Tucker to James Monroe, then minister to France, relative to political matters in America. The letter is contributed by Monroe Johnson, together with some remarks, suggested by the letter, upon Washington Period Politics.

Mr. Fairfax Harrison contributes to the July number of the *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* a group of letters (1784) from Captain, afterwards Major, Lawrence Butler of Westmoreland County, to Miss Anna F. Craddock of Leicestershire, England.

The North Carolina Historical Commission has added to its important manuscript material the Thomas M. Pittman Collection, brought together by Judge Pittman, for many years chairman of the commission. It contains 494 letters, 1775-1791; 227 business papers, 1755-1812; 82 letters and papers of James Cary, Loyalist, 1776-1807; Civil War papers—467 quartermaster's department records, 68 orders, 2 order books, 23 muster rolls; 464 pamphlets and broadsides. Another accession, the Mrs. L. O'B. Branch Papers, includes letters to Mrs. Branch from Mr. and Mrs. Jefferson Davis. The Marmaduke J. Hawkins Collection, containing 1179 letters and papers, is rich in political correspondence, broadsides, and pamphlets of the late nineteenth century. The material in another acquisition, the Crabtree Jones Collection, includes letters and papers going back as far as 1771.

Baron Marc de Villiers has published in vol. XXIII., fascicle 2, of the *Journal of the Société des Américanistes*, a poem written by Dumont de Montigny and entitled *Poème en Vers touchant l'Établissement de la Province de la Louisianne connue sous le Nom du Missispy avec tout ce qui s'y est passé de depuis 1716 jusqu'à 1741*, etc. It is illustrated with sketches by Montigny. The manuscript is preserved in the Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal. The interest of the poem lies in the fact that the author furnished Le Maserier the material for *Mémoires Historiques sur la Louisiane*, published in Paris in 1753.

Articles: Paul H. Giddens, *Maryland and the Stamp Act Controversy* (Maryland Hist. Mag., June); Henry J. Berkley, *Colonel Isaac Shelby and other Maryland Heroes of the Battle of King's Mountain* (*ibid.*); Clifford Millard, *The Acadians in Virginia* (Virginia Mag. of Hist. and Biog., July); Ralph B. Flanders, *The Free Negro in Ante-Bellum Georgia* (North Carolina Hist. Rev., July); A. R. Newsome, ed., *A British Orderly Book, 1780-1781* [III.] (*ibid.*); Adelaide L. Fries, *North Carolina Certificates of the Revolutionary War Period* (*ibid.*); John Parish, jr., *Historical Sketch of Jackson County, North Carolina* (North Carolina Hist. and Geneal. Record, July); Theodore D. Jervey, ed., *Garth Correspondence* [cont'd] (South Carolina Hist. and Geneal. Mag., Apr.); Mabel L. Webber, ed., *Josiah Smith's Diary, 1780-1781* [cont'd] (*ibid.*); John P. Corry, *Education in Colonial Georgia* (Georgia Hist. Quar., June); David M. Potter, jr., *Rise of the Plantation System in Georgia* (*ibid.*); W. H. Siebert, *Spanish and French Privateering in Southern Waters, July, 1762, to March, 1763* (*ibid.*, Sept.); Lawrence Kinnaird, *The Spanish Expedition against Fort St. Joseph in 1781* (Miss. Valley Hist. Rev., Sept.); A. Curtis Wilgus, *Official Expression of Manifest Destiny Sentiment concerning Hispanic America, 1848-1871* (Louisiana Hist. Quar., July); Francis P. Burns, *West Florida and the Louisiana Purchase* (*ibid.*); John Smith Kendall, *The Last Days of Charles Gayarré* (*ibid.*); W. S. Cleaves, *Lorenzo de Zavala in Texas* (S. W.

Hist. Quar., July); Francis Borgia Steck, *Forerunners of Captain de Leon's Expedition to Texas, 1670-1675* (*ibid.*); J. Evetts Haley, ed., *A Log of the Texas-California Cattle Trail, 1854* [by James G. Bell] (*ibid.*).

WESTERN STATES

In the series entitled *Overland to the Pacific, a Documentary and Narrative History of the Far West*, edited by Professor Archer Butler Hulbert, and published coöperatively by the Stewart Commission on Western History of Colorado College and the Denver Public Library, the volumes are to appear at the rate of three each year. Vol. I., which is announced for Dec. 1, is entitled *The Lure of the Old Southwest*. It will be concerned chiefly with the work of Zebulon Pike. The price of each volume is \$5.00, and subscriptions may be sent to the Stewart Commission, Colorado College, or to the Denver Public Library.

The *Indiana History Bulletin*, vol. IX., no. 8, is devoted to a *Bibliography on Indian Archaeology*, compiled by Eli Lily. The lists are arranged by counties.

Among the manuscripts of importance recently added to the Illinois State Historical Library are a Report of William Keith, governor of the province of Pennsylvania, to the lords of trade on Indian affairs and the fur trade (1710); the fee book of Lincoln and Herndon, in Herndon's handwriting; and a manuscript of 128 pages, by an unidentified author, giving an interesting account of the author's journey from Liverpool through the Middle States and down the Mississippi to New Orleans, under the title of *Heads and Tales of a Voyage in 1827 to and from America*. The library announces the early publication of the second volume of the *Diary of Orville Hickman Browning*.

The *Transactions* of the Illinois State Historical Society for the year 1931, include, besides the annual report, the papers read at the thirty-second annual meeting and two contributions to state history. Among them is a paper by Dr. James A. Barnes, of Temple University, on Illinois and the Gold-Silver Controversy, 1890-1896, and a paper by Dr. Theodore C. Blegen, superintendent of the Minnesota Historical Society, on Leaders in American Immigration.

Brief Biographies of the Figurines on Display in the Illinois State Historical Library, compiled by Georgia L. Osborne, librarian, and Emma B. Scott, gives short sketches of the 129 Illinois women represented in the figurines. The figurines were modeled by Helmut Schmidt and were the gift of his mother, Mrs. Minna Schmidt. Each appears in the dress of the period to which she belonged.

The library of the University of Chicago has recently received the papers

of Wyndham Robertson, governor of Virginia, consisting of about 10,000 pieces, for the period 1836-1860, many of them of an economic nature.

The Theatre on the Frontier: the Early Years of the St. Louis Stage, by William G. B. Carson (Chicago, University of Chicago Press, pp. xi, 361, \$3.00), is a painstaking chronicle of the first twenty-five years of dramatic activity in St. Louis, from a conjuring act in 1814, to the year 1839, when the flourishing company of Noah M. Ludlow and Sol Smith was performing in a real theater building, often supporting actors who had starred in New York and London. The author traces this development season by season, recording in full the plays, their casts, the reception given them in the press, and the buildings in which they were housed. His book will be valuable to all students of the western theater. C. P. M.

The State Historical Society of Iowa has in press a volume entitled *Amana That Was and Amana That Is*, by Mrs. Bertha M. H. Shambaugh. The first part of this volume is a reprint of Mrs. Shambaugh's volume *Amana: The Community of True Inspiration*, published by the State Historical Society in 1908. The Amana Society (formerly one of the few communistic groups in the United States), has recently changed from a communistic society to a joint stock corporation. The second part of the new volume deals with the community as it is now organized.

In its Bulletin of Information series the State Historical Society of Iowa has issued *Two Hundred Topics in Iowa History*, compiled by William J. Petersen, research associate. This has grown out of a modest beginning in 1904 with twenty-five topics entitled *An Iowa Program for Study Clubs*. The topics are classified and under each is given a comprehensive list of references.

The failure of Senator Brookhart to be renominated gives an added interest to *The Brookhart Campaigns in Iowa, a Study in the Motivation of Political Attitudes*, Dr. Jerry Alvin Neprash, of Franklin and Marshall College (Columbia University Press, pp. 128, \$2.25). The volume belongs to the Columbia University Studies in History, Economics, and Public Law.

The collection of German immigrant letters undertaken by the State Historical Society of Wisconsin is receiving important accessions. The correspondents of the society in Germany have obtained copies of the letters belonging to the library of the University of Bonn. Copies have also been secured of letters in private collections in the United States. Among the latter is a group of several hundred letters assembled by Alfred Gattiker, a Swiss who settled at Baraboo, Wisconsin, where he became an important center of communication for Swiss immigrants in New Glarus, La Crosse County, Sauk County, Chicago, and New York. The society has also added to the Fairchild Collection a group of letters by General Fairchild and Sena-

tor Spooner bearing upon an election contest between the two. The characteristics of the two men are well illustrated.

Three counties in the southwestern corner of Wisconsin have been the source of special study by Dr. Joseph Schafer for the Wisconsin Historical Society (*The Wisconsin Lead Region*, Madison, pp. vi, 341.) This lead mining region was the "magnet which drew the first large body of settlers to Wisconsin, the economic cause of the organization of the new territory, and the basis of its first bloom of prosperity". 1847 marked the peak of the lead production; by 1860 the counties were rapidly turning to farming. In this fact the section is geologically unique, it seems, for seldom are ideal farming conditions found combined with productive mining opportunity. The book also deals with the development of agriculture and analyzes population changes in the region. It is vol. III. of the Domesday Book series published by the society.

The Minnesota Historical Society has published *With Pen and Pencil on the Frontier in 1851: The Diary and Sketches of Frank B. Mayer* as the first volume in a series of Narratives and Documents, under the general editorship of Theodore C. Blegen, superintendent of the society. Bertha L. Heilbron, the society's assistant editor, has edited the volume, which is illustrated by about fifty of Mayer's drawings. Mayer was a young artist who traveled from his home in Baltimore to the Minnesota frontier, where he attended the negotiation of the treaty of Traverse des Sioux and made hundreds of drawings of Indians and scenes in the region. His original diary, together with many of his drawings, is in the Newberry Library at Chicago. Several other volumes are projected for the Narratives and Documents series. The society announces for publication in September the second and final volume of a history of *Minnesota in the War with Germany*, by Franklin F. Holbrook and Livia Appel, edited by Solon J. Buck, formerly superintendent of the society. This volume will deal with the civilian aspects of the state's participation in the World War. A volume of Indian missionary records is being edited for publication by Grace Lee Nute, the society's curator of archives.

A Civil War collection of approximately twenty-five hundred books, pamphlets, and documents has recently come into the possession of the Minnesota Historical Society. This collection, which represents the lifelong interest of the late Judge Torrance, a Minneapolis lawyer and formerly national commander of the G. A. R., places strong emphasis upon the history of the Confederacy as well as upon the national history of the G. A. R. In addition the society has acquired thirty-five pieces of correspondence by Charles A. Lindbergh, senior, relating to the publication of his volume entitled *The Economic Pinch*; fourteen rare pamphlets dealing with the Bohemian element in Minnesota; and one hundred and twenty volumes and

boxes of state archives from the office of the secretary of state, consisting chiefly of legislative records from 1856 to 1910 and election returns from 1900 to 1912. The society is launching a project for collecting church records and other materials of value for the social history of the state.

The Minnesota Historical Survey being conducted by the Minnesota Historical Society under the direction of Willoughby M. Babcock, curator of the society's museum, is making steady progress. Complete records for about two hundred and fifty historic markers and monuments have been completed. A comprehensive report for the entire state is the goal of this survey, an important feature of which is relocation of the Red River trails. In addition the society, in conjunction with the Graduate School of the University of Minnesota, is compiling a bibliography and inventory of files of Minnesota newspapers.

The centenary of the discovery of Lake Itasca, the source of the Mississippi, by Henry Rowe Schoolcraft, was celebrated as the climax of the eleventh annual summer tour and convention conducted by the Minnesota Historical Society, from July 14 to 16. Sessions were held at Alexandria, Fergus Falls, Moorhead, and Lake Itasca. Among those who presented papers were Grace Lee Nute, Clyde A. Duniway of Carleton College, Verne E. Chatelain of the National Park Service, Agnes Larson of St. Olaf College, Theodore C. Blegen, William Marin, and William Goetzinger. An extended historical account by Mr. Blegen of Schoolcraft's discovery was published as part of the program for a pageant presented by Chippewa Indians, reenacting the scenes of 1832.

The Kansas State Historical Society has received the papers of the late Charles S. Glead, a leader both at the bar and in the business enterprises of the state. It comprises about 25,000 pieces. Another interesting accession is a group of sixty letters written by Thomas C. Wells, one of the founders of Manhattan, Kans., to relatives in Rhode Island. They throw light upon that stirring period of Kansas history from 1855 to 1860.

The *North Dakota Historical Quarterly* prints in the April issue the journal of Ensign J. H. Bond of the Royal Canadian Rifles, recording a journey in July, 1860, from Kingston, Ontario, to Fort Garry, on the Red River. The journal is edited by Arthur H. Moehlman, who remarks: "There exist few contemporary accounts of transportation in the Red River country as valuable as Bond's."

The part which Fort Hall, in southeastern Idaho, played in the westward movement is told in a book entitled *Fort Hall on the Oregon Trail*, by Jennie Broughton Brown (Caldwell, Idaho, Caxton Printers, pp. 466). The fort, founded in 1834 by Nathaniel Wyeth, was at the strategic point where the Trail branched for California and Salt Lake City. The opening

up of the Columbia and Snake River valleys, the development of the Trail, the life in and near Fort Hall and its later history, as well, are described in the book. It is profusely illustrated.

In the June number of the *Chronicles of Oklahoma* appears the Journal of a Tour in the Indian Territory in the spring of 1844, by N. Sayre Harris, secretary and general agent of the Protestant Episcopal Church. It is edited by Carolyn Thomas Foreman.

Under the leadership of the state historian of Arizona, Effie R. Keen, a survey is being made of material in the Round Valley region, on the head waters of the Little Colorado; which may bear upon the Mexican and non-Mormon history of the section. The state is also planning a system of historical markers on its highways.

The Visit of the "Rurik" to San Francisco in 1816, by August C. Mahr, professor of German in Ohio State University, belongs to the Stanford University Publications in History, Economics, and Political Science (Stanford University Press, pp. 194, 7 plates, \$2.00). The volume is a happy expression of the author's devotion to the city at the Golden Gate. The *Rurik* was ostensibly engaged upon a scientific expedition, financed by the ex-chancellor Romanzow, but Professor Mahr inclines to the opinion that the main purpose of the expedition was to spy out the land and to discover what chances there were for Russian expansion at the expense of the Spanish colonial empire. The volume contains extracts from the diary of the botanist of the expedition, Adelbert von Chamisso; from the report of the captain, Otto von Kotzebue; from the description of San Francisco by the artist, Louis Choris; and from Spanish documents touching the visit. The last are now published for the first time. The illustrations are from lithographs by Choris.

The Oregon Historical Society is engaged upon an index of the first thirty-two volumes of its *Quarterly*.

The June number of the *Oregon Historical Quarterly* contains the second installment of General Henry L. Abbott's journal of his railroad surveys in 1855, edited by Robert W. Sawyer, and also the second installment of a journal of Columbia River Exploration, 1792 (presumably by Edward Bell), edited by J. Neilson Barry. In this number also Robert C. Clark gives a comprehensive account of the several explorations from 1826 to 1860 of what is known as the Harney Basin. Particular interest in the basin has arisen in consequence of a proclamation of President Roosevelt in 1909 setting aside parts of the beds of Lakes Malheur and Harney as a bird refuge and the further consequence of a recent suit to determine title to the lands.

The *Washington Historical Quarterly* prints in the July number a portion of the diary of Doctor W. F. Tolmie, April to June, 1833, relating to the country about Forts Vancouver and Nisqually. Professor Edmond S.

Meany furnishes an introduction. To the same magazine T. C. Elliot contributes the third and final of three journals kept by David Thompson during his travels in the years 1809, 1810, and 1811 through the Pend Oreille country.

In *Koamalu: a Story of Pioneers on Kauai and of what they built on that Island Garden* Ethel M. Damon has written the history of the Rice family, especially of Mrs. William Harrison Rice and her son-in-law Paul Isenberg. The two volumes contain much also of the tradition and history of the Hawaiian Islands. They are privately printed.

Articles: Samuel M. Wilson, *George Washington's Contacts with Kentucky* (Filson Club Hist. Quar., July); Francis L. Ewing, *The Senatorial Career of the Hon. Felix Grundy* [cont'd] (Tennessee Hist. Mag., Jan.); William E. Beard, *Democracy's Two-Thirds Rule rounds out a Century* (*ibid.*); John Umble, *The Allen County, Ohio, Memnonite Settlement* (Memnonite Quar. Rev., Apr.); N. T. Gentry, *Proposed Railroads in Northeast Missouri* (Missouri Hist. Rev., July); M. N. Squires, *The Butterfield Overland Mail in Missouri* (*ibid.*); Charles A. Weissert, *The Indians of Barry County and the Work of Leonard Slater, the Missionary* (Michigan Hist. Mag., summer); Fred W. Lerch, *Iowa and the California Gold Rush of 1849* (Iowa Jour. of Hist. and Pol., July); George L. Collie, *A distinguished Son of Wisconsin: Thomas C. Chamberlin* [V.] (Wisconsin Mag. of Hist., June); Dudley S. Brainerd, *Nininger, a Boom Town of the Fifties* (Minnesota History, June); Marvin H. Garfield, *Defense of the Kansas Frontier, 1866-1867* (Kansas Hist. Quar., Aug.); Cortez A. M. Ewing, *Early Kansas Impeachments* (*ibid.*); Edgar B. Wesley, *Some Official Aspects of the Fur Trade in the Northwest, 1815-1825* (North Dakota Hist. Quar., April); Arthur J. Larsen, ed., *The Black Hills Gold Rush* [letters to the Fairbault Republican in 1875 and 1876] (*ibid.*); Earl W. Hayter, *The Ponca Removal* (*ibid.*); Edward Davis, *The Mississippi Choctaws* (Chron. of Oklahoma, June); Martha Buntin, *Quaker Indian Agents of Kiowa, Comanche, and Wichita Indian Reservation* (*ibid.*); Ruth K. Barber, *Indian Labor in the Spanish Colonies* [II.] (New Mexico Hist. Rev., July); Charles Amsden, *Navaho Origins* (*ibid.*); Waldo Schumacher, *Thirty Years of the People's Rule in Oregon: an Analysis* (Pol. Sci. Quar., June); W. M. Underhill, *The Northern Overland Route to Montana* (Washington Hist. Quar., July); E. E. Hale, *Geographical Terms in the Far West* (Dialect Notes, vol. VI., pt. 4).

CANADA

Vol. IV. of the University of Toronto Studies in History and Economics is entitled *Contributions to Canadian Economics*. It includes Phyn, Ellice and Company of Schenectady, by R. H. Fleming, Canadian Imperial Economic History, by C. R. Fay, and a Bibliography of Publications on Cana-

dian Economics, 1930-1, by M. L. Bladen (Toronto, University of Toronto Press, pp. 120).

Articles: E. R. Adair, *Dollard des Ormeaux and the Fight at the Long Sault* and Gustave Lanctôt, *Was Dollard the Saviour of New France?* (Can. Hist. Rev., June); Louise Phelps Kellogg, *A Footnote to the Quebec Act* (*ibid.*); Roland Wilson, *Migration Movements in Canada, 1868-1925* (*ibid.*).

CUBA, MEXICO AND SOUTH AMERICA

General review: Robert Ricard, *La Période Coloniale de l'Histoire du Mexique d'après les Publications Récentes* (Rev. Hist., May).

Vol. II. of the *Catálogo de los Fondos Americanos del Archivo de Protocolos de Sevilla* (Seville, Instituto Hispano-Cubano de Historia) contains summaries of the contents of 1900 juridical records pertaining to the Spanish colonies in America during the sixteenth century. Eighteen appendixes provide reprints in full of as many documents, and several photographic facsimiles of pages of the manuscripts. There are four indexes of materials, persons, places, and actuaries; and a list of the ships mentioned in the volume.

Trois Précurseurs de l'Indépendance des Démocraties Sud-Américaines, by Édouard Clavery (Paris, Fernand Michel), discusses the influence of France and the French Revolution on Miranda, precursor of independence in Venezuela, on Nariño in New Granada, and on Espejo in Ecuador. In this little book of 192 pages, the author advocates the thesis that it was the example of France which brought about Spanish American independence. He concludes with a brief essay on the importance which Bolívar attributed to the Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen.

A subject not often written about by English and American authors is that of the relation of Germany to the independence of the South American republics. It is therefore refreshing to find among the original articles in the *Boletín del Instituto de Investigaciones Históricas* (Buenos Aires), nos. 51-52, an article entitled "Alemania ante la Independencia Sudamericana entre los Años 1810-1825". The author, Iso Brante Schweide, attributes to Prussia great interest in the independence movements, and to the Hanseatic cities a desire for South American trade, yet he is unable to find recognition of the independence of the Spanish American republics by Prussia until 1825. Having mentioned the well-known writings of Alexander von Humboldt, he admits that the Prussian government had no information about the state of affairs in South America, except from reports from Count Fleming, its minister in Rio de Janeiro.

The publication of the Archivo del General Miranda has now reached vol. XII.

No. 24 of the *Monografías Bibliográficas Mexicanas* is a handsome little volume by Manuel Romero de Terreros, entitled *Encuadernaciones Artísticas Mexicanas, Siglos XVI. al XIX*. A short sketch of the history of book-binding in Mexico from the 16th to the 19th century is followed by a collection of engravings showing characteristic examples of book bindings from the collections of the author and of other Mexican bibliophiles. Then come seven plates illustrating thirty-six trade-marks of 19th century bookbinders, brief descriptions of the bindings, a list of bookbinders arranged by cities, and an index.

The volume entitled *Bosquejo Histórico de la Agregación a Mexico de Chiapas y Soconusco*, which was written by Andrés Clemente Vázquez to complete the work of similar title published in 1877 by Matías Romero, describes the history of the negotiations concerning the boundaries between Mexico and Guatemala or Central America. It is largely made up of hitherto unpublished documents, many of which were found in the secret archives of the ministry of foreign relations, and is published by that department as no. 36 of its *Archivo Histórico Diplomático Mexicano*.

Nos. 50 and 51 of the *Boletín del Archivo Nacional* (Caracas), in which are published the indexes of the manuscripts in the national archives of Venezuela, carry the list of accessions through April, 1932.

On Jan. 15, 1932, was formally organized at Panama the Academia Panameña de la Historia, with Dr. Ricardo J. Alfaro as director and Don Juan Antonio Susto as perpetual secretary and with relations of affiliation to the Madrid Academy of History.

Dr. Harry T. Collings's lecture on the *Trade Relations of the United States with Latin America* has been translated into German and published at Leipzig by Ernst Schultze as no. 7 of the *Weltwirtschaftliche Vorträge und Abhandlungen*, with the title *Die Handelsbeziehungen zwischen den Vereinigten Staaten und Latein-Amerika*.

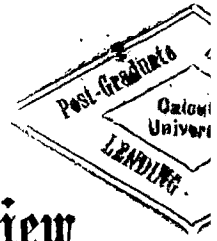
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Articles: A. S. Aiton, *Spanish Colonial Reorganization under the Family Compact* (*Hispan. Am. Hist. Rev.*, Aug.); Charles E. Chapman, *The Age of the Caudillos: a Chapter in Spanish American History* (*ibid.*).

Contributions to the section of Historical News have been made by G. C. Boyce, T. R. S. Broughton, E. C. Burnett, E. N. Curtis, Alfred Hasbrouck, Albert Hyma (The Netherlands), W. T. Laprade, L. M. Larson, Catherine P. Mitchell, and G. C. Sellery.

The

American Historical Review



VENETIAN SHIPPING DURING THE COMMERCIAL REVOLUTION

IT is generally thought that dislocation of the spice trade by the Portuguese discovery of the Cape route to India crippled Venetian commerce. A study of Venetian shipping fails to justify that notion. The effects of the Portuguese discovery upon Venetian trade have frequently been misrepresented because of a failure to distinguish between long ships and round ships. In most discussions of Venetian commerce attention has been concentrated on the merchant galleys,¹ a type of long ship built especially for the transport of spices and other precious wares. But throughout both the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries round sailing ships formed a larger part of the merchant marine. During these centuries the relative usefulness of the two types shifted, however, because of technical changes in rigging and armament. A recognition of the distinct economic functions of these different types of ships in the fifteenth century, and of their changed status in the sixteenth, is the key to the history of Venetian shipping in the period of the Commercial Revolution. When viewed as a whole the Venetian merchant marine employed in international commerce appears not to have declined, but actually to have grown in cargo-carrying capacity during the sixteenth century.

The differences between the large round ship and the long ship or galley were obvious to the eye.² Round ships were high and wide and dependent entirely on sails; long ships were low and narrow and equipped with oars. Round ships were built for stability and for heavy cargoes; long ships for speed and for fighting. The round ship was primarily a merchantman, the long ship was primarily a warship, and

¹ For example, Alethea Wiel, *The Navy of Venice* (London, 1910), pp. 314 ff.

² Detailed descriptions of the variations of both types are given by Enrico Alberto d'Albertis, *Le Costruzioni Navali e l'Arte della Navigazione al Tempo di Cristoforo Colombo*, in *Raccolta di Documenti e Studi pub. dalla R. Commissione Colombiana* (Rome, 1893), vol. I., pt. 4; by John Forsyth Meigs, *The Story of the Seaman* (London, Philadelphia, 1924); and by A. Jal, *Archéologie Navale* (Paris, 1840).

although some round ships were built especially for war, and some long ships were designed for trade, yet even so their functions were distinct in commerce and in war. The long ship designed for trade carried light precious cargoes, the round ship heavy cargoes.

The organization of the maritime trade of Venice in the fifteenth century was based on this difference in the commercial functions of the two types. A monopoly of the transport of spices and some other light wares from the Levant to Venice had been given by law to the great galleys, a special type of long ship.³ Voyages by these ships westward were organized for exporting spices and other precious merchandise. Besides the well-known "Flemish" galleys, which later did at least as much business in England as in Flanders and called at Lisbon and various Mediterranean ports, there were two other fleets of great merchant galleys sent westward. The galleys of Aigues-Mortes served the northern shore of the western Mediterranean, the galleys of Barbary visited its southern shore, and both fleets called at Sicilian and Spanish ports.⁴

These great galleys or merchant galleys were not particularly large vessels compared to many of the Venetian round ships of the time. They carried between 140 and 250 deadweight tons of cargo below deck.⁵

³ Archivio di Stato di Venezia (cited hereafter as A. S. V.), Ufficiali al Cattaver, busta 1, cap. 1, ff. 65-72. These regulations proceeded from the principle that "light goods" could be brought to Venice from the Levant only by "armed ships", later interpreted to mean the great galleys, the merchant galleys of the state. Exemptions were then made for specific wares and specific times although many wares permitted to come on "unarmed ships" (round ships) were obliged to pay freight to the galleys. But spices, even if loaded in the Levant by other ships, could not complete the transit to Venice, between 1435 and 1514, except in the merchant galleys, or, if the galleys were filled, in a selected ship which traveled with the galleys under the same command to carry the surplus. Such ships, when their cargo is mentioned, carried but a negligible amount. See references below on spice imports, and A. S. V., Senato Misti, reg. 47, ff. 19, 128; reg. 48, ff. 12-13; reg. 52, f. 14; reg. 57, f. 134; Ufficiali al Cattaver, busta 2, cap. 4, f. 25; A. S. V., Senato Mar., reg. 18, f. 29; Arsenale, busta 8, ff. 2-3; Marino Sanuto, *I Diarii*, 58 vols. (Venice, 1879-1903), vol. XVIII., col. 178; vol. XXXVI., col. 382.

⁴ The west-bound galleys were obliged to load all the spices and other light goods offered before they could load heavy goods such as wine. See Senato Misti, reg. 47, f. 106; reg. 49, ff. 81-84, 86, 91; reg. 54, ff. 68-69.

⁵ In 1440 the galleys of the measure of Flanders, those used on most of the voyages, were forbidden to be over 440 *milliarii*. Senato Misti, reg. 60, f. 249. One *milliarius* = .47 deadweight tons. In 1481 they were forbidden to be over 450 *milliarii*. A. S. V., Senato Terra, reg. 8, f. 114. These limitations were fixed in order to check the tendency of the shipwrights to enlarge the galleys up to 500 or 600 *milliarii*. A computation at the bottom of the page, Senato Terra, reg. 3, f. 75, in 1452, shows that at that time the merchant who rented the galley from the state for the voyage was expected to collect freight on 430 *milliarii*. The galleys of the measure of Romania were legally of but 140 to 165 tons burden. Senato Mar., reg. 1, f. 13.

Though smaller they were considered safer than the round ships because in addition to the sails on which they relied during most of the voyage the galleys had oars to use in entering and leaving ports. Moreover they were warships with crews of over 200 men armed as the Signoria might direct and commanded by a noble whom it selected.⁶

But the bulk of the Venetian merchant marine was composed of round ships. In the proverbial golden age of Venice, roughly from 1420 to 1450, she had 300 such ships of 100 deadweight tons or more.⁷ Most of these 300 were probably used for fishing or for carrying about the Adriatic such humble cargoes as grain, oil, wood, and stone, and did not figure as long distance carriers on the great routes of interregional trade. But it may be estimated that at least thirty to thirty-five of them were ships of 240 tons or more and were habitually used on voyages beyond the Adriatic, mainly on the longest well-established voyages such as those to England, Syria, and the Crimea.⁸ They were the great merchantmen of their day, distinct in rigging and in structure from the coasting vessels.⁹

⁶ For the large crew, see Senato Misti, reg. 49, ff. 114-115. Details of the armament, the military command, the ports of call, the freight rates, etc., were determined for each voyage by the terms of the resolutions under which the galleys were auctioned. For the years before 1440 these resolutions are contained in the series Senato Misti, for 1440-1469 in Senato Mar., and after 1469 in a special series called Senato, Deliberazione, Incanti Galere, which comes down to 1569. In this last series the years 1499-1519 are missing but the diary of Marino Sanuto does much to fill the gap.

⁷ This figure is given both in Senato Mar., reg. 15, f. 145 (1502), where the records of the Consoli dei Mercanti are referred to as the source of information, and in the "Death-bed Oration" of Doge Tommaso Mocenigo of which the most convenient edition is in Heinrich Kretschmayr, *Geschichte von Venedig* (Gotha, 1905, 1920), II, 617. The figures in Mocenigo's oration are the subject of some dispute, but the plausibility of those concerning shipping may be independently established, if not as in this case confirmed, and the financial figures have been supported by independent evidence by Gino Luzzato, *Sull'Attendibilità di alcune Statistiche Economiche Medievale*, in the *Giornale degli Economisti*, anno XLIV., no. 3, p. 126. For the ratios of conversion of weights and measures used here, see the dissertation by the author deposited in the Harvard College Library, "Venetian Ships and Shipbuilders of the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries".

⁸ The estimate "thirty to thirty-five" is obtained by extension of the ratio found to exist in Table B below. Table B gives a comparison of the number of ships employed on three fairly representative voyages about 1448-1449 and in 1558-1560. The total numbers employed on the three voyages were eighteen at the earlier date and twenty at the later date. The total number of ships of the type here considered was at the later date forty (see below). The assumption is that, if "x" equals the number of such ships about 1448-1449, then 18:20 as x:40. The result, thirty-six, has been modified in consideration of the probably greater importation of grain at the later date in view of the increase in the population of Venice. Giulio Beloch, *La Popolazione di Venezia nei Secoli XVI. e XVII.*, in *Nuovo Archivio Veneto*, n. ser., anno II., t. III., pp. 1-49.

⁹ Albertis, *op. cit.* Throughout the following discussion of round ships and their voyages the assumption is made that ships of 240 tons, or more, predominated in the

They traveled much the same routes as the merchant galleys but with different cargoes—cotton and alum from Syria, wine from Crete to England, slaves and foodstuffs from the Black Sea, and grain, oil, and salt between various Mediterranean ports.¹⁰

In the volume of cargo they carried the thirty to thirty-five great round ships were a much more important part of the merchant marine in the fifteenth century than were the eighteen or twenty merchant galleys which annually sailed at that time. Thirty-five round ships would have carried about 15,000 tons of cargo¹¹ and twenty merchant galleys

Venetian carrying trade outside the Adriatic, and that the number of such ships—in the whole merchant marine or employed on a particular voyage discussed—is an index of the volume of trade. The exact figure, 240 tons, is dictated by the sources, especially the ship lists of 1558–1560 cited below, and the assumption implies a more common use of large ships at that time than might be expected. But in the case of Venice some distinction is necessary between local and international shipping, and the following considerations support the assumption. The size of ship profitable on a particular voyage depends upon the length of the voyage and the volume of goods moved in that trade. Besides the specialization in rigging and shape which then existed in the Mediterranean between merchantmen for long voyages and for coasting voyages, specialization in size is to be expected. Such specialization was encouraged if not dictated by the Venetian government. It forbade ships of less than 240 tons to load salt at Cyprus (Senato Mar., reg. 13, f. 24; reg. 15, f. 145). When ships of the Adriatic or coasting type began to trade beyond the Adriatic they were forbidden to do so. Senato Mar., reg. 9, f. 19; law of August 13, 1602, printed in *Parti prese nell'Eccellentissimo Consiglio di Pregadi; con diversi Leggi cavate dal Statuto in Materia de Navi e sua Navigazione* (Venice, n. d.). That such specialization existed in practice appears from the fact that out of 135 ships mentioned in ship lists in the Notatorio di Collegio (A. S. V.) nos. 5–11, 1384–1457, as going or intending to go from Venice to Syria, the Crimea, or Alexandria, 129 were of 240 tons, or more, four have no sizes given, and only two, and two that did not go, are given as less than 240 tons. To be sure, out of the 135 ships, 100 were applicants for the Syrian voyage. Concerning the voyage to England, it is clear that ships well over 240 tons were considered necessary for the voyage. Senato Mar., reg. 9, f. 162; reg. 12, ff. 156–157; reg. 13, f. 27.

¹⁰ Cotton and alum, Senato Misti, reg. 55, f. 181. Oil, fruit, soap, *ibid.*, reg. 57, f. 244; Senato Terra, reg. 10, f. 170. Wine, Senato Mar., reg. 9, f. 162 and below. Grain, Senato Misti, reg. 55, f. 184; Senato Mar., reg. 4, f. 19. Salt, Senato Misti, reg. 54, f. 37; Senato Mar., reg. 6, f. 27. Black Sea trade, Senato Misti, reg. 54, f. 102. The transport of slaves on merchant galleys was forbidden, *ibid.*, reg. 49, f. 114.

¹¹ If the estimate of the capacity of the round ships was made on the same basis as was the estimate of their number the result would be about 14,000 tons. But another method is available, for in ship lists in the Notatorio di Collegio, no. 10, between Jan., 1449, and April, 1450 inclusive, there is mention of twenty-one different ships with a total capacity of 10,153 tons. The lists in the Notatorio do not include all ships of any given class, but are merely lists of ships applying to serve against pirates or to take part in the Syrian voyage. The figure twenty-one does not, therefore, indicate the full number of ships of 240 tons or more. Instead, the number of such ships is better estimated as thirty to thirty-five, as explained above. Hence the total capacity may be calculated by adding to the known capacity of the twenty-one ships that of nine to fourteen additional ships, estimated, on the basis of those known and with due allowances, as 360 tons each. The result is 13,393 to 15,193 tons.

about 4500 tons. Such a comparison serves the purpose of placing the merchant galley fleets in proper perspective as but a small part of the fleets of Venice trading outside the Adriatic. In the shipping industry the galleys were of secondary importance. But they were of primary importance in the maintenance of Venice as the leading "world market" of the fifteenth century. They consistently carried more precious cargoes than other ships so that a comparison on the basis of value instead of capacity would yield quite different results. Moreover, their average total burden was well over 250 tons since besides the cargo in the hold they carried on deck a very large crew¹² and a number of passengers. Both crew and passengers were allowed to keep with them some personal possessions among which they found place for a certain amount of salable wares, so that the total weight of persons, equipment, and goods carried on deck was probably as great as that below deck.¹³

These two distinct types of Venetian merchantmen, great galleys and round ships, were products of distinct branches of the shipbuilding industry. The great galleys were built by the state in the arsenal. The round ships of commerce were built by private enterprise in private shipyards. When at the end of the fifteenth century the state felt it necessary to build round ships the government resorted to private shipyards. But in the main the production of round ships is synonymous with private shipbuilding.

After 1460 the two parts of the shipbuilding industry and of the merchant marine thus distinguished had different and frequently contrasting histories. The latter part of the fifteenth century was the period when the galley voyages were most numerous and regular and when this branch of the Venetian merchant marine was at the height of its fame. During that same period the fleet of large round ships was reduced to half its former size. In the first half of the sixteenth century, on the other hand, the merchant galley fleets dwindled and almost disappeared, but the large round ships increased in number so that in 1560 they were certainly larger and probably more numerous than they had ever been.

The decline of private shipbuilding at Venice was most severe between 1463 and 1488. By 1487 building was completely at a standstill.¹⁴

¹² In 1412 the size of the crew from commander to cook was legally fixed as 212. Senato Misti, reg. 49, ff. 114-115.

¹³ The resolutions for auctioning the galleys are full of rules to stop overloading on deck. A description of the great galleys in 1501, quoted by Jal, I. 384-387, said that they carried 500 *milliarii* below deck and 500 *milliarii* on deck. The average size of the galleys increased somewhat during the fifteenth century because the smaller type gradually went out of use.

¹⁴ Senato Mar., reg. 9, f. 19; reg. 12, ff. 125, 187.

The mental habits of the political historian may lead him to associate this decline with the naval advance of the Ottoman Turks, but the Venetians themselves, much as they were impressed with the political and military importance of that new danger in the East, did not consider it the cause of the weakening of their merchant marine. Instead they blamed nearby competitors better supplied with materials.

The building of smaller craft was the first part of the industry affected. River barges and small boats were built in Venetian possessions in Italy and brought to Venice for sale.¹⁵ As the forests which had once surrounded the lagoons disappeared, the barge builders pursued them back towards the mountains.

The major rôle in this sudden depression of the Venetian industry was played by the eastern shore of the Adriatic. The great outcry against competing ships in the years 1467 and 1469 was directed against a particular type called "marani" most of which were built in Istria. They had become so numerous that it was impracticable for the state to dispense at once with the use of such ships in sending supplies, but they disposed of the competition of Istria in the future by forbidding the building of any ship of sixty tons or more between Venice and the Gulf of Quarnero.¹⁶

The center of competition then moved down the Adriatic. The bitterest protests were raised against the Ragusans who were at that time gaining a leading place in the Mediterranean carrying trade. The multiplication of Ragusan ships was attributed by the Venetians to the plentiful supply of wood, iron, and sailors available at Ragusa. To meet the situation the senate levied an anchorage tax of 100 ducats on Ragusan ships visiting any port under Venetian dominion. Well might the chronicler Malipiero say that Ragusan ships had been banned from Venice.¹⁷ Later exemption was made of grain ships since the need for food was paramount.¹⁸ But the exclusion from Venetian trade of ships flying the Ragusan flag, even if it could be achieved, would not revive the home industry. The advantages of building in Dalmatia were the root of the trouble. Venetians bought Ragusan ships and built their own ships there or in the Venetian possessions in Dalmatia. By various subterfuges Ragusans acquired citizenship in the Venetian cities of Dalmatia

¹⁵ Senato Misti, reg. 47, f. 151; reg. 54, f. 5; reg. 59, f. 134; Arsenale, busta 6, ff. 13-15.

¹⁶ Senato Mar., reg. 8, f. 144; reg. 9, ff. 19, 21, 136, 146, 157, 170.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, reg. 12 f. 21. Domenico Malipiero, *Annali Veneti*, in *Archivio Storico Italiano* (Florence, 1843), ser. 1, vol. VII., pt. 2, p. 620.

¹⁸ Senato Mar., reg. 16, f. 57.

and kept up business under the flag of San Marco. Between 1487 and 1490 the senate was active putting teeth in old laws forbidding such practices, and in passing new measures to meet the wiles of the Ragusans. The senate even went so far as to forbid the building of any ship of thirty tons or more in Venetian Dalmatia, but the protests of their Dalmatian subjects secured the modification of this provision. In their final form these regulations were designed to permit the Dalmatians to continue to build the ships they needed for their Adriatic voyages, but to sever the Dalmatian industry from any connection with Venetian capital, and to cut it off entirely from any association with the Ragusans.¹⁹

Besides the competition of the inland barge builders and that of the Istrian and Dalmatian coasts, the Venetian shipbuilders suffered from the rivalry of more distant regions. Ships from Genoa, Portugal, the Basque country, and even England were competing with theirs on the long voyages which had been the chief support of the very largest Venetian ships, those of from 600 to 700 tons. Ships of that size were of special importance to the state because of their utility as naval auxiliaries and supply ships, and the rise of the Ottoman navy made the need of them all the more acute. Consequently, when offers of loans and increased freight rates failed to induce private citizens to build ships of the desired size, the Signoria was forced to build its own.²⁰ Between 1475 and 1488 the state built four ships ranging from 600 to 2400 tons, and between 1488 and 1498 ordered six, of which at least five were built, most of them of 1200 tons.²¹ Thus the state obtained the large ships needed to strengthen her war fleet, hunt pirates, send supplies, and, if necessary, import grain and salt.

Meanwhile desperate efforts had been made to recapture from the competitors of Venice the transport of wine from Crete to England and since 1488 there had been some increase in the number of large private ships.²² Ships lists of 1499 suggest that the fleet of private ships of 240

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, reg. 12 ff. 125, 148, 187; reg. 13, ff. 3-7, 15.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, reg. 9, ff. 20, 99, 120-121, 162; Arsenale, busta 6, f. 10. There were no private Venetian ships of 600 tons or more in 1486 and 1488. Senato Mar., reg. 12, ff. 87, 157.

²¹ Senato Terra, reg. 7, ff. 98-100, 139-140, 145, 157, 161, 177, 179, 192; reg. 8, f. 74; Senato Mar., reg. 10, ff. 155, 189; reg. 11, f. 103; reg. 12, ff. 123, 153; reg. 13, ff. 50, 90; reg. 14, f. 141; Malipiero, p. 645; Sanuto, I. 849-850; II. 1241-1249; IV. 51.

²² On the Anglo-Venetian quarrel over the Cretan wine trade, see *Calendar of State Papers, Venetian*, edited by Rawdon Brown (London, 1864-), I. 175 ff., and Georg von Schanz, *Englische Handelspolitik gegen Ende des Mittelalters* (Leipzig, 1881), I. 130-142. A Venetian tax on foreigners exporting wine from Crete was to some extent successful in stimulating the building of large ships. There is mention of six ships of 600 tons or more between 1488 and 1497 in Sanuto, I. 81, 504, and Senato Mar., reg. 12, 13, and 14.

tons or more then totaled about 10,000 tons in twenty-five ships.²³ The four round ships of the state afloat in 1499 had a total capacity of 5100 tons. But these state ships only occasionally acted as merchantmen. Moreover it was only an extraordinary effort which kept so much shipping afloat that year. During the war with Turkey from 1499 to 1502 the attempt to control the Cretan wine trade had to be abandoned. In 1502 it was reported that there were but sixteen Venetian ships of the type used on long voyages, namely, of 240 tons or more.²⁴

The second half of the fifteenth century, considered as a whole, was, accordingly, a period of decline of Venetian shipping. At this time when the wealth of Venice was the envy of all Christendom there was a weakening of the maritime activity by which the republic had risen to splendor. The brief revival of shipbuilding in the years just before 1499 was of an artificial character. The years 1488 and 1502 represented the double bottom of a prolonged depression. The stagnation of building was such that during those years, both in number and in capacity, the Venetian round ships adapted to trade beyond the Adriatic were not more than half what they had been in the middle of the century. The loss of smaller ships was likewise severe.²⁵ The merchant galleys sailed their yearly rounds with admired regularity, but there was no increase in their number to compensate for the losses elsewhere.

The turn of the tide came in 1502. Then occurred the most thorough-going and most successful of the many attempts to aid the shipbuilders. The shipowners' own views of their troubles were set forth at length in the preamble to the remedial law of 1502. They complained of the low freight rates secured by shippers, the innumerable dues and obligations laid on the ships by the state, the loss of the western trade because of the permission given to foreigners to load in Crete, the restrictions on carrying salt and grain between different ports in the western Mediterranean, and the competition of the Basque, Portuguese, and Spanish, who, they said, had earlier never come within the Straits of Gibraltar. The situation was met by restoring to private ships complete freedom to load all

²³ Lists in Sanuto, II. 1080-1081, 1242-1249, and in the manuscript copy of the *Diarii* in the Biblioteca Marciana, Venice, MSS. It., Cl. VII. 230, ff. 418, 481-483. There are two mistakes in the printing. The comprehensiveness of the lists is indicated by records concerning the mobilization of the merchant fleet, Sanuto, I. 780, 923; II. 629, 784, 919; Senato Mar., reg. 14, f. 196. The lists present difficulties of interpretation, but the results may be taken in conjunction with the general statements of the time, like those quoted in the text and that in Sanuto, II. 225, that in 1498 there were but twelve Venetian ships of 300 tons or more.

²⁴ Senato Mar., reg. 14, f. 181; reg. 15, f. 145.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, reg. 12, f. 125; reg. 15, f. 145; A. S. V., Cinque Savii alla Mercanzia, ser. 1, busta 135, ff. 99-100.

cargoes including salt and grain but excluding three special classes—goods forbidden by the Church, goods reserved for the galleys, and Moorish merchants and their wares. The dues laid upon the ships by the state were lessened. The senate approved a schedule of minimum freight rates, made provision for their prompt payment, and offered generous bounties to builders of new ships.²⁶

So great was the revival in the building of round ships following the passage of this law that in 1507 the bounties were suspended as no longer necessary and too great a burden on the finances of the state.²⁷ Not only were a good number of large ships being built, but half of the seven in process of construction were of the very biggest type in commercial use.²⁸

These years of prosperity for the private shipbuilders, 1502-1507, were precisely the years when the discovery of the route to India around the Cape of Good Hope was having its effect on the Levant trade of Venice. But that discovery affected only the cargoes of the galleys, not those of the round ships. It is even likely that the discovery of new routes to the East and West Indies was a distinct help to the private shipbuilders of Venice. The Portuguese and Spanish ships had been entering the Mediterranean and taking cargoes away from the Venetians. Now they had new seas to sail. Therefore, from the point of view of the largest part of the Venetian merchant marine, the round ship, the years following the great discoveries were years of expansion. To be sure, this prosperity was not maintained without interruption. Complaints of the lack of a sufficient number of ships occur from time to time and between 1534 and 1540 the freight rates on salt were raised and offers of loans were made to encourage building.²⁹ But in the years 1540-1570 there is no sign of depression, but instead positive evidence that the number of large round ships had doubled since the beginning of the century. Only the other branch of the merchant marine, the great galley fleets, can then have been adversely affected by the discovery of the new sailing routes.

In the detailed story of the disruption and practical disappearance of the voyages of the merchant galleys, quarrels with the sultan of Egypt and diplomatic and naval difficulties elsewhere bulk large,³⁰ but it is generally agreed that these were but incidental circumstances and that

²⁶ Senato Mar., reg. 15, f. 145.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, reg. 16, f. 152. A list of the large ships built or building in 1504 is given in Sanuto, V. 1000.

²⁸ List given in A. S. V., Notatorio di Collegio, no. 27, under date July 5, 1507.

²⁹ Gino Luzzato, *Per la Storia delle Costruzioni Navali a Venezia nei Secoli XV. e XVI.*, in *Scritti Storici in Onore di Camillo Manfroni* (Padua, 1925), pp. 381-401.

³⁰ Wilhelm von Heyd, *Histoire du Commerce du Levant au Moyen Age* (Leipzig, 1886), II, 508-552, and innumerable references in Sanuto, *op. cit.*

the determining factors lay deeper. Three such determining factors may be mentioned—the revolutionary improvements in the rigging of the round ship, the development of guns, and the discovery of the Cape route to India. Of these three the last only has usually been emphasized to the complete neglect of the others.

The nature and extent of the influence of the Portuguese route are shown by the rough statistics of the spice trade contained in the diaries of the Venetians Sanuto and Priuli, and in the reports of Ca' Masser the secret observer of the Signoria in Portugal. Before the discoveries, about half of the galleys which left Venice each year went to the Levant. In the return cargo of these nine or ten galleys spices formed the largest item, and in the last years of the fifteenth century they brought back about 3,500,000 English pounds of spices a year, of which about 2,500,000 pounds came from Alexandria, and of which forty to fifty per cent. was pepper.³¹ The commercial effects of the discovery of the Cape route to India were first felt in the Levant in 1502. In the four years 1502–1505 the Venetians imported on an average not more than 1,000,000 pounds of spices a year.³² The first large cargoes arrived in Portugal in 1503, and in the four years 1503–1505 the Portuguese imported an average of about 2,300,000 pounds a year of which eighty-eight per cent. was pepper.³³ The average yearly import of the two countries combined was at this time,

³¹ Estimate based on the following figures from Sanuto, II. 112, 128, 165, 172; IV. 38–39, 47; *I Diarii di Girolamo Priuli, 1494–1512*, published in *Rerum Italicarum Scriptores*, 2nd ed., vol. XXIV., pt. 3 (Città di Castello, 1911), vol. I., pp. 73, 109.

1497 galleys of Beirut	spice cargo	2639 colli
galleys of Alexandria	spice cargo	2320 colli, corrected from 4320
galleys of Alexandria	pepper	1250 colli
1498 galleys of Beirut	spice cargo	3000 colli
galleys of Alexandria	spice cargo	2155 colli
galleys of Alexandria	pepper	933 colli
1501 galleys of Beirut	spice cargo	3200 colli
galleys of Alexandria	spice cargo	2570 colli
galleys of Alexandria	pepper	950 colli

The war with Turkey prevented galleys completing voyages in 1499 and 1501 and during those years non-Venetians exported more spices than usual from Egypt, Sanuto, III. 37, 942; IV. 6–10.

The *collo* of Alexandria equalled about 1120 lbs., *ibid.*, XVII. 191. For the bales on the Beirut galleys *colli* and *sacchi* are used interchangeably by Priuli, see Rinaldo Fulin, *Diarii e Diaristi Veneziani* (Venice, 1881), p. 247. This bale has been considered equal to 290 lbs., although some may have been larger. Sanuto, *loc. cit.*; Senato Mar., reg. 12, f. 136; reg. 56, f. 109.

³² Sanuto, IV. 260–265; V. 78, 826–828, 902; VI. 129; Fulin, pp. 165–182.

³³ Leonardo da Ca' Masser, *Relazione sopra il Commercio dei Portoghesi nell'India, 1497–1506*, in *Archivio Storico Italiano, Appendice* (Florence, 1845), II., 13 ff. Previous Portuguese imports had been only 224,000 lbs., in 1501, and 173,000 lbs. in 1502.

therefore, a little less than the total Venetian imports before the discoveries—a comparison which suggests that for the first few years at least the Portuguese were more successful in disorganizing the Alexandrian spice market than in supplying the needs of Europe. In 1505 a dispute between the Venetians and the sultan of Egypt over the price of pepper led to the astounding escape of the Venetian galleys under the fire of the forts of Alexandria and the severance of relations for some years. From the resumption of trade in 1508 until 1514 the Venetian spice imports from Alexandria remained only a quarter of what they had been and pepper became a distinctly minor item in the cargo lists.³⁴ Trade with Beirut was less interrupted, according to Sanuto, but was likewise below its former volume.

After 1514 the records of the galley voyages no longer give accurate indexes of the amount of spices reaching Venice, for in that year the galleys lost their monopoly of the transport of spices. The round ships were then permitted to load spices in Alexandria for Venice, and when, in 1524, the galleys brought back no spices it was because the round ship *Cornera* had taken them all, and the galleys loaded linen and wheat instead, wares usually carried by round ships. After 1514 Venetian policy wavered. Some spices were brought by round ships, and galleys were sometimes sent instead, or in addition, until 1570.³⁵ A surprising index of the size of the spice trade at Alexandria in these years is contained in a loose sheet in the archives of the Donà della Rosa family. This document purports to be a copy from the books of the Venetian colony in Alexandria of the amount of pepper sent from Alexandria in the years 1560–1564, inclusive. It shows an annual export of 1,310,454 pounds of pepper from Alexandria alone, or fully as much pepper as in the period before the Portuguese had entered the spice trade.³⁶ Uncorroborated this

³⁴ Sanuto, VI. 156–157, 170, 199–207. Cargoes reaching Venice from Alexandria are recorded as follows:

1508, 1100 colli, *ibid.*, VII. 591, 597.

1509, none returned.

1510, 1000 colli, *ibid.*, X. 799, XI. 57, 69; Fulin, p. 209.

1511, none returned.

1512, 1180 colli, Sanuto, XIV. 25–26.

1513, 300 colli, *ibid.*, XVI. 177, 209.

³⁵ Sanuto, XVIII. 178; XXXV. 254, 332, 337; XXXVI. 382; Senato Mar., reg. 18, f. 29; Arsenal, busta 8, ff. 2–3, busta 9, f. 37; Senato Deliberazione, Incanti Galere, reg. 2, libri iv and v.

³⁶ Museo Civico, Venice, Archivio Donà della Rosa, busta 217, f. 276. The authenticity of documents in this bundle is discussed in the note to Table A. The figures are given first in "colli e nicesse" and then in "cantara". The figure given above is computed from the number of "cantara" assuming they were the *cantara forfori*, the measure used

one document may not be considered conclusive, but it suggests the possibility of a revision of ideas concerning the later sixteenth century Levant trade.³⁷

It is true, however, that in the opening years of the sixteenth century the Venetian supply of spices, especially of pepper, was considerably less than it had been, and that throughout the century Venetian traders in the West met competition from Portuguese sources. This may be counted one reason why between 1509 and 1535 all the voyages of the Venetian merchant galleys westward were discontinued. Aside from the risks resulting from the wars of the early sixteenth century, there was far less prospect of profit to warrant sending west to Spain, Portugal, England, or Flanders the expensive great galleys whose sole justification had been their adaptability to precious cargoes.

Lack of spices was not the only reason why the galley voyages were so largely discontinued. Even before the Portuguese discovery the Venetian state had been forced to offer bounties with the galleys to persuade anyone to rent them for the western voyages. Whereas in the period 1418-1427 the England and Flanders galleys were auctioned for prices which brought the state an average of about 5400 ducats for the fleet each year,³⁸ in the period 1480-1489 a subsidy of 1000 to 5000 ducats was offered with each galley auctioned and the amounts bid were far less than these subsidies. For all three of the western voyages the state was practically giving the use of the galley and something besides in order that wares be safely moved and the position of Venice as world market be maintained.³⁹ To raise freight rates presumably would have handicapped

at Alexandria in selling pepper, equal to ninety-four lbs. See Bartholomeo de Paxi, *Tariffa de Pexi e Mesure* (Venice, 1503), no paging, and Adolf Schaube, *Handelsgeschichte der Romanischen Völker des Mittelmeergebiets bis zum Ende der Kreuzzüge* (Munich, Berlin, 1906), p. 814. Had the computation been made by assuming that "nichesse" like "colli" contained 1120 lbs., the result would have been 1,668,800 lbs.

³⁷ Contrast the statement by J. A. Goris, *Étude sur les Colonies Marchandes Méridionales à Anvers de 1488 à 1567* (Louvain, 1925), p. 195. See also the discussion by A. H. Lybyer, *The Ottoman Turks and the Routes of Oriental Trade*, *Eng. Hist. Rev.*, XXX. 577, and, *The Influence of the Rise of the Turks upon the Routes of Oriental Trade*, in *Amer. Hist. Assoc., Annual Report*, 1914, I. 125.

³⁸ The amount received for the galleys is recorded in the registers of the senate after the resolutions for auctioning them. These resolutions occur at about the same time each year, those for the Flemish galleys in January or February. Galleys also went at this time to Aigues-Mortes, usually auctioned in January and yielded an average yearly profit of about 1850 ducats.

³⁹ The three voyages operated at a loss to the state were those to Flanders, Aigues-Mortes and Barbary. The Levant galleys, protected by their monopoly of the spice transport, continued to yield a profit as in the earlier period.

Venetian traders using the galleys, but only in case there were other ships able to offer better service in proportion to what they charged.

Such a ship had been created by the transformation which took place in the rigging of round ships during the fifteenth century, and by the development of firearms. The transformation of the one-masted cog into a full-rigged, three-masted ship possessed of spritsail, topsail, and mizzen lateen sail occurred about the middle of that century. The importance of the change is stressed by specialists on early shipping. For example, Oppenheim says that the sailing ships of 1485 differed less in appearance from sailing ships of 1785 than they did from those of 1425.⁴⁰ These changes in rigging may not have materially increased the speed of the ship, but they made her much more manageable. From the point of view of safety the advantages which the oars had given to the great galley were thus largely counterbalanced by the new rig of the round ship.

Equally important in robbing the merchant galley of the special security which had alone justified its existence was the increase in the use of guns in naval warfare. A high round ship well furnished with cannon and properly manned could provide as good protection from attack as a low galley whose crews were comparatively unprotected from gunshot. The light galley long remained important in Mediterranean war fleets because galleys were needed to chase galleys. But merchantmen required not offensive but defensive strength. The great galley had always been so expensive a vessel that its freight rates had been double those of the round ships. As long as the galleys were so much safer that it was considered unnecessary to insure the wares they carried, they could maintain their position. But when better rigging and the use of muskets and cannon deprived the merchant galley of its superior safety, it could no longer compete with the cheaper type of shipping.

Certainly the decline of the merchant galley fleets of Venice was out of all proportion to the decline of her trade. To some extent what had before 1535 been carried by the galleys was thereafter carried by round ships,⁴¹ and this may be one explanation of the renewed prosperity of

⁴⁰ M. Oppenheim, *A History of the Administration of the Royal Navy and of Merchant Shipping in Relation to the Navy* (London, New York, 1896), p. 40. See also A. Anthiaume, *Le Navire et sa Construction en France et principalement chez les Normands* (Paris, 1922), pp. 57, 64, 127; Bernhard Hagedorn, *Die Entwicklung der Wichtigsten Schiffstypen bis ins 19. Jahrhundert* (Berlin, 1914), pp. 54-64; and Romola and R. C. Anderson, *The Sailing Ship* (London, 1926), ch. VII.

⁴¹ The ship lists of 1558-1560 cited below do not show, however, any voyages by round ships to the North African ports which the galleys had visited. The rise of the pirate states is the probable explanation of the loss of this trade.

private shipping at Venice after the discontinuance of most of the galley voyages.

The mid-sixteenth century was probably the period when the Venetian built fleet of ships designed for trade beyond the Adriatic, namely, those of 240 tons or more, was the largest in its history. Certainly the number and capacity of such round ships in private hands had doubled since the beginning of the century, a gain which far more than counterbalanced the decline of the merchant galley fleets. In 1558-1559 the Venetian merchant marine included forty round ships of 240 tons or more having a total capacity of 18,000 tons.⁴² The principal voyages on which the ships were employed is shown in the accompanying table (Table A). A comparison between the voyages at that date and at a date in the previous period of prosperity well before the discovery of new trade routes has been made in Table B, so far as information from the earlier period permits. Except that no figures have been found at the earlier date for the grain trade or for the relatively short voyages, the trades compared may be considered fairly representative. They suggest comparative stabilization. There is a local shift in trade center from Syria to Cyprus, for in 1558-1560 there were almost no clearances for Syria, whereas in 1450 Cyprus had been of secondary importance. Apparently cotton, which in the fifteenth century furnished the bulk of the cargo of the ships from Syria, was in the sixteenth century produced in Cyprus, whose sugar plantations, famous in the fifteenth century, had meanwhile been ruined by the competition of the new Portuguese possessions in the West.⁴³ While, however, Cyprus furnished the bulk of the freight in the sixteenth century, Venetians were still active in Syria and some part of the ship cargoes may have come directly or indirectly from the mainland. Another slight change between the two dates is the increase in the size of ships used. Ships of 600 tons were numerous in Venice in the mid-sixteenth century not only because Venetians had, by means of them, regained at least in part the carrying trade between the Mediterranean and the English Channel, but also because such ships were more largely employed on purely Mediterranean voyages. That does not suggest that the volume of trade had been decreased by the Portuguese discoveries.

A definite break in this maritime prosperity of Venice appears in

⁴² Only about 4000 tons of active shipping was lost by the stoppage of galley voyages, a fall from 5000 tons to 1000 tons, between 1501 and 1540. A list of the names and sizes of all Venetian ships of 240 tons or more in 1557-1560, in addition to the record of voyages, is given in Museo Civico, Venice, Archivio Donà della Rosa, busta 217.

⁴³ Sanuto, I. 270-271; *The Travels of Pedro Teixeira* [Hakluyt Society, 1902], p. 134.

1570-1577 with the short but expensive war with Turkey, the loss of Cyprus, and the plague which killed a quarter to a third of her population. The notable fact in the resultant crisis is not the blow dealt by such a disastrous conjunction of calamities, though this was adequate cause for an interruption of activity, but the lack of resilience which prevented Venice from again establishing her merchant marine on its former basis. This incapacity to come back and regain her former position was not due to a decline of Mediterranean trade, or to a decrease in the volume of goods to be moved between her ports, but to the unstable basis of her shipbuilding industry.

The period before 1570 had been a time of prosperity only for the builders of large ships. The smaller vessels employed in bringing grain, wine, oil, and cheese to Venice had not been made in the city but had been bought abroad, for there were no Venetian ships of their size to go on the voyages which these smaller, foreign built ships undertook. Such was the testimony of the Venetian board of trade.⁴⁴ Thus it appears that although the builders of large ships had definitely recovered during the sixteenth century from the depression which occurred in the late fifteenth century, the part of the shipbuilding industry devoted to supplying the more numerous small ships for the Adriatic trade had been definitely lost.

And the building of large ships had been kept at Venice chiefly by the presence there of skilled artisans and the advantages which were enjoyed by ships entitled to fly the banner of San Marco. Otherwise they, too, might have been purchased from foreigners. In 1531 complaints of the number of large foreign built vessels which were being purchased by Venetians and even granted the right to sail as Venetian led to the re-enactment of the laws which forbade such practices.⁴⁵ But the laws could not be strictly enforced. In times of famine whoever brought grain to Venice was sure of good will, and if he bought a foreign ship in order to bring the grain it was with the hope that the ship would be given the privileges of Venetian registry. Thus, in 1542 and 1543 five foreign ships were granted the right to fly the Venetian flag. Four had been bought at Constantinople and sent to Venice with grain, and the other was a Basque ship which had been in the service of the state.⁴⁶

Another way to evade the law was to refit or finish at Venice a ship originally built elsewhere. The petition of Giovanni Morello, for example, explained that he and his associates had begun a ship in the Po

⁴⁴ Cinque Savii, ser. 1, busta 135, ff. 99-100.

⁴⁵ Senato Mar., reg. 22, f. 85.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, reg. 26, ff. 72, 98, 99, 107; reg. 27, f. 30. That was an unusually large number for so short a space of time and was occasioned by a particular grain shortage.

River solely because of the supply there of wood which could not be had at Venice without great damage to the arsenal. Or again, the Querini brothers recounted how they had lost a 720 ton ship from which they had salvaged rigging and artillery. They wished to build another but found difficulty in getting the necessary wood and so bought and refitted a Basque ship. Another instructive petition explained that the body of the ship only had been made away from Venice while the decks and castles had been added at Venice.⁴⁷ The large number of such petitions creates the suspicion that although pine and larch for superstructures could be had at Venice, the oak essential for body timbers had become dear and very hard to find there.

This impression is strengthened by an examination of the shipbuilding industry in the Dalmatian city of Curzola in the sixteenth century. In favor of Curzola an exemption had been made to the general rule that large ships should not be built in Dalmatia by Venetian capital, and Venetians were building there ships of 300 to 600 tons. They were aided by licenses to export the materials needed to finish their ships free of duties. The list of what they exported may make one wonder why they chose to build away from Venice since it included pine and larch planks, masts and spars, iron, pitch, and cordage. But Curzola is conveniently placed across the Adriatic from the forests of Monte San Angelo in Apulia, the source of the timbers used in the celebrated Ragusan ships.⁴⁸

Certainly the oaks grown in the Venetian dominions did not suffice for both the demands of the arsenal and those of the private builders, and despite the constant effort of the state to preserve the oak woods, ship timbers were harder and harder to find. In 1546 when a tax was proposed on licenses to cut oak, it was asserted that it would not greatly affect the builders of large ships since they did not cut in Venetian territory one-third of the oak logs they used. Whether that statement be accurate or not, the cutting of oak for private builders was sufficient to cause the arsenal alarm for its own supply. Accordingly, the senate in 1559 provided that thereafter all those receiving state loans to help them build their ships must agree to cut no oak in the dominions of the Signoria.⁴⁹ There was no complaint of immediate depression because of the neces-

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, reg. 28, ff. 85, 92; reg. 36, f. 115; files, Sept. and Oct., 1545, Feb. 25, 1564. The Querini brothers stated that twenty-five others, of whom they named fourteen, had been granted the favor they sought, namely, Venetian registry.

⁴⁸ Senato Mar., reg. 21, ff. 61, 85; reg. 22, f. 13; reg. 29, f. 168; Cinque Savii, ser. 1, busta 135, ff. 65, 83. Bartolomeo Crescentio, *Nautica Mediterranea* (Rome, 1607), pp. 3-5; Pantero Pantera, *L'Armata Navale* (Rome, 1614), p. 67.

⁴⁹ Senato Mar., files, Dec. 28, 1546; reg. 34, f. 57.

sity of seeking lumber abroad. Yet from buying abroad the essential timbers to buying abroad the ship itself was only a step.

That step was taken about 1590 after the offer of bounties had failed to revive Venetian shipbuilding to its former levels. The law against granting Venetian registry to foreign built ships was repealed and between 1590 and 1599 the records of the board of trade mention fifteen such large ships for which Venetian registry was sought. During that same period eight large ships were built in Venice, and thirteen in Venetian possessions.⁵⁰ The Venetians bought most ships from Holland although they found some in the island of Patmos and some in the Black Sea. The activities of Francesco Morosini are significant for the international shipbuilding situation of the time. He was interested in the business of transporting wine from Crete to the West, but preferred to build his ships in Holland instead of in Venice. After beginning one 720 ton ship in Holland he promised to build four more if he were granted bounties for them and Venetian registry. Although his ships were not granted bounties they were given Venetian registry and five were built.⁵¹

Some years later, however, in 1627, even those buying approved foreign built ships were offered bounties.⁵² But before such extreme measures were taken, the favors shown to purchasers of foreign ships had enabled the Venetian marine to make a tardy and partial recovery from the slump which had followed 1577. The number of ships of 360 tons or more in the fleet in 1606 compares not unfavorably with similar figures for 1558-1559 as follows:

In 1558-1559, 27 ships, total tonnage 14,850 tons.

In 1606, 27 ships, total tonnage 11,460 tons.

But more than half of the fleet, fourteen ships, were in 1606 of foreign build.⁵³ The continually increasing dependence on foreign built ships is

⁵⁰ Cinque Savii, ser. 1, busta 25, ff. 71-75, 101, 112, 124; busta 26, ff. 35, 110, 117, 181, 182, 193, 195; busta 27, f. 12; busta 138, ff. 160, 169; busta 139, ff. 5, 9, 70, 73, 135, 167; busta 140, f. 61.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, busta 27, f. 37; busta 139, f. 167; busta 141, f. 124; Senato Mar., files, Mar. 29, 1597.

⁵² *Parti Prese . . . in Materia de Navi e sua Navigatione*, pp. 32-33. Three ships were immediately bought with the aid of the loans, the bounties taking that form, and all three were "Fiamengo", i.e., Dutch. Cinque Savii, ser. 1, busta 147, ff. 113, 126, 186.

⁵³ Museo Civico, Venice, Archivio Donà della Rosa, busta 217, f. 46, an abstract of a report of the board of trade which is referred to in their archive, Cinque Savii, ser. 1, busta 141, f. 128, although it is there stated that there were twenty-six such ships in all, twelve Venetian and fourteen foreign built.

emphasized by an enumeration of the merchant fleet in 1693 which gives the following figures:⁵⁴

Four-masted ships,	
Made in Venice.....	9
Of foreign make bought by Venetians.....	35
On the shipyards.....	5
On voyage for Hebrews.....	6
<i>Marciliane</i> , smaller ships used in the Adriatic.....	68

The decline in Venetian shipbuilding was therefore obviously far greater than any decline in Venetian commerce. The papers of the board of trade give vividly the impression that in the early seventeenth century there was plenty of trade being done in the Mediterranean and that Venetian-built ships were not numerous enough to carry even the business that was in Venetian hands. Neither the advance of the Turk, nor the supposed exhaustion of Venice in the Italian wars, nor the reputed loss of the spice trade to the Portuguese can be said to have ruined her commerce. The passing of the maritime glory of Venice was primarily a failure to keep up with other seagoing peoples who expanded more rapidly. A basic reason for this failure was the exhaustion of one of the most vital of her natural resources, ship timber.

When this depletion of the oak woods was first clearly recognized—in the last half of the fifteenth century—⁵⁵ the shortage seems to have been peculiar to Venice. At least the Ragusans and Basques had a sufficiently plentiful supply so that their competition was severely felt. At the end of the sixteenth century the scarcity of oak timber appears to have been general throughout Mediterranean countries.⁵⁶ In the seventeenth century maritime supremacy was definitely in the hands of that people who controlled the lumber resources of the Baltic, the Dutch.⁵⁷

⁵⁴ Cinque Savii, ser. 3, busta 97.

⁵⁵ For specific statements of the concern of the government with the harm done to private shipbuilding by the lack of oak timber, see *Arsenale*, busta 6, f. 16 and busta 8, ff. 73–75; *Senato Mar.*, reg. 19, f. 120. For the elaborate conservation policy then developed, see Adolfo di Berenger, *Saggio Storico della Legislazione Veneta Forestale dal Sec. VII. al XIX.* (Venice, 1863).

⁵⁶ The exhaustion of Spanish supplies is indicated by C. H. Haring, *Trade and Navigation between Spain and the Indies in the Time of the Hapsburgs* (Cambridge, 1918), pp. 259–261, and Julius Klein, *The Mesta: a Study in Spanish Economic History, 1273–1836* (Cambridge, 1920), pp. 320–321.

⁵⁷ Violet Barbour, *Dutch and English Merchant Shipping in the Seventeenth Century*, *Ec. Hist. Rev.*, II, 261 ff. Miss Barbour emphasizes the extent to which the supremacy of Dutch shipping during the seventeenth century is bound up with the Dutch control of the Baltic timber trade. On Baltic supplies and English oak, see, R. G. Albion, *Forests and Sea Power* (Cambridge, 1926), chs. III. and IV.

It is not intended here to deny that the opening of the oceanic trades placed Venice under other handicaps. Her naval and military resources were so thoroughly committed to defending her position against the Turk that she could not have given political backing to merchants adventuring to the Indies. Her rigid commercial policy had been shaped with the one thought of drawing the maximum advantage from her strategic location on the route between Europe and the Near East. Such of her nobles as remained merchants were bound both by capital investments and commercial habits to the long exploited and still profitable Levant trade. The peoples of Western Europe, unhampered by such heavy fetters of past greatness, and bred to the navigation of the open ocean, could more readily profit from the new opportunities. But Venice faced the additional, and, it would seem, decisive disadvantage that she depended upon her competitors for the essential instruments of commerce, ships.

The need for ships was enormously increased in the sixteenth century by the development of the transoceanic trades. This new demand could not be met by the old shipbuilding centers in Italy. An attempt to meet it was made by the Iberian ports, but before the end of the century their supplies were giving out. The carrying trade of both the Indies and even that of the Mediterranean then passed in very large measure to the countries of northwest Europe able to draw upon the still unexhausted forests of that region. In analyzing the shift of economic leadership from the Mediterranean to northwest Europe one should consider not only the migration of technique, the shifts in trade routes and trade centers, and the relative effectiveness of political organization, but also the depletion of the natural resources of the Mediterranean regions.

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TABLE A

NUMBER AND CAPACITY OF SHIPS OF 240 TONS OR MORE EMPLOYED ON
DIFFERENT VOYAGES FROM VENICE, 1558-1560

VOYAGE	Number and Capacity of Ships cleared, by Periods.							
	Average of 1558 and 1559.		Full year 1558.		Full year 1559.		First six months of 1560.	
	No. of ships	Ca- pacity in tons	No. of ships	Ca- pacity in tons	No. of ships	Ca- pacity in tons	No. of ships	Ca- pacity in tons
All voyages.....	44-45	20,400	41	20,040	48	20,760	27	12,840
Cyprus and Syria.....	13	7,170	11	6,060	15	8,280	10	5,640
Grain.....	11	4,920	13	6,120	9	3,720	5	2,580
England and "West".....	3	1,830	4	2,640	2	1,020	3	1,380
Constantinople..	3-4	1,680	4	1,620	3	1,740	1	600
Corfu and Zante.....	2-3	1,050	1	540	4	1,560	2	720
Alexandria.....	2	810	1	540	3	1,080	2	840
Others.....	9-10	2,940	7	2,520	12	3,360	4	1,080

The table is based on a document in the Museo Civico, Venice, Archivio Donà della Rosa, busta 217, entitled *Navi Grosse de Venetia, loro Viaggi e loro Patroni*. The bundle contains, besides other documents referred to in the present article, a copy of a treaty made in 1442 through Andrea Donà and various papers recognized by the archivists as in the handwriting of Leonardo Donà, doge of Venice, 1600-1612. Apparently they are all papers accumulated by the Donà family during the fifteenth, sixteenth, and seventeenth centuries. There is therefore no obvious reason to doubt the authenticity of these shiplists. The list of voyages gives the exact day of the departure and of the arrival in Istria and in the port of Malamocco, except that there is no mention of the return of most of the ships sailing in 1560. The earliest entry on this list is of Oct. 19, 1557, and the latest July 6, 1560, so that the lack of mention of the return of ships sailing in 1560 suggests that the list is contemporaneous with the voyages.

Although some of the ships recorded as clearing for Cyprus almost certainly loaded grain also, voyages for grain are entered as a separate item because some ships are mentioned as clearing for a grain voyage without any more precise designation. This is to be accounted for by the fact that the Signoria arranged with ship captains to sail over a general area and collect what grain they could find. Of the total of twenty-seven ships clearing in the two and a half years for grain, sixteen are recorded without further indication, four sailed for Volo, three for "the Archipelago", two for Sicily, one for La Cavalla, and one for

Cyprus. It is to be noted that the years in question were as a whole years of bad crops on the mainland and country people came to Venice to buy. Agostino Agostini, *Istoria Veneziano*, ff. 251-262, in Bibl. Quirini Stampalia, Venice, MSS. Cl. IV., cod. 16.

If averages for the three years were taken, constructing figures for the full year 1560 from those for the first six months, on the assumption that the total clearances for that year were in the same proportion to those for its first half as the totals for 1558 and 1559 were to the first halves of those years, the averages so obtained would not differ from those given by as much as two ships except in the case of grain. About seventy per cent. of the grain clearances were in August and since grain imports varied seasonally the clearances for the first six months are not adequate evidence of the clearances for the whole year.

TABLE B

COMPARISON OF THE NUMBER AND CAPACITY OF SHIPS CLEARING ANNUALLY
FOR SELECTED VOYAGES ABOUT 1448-1449 AND IN 1558-1559

VOYAGE	Number and Capacity of Ships cleared, by periods.			
	Number of ships		Capacity in tons	
	1448-1449	1558-1559	1448-1449	1558-1559
Syria and/or Cyprus.....	12	13	5,400	7,170
English Channel and the "West".....	3	3	1,800	1,830
Constantinople and/or Black Sea.....	3	3-4	1,300	1,680

The figures for the later period are taken from Table A. The figures for the earlier period are estimates obtained as follows:

The estimates for the voyage to Syria and Cyprus are based on statements of the number and capacity of the ships going in the spring *muda* 1418, the spring and fall *mude* 1426, spring and fall 1427, spring 1428, spring and fall 1431, fall 1433, and fall 1449. See Senato Misti, reg. 52, f. 66; reg. 55, ff. 181-191; reg. 56, ff. 16, 25, 56, 71, 75, 104, 114, 152-156; reg. 58, ff. 19, 22, 26, 46, 53, 60, 62, 73, 190, 213; Notatorio di Collegio, nos. 7-10.

The estimate of the number going to England and the "West", which is taken to mean beyond the Straits of Gibraltar, is based on mention of ships in 1446, 1448, 1449. Senato Mar., reg. 2, f. 156; reg. 3, ff. 43, 48-49, 70, 121, 135. The estimate of capacity is based on mention of the size of some of the ships in lists in the Notatorio, and on the considerations that the largest ships were used on the voyage and that there were at least six Venetian ships of 600 tons or more at the time. Notatorio, nos. 10 and 12, f. 98.

The estimates for Constantinople and the Black Sea are based on the mention of ships on that voyage in 1446-1448 (Senato Mar., reg. 2, f. 134; reg. 3, ff. 48, 53, 58), and the statements of the number and size going at the beginning of the century, 1398, 1400-1402 (Notatorio, no. 5). The number of ships was the same at the beginning and middle of the century.

THE ENGLISH GAME LAW SYSTEM

THE country gentlemen of the eighteenth century found themselves in control of the government of England. In the course of centuries of struggle the landed classes, with the assistance of others, had encroached upon the royal power until they dominated the situation. From the House of Lords, their citadel, they ruled the House of Commons. From the Commons, with some assistance from the wealthy merchants, they ruled the country. From the bench, as justices of the peace in petty sessions and quarter sessions, they ruled the provinces. To correspond with this control, and to some extent as a reward for their services, they were able to secure social and other privileges. One of the most dearly prized of these was the exclusive right to indulge in field sports.

The game laws, which defined and protected their sporting rights, had evolved by a long process out of the Norman forest laws.¹ The ancient forests having been privileged places for royal sport, the barons when they increased in power or when they gained the favor of the sovereign, secured special franchises for themselves. These, under the various names of chases, parks, and free warrens, were modifications, for subjects, of the principle of the forest and gave exclusive sporting rights in particular places to specified individuals, sometimes, at first, even over land in the possession of others.

In course of time this method of providing for the aristocratic monopoly of sport by personal grant came to seem inadequate and general game laws based upon an aristocratic principle were set up. The first clear statute of this type was written into the statute book in 1390, when all persons were forbidden to keep hunting dogs or kill "Deer, Hares, nor Conies, nor other Gentlemen's Game" unless they had real estate worth forty shillings a year, or in the case of clergy an annual income of ten pounds.² This meant in effect that sport was restricted to the governing classes.

¹ This process of development to the end of the seventeenth century has been discussed briefly in an article by Chester and Ethyn Kirby, *The Stuart Game Prerogative*, *Eng. Hist. Rev.*, LXVI. 239-254. The early origins of the game laws are dealt with by Charles Petit-Dutaillis, *Studies and Notes Supplementary to Stubbs' Constitutional History*, II. [University of Manchester Publications, no. XCI.] (Manchester, 1914). See also G. J. Turner, ed., *Select Pleas of the Forest* [Publications of the Selden Society, XIII.] (London, 1901); and John Manwood, *A Treatise and Discourse of the Lawes of the Forrest* (London, 1598).

² 13 Ric. II., stat. 1, c. 13; cf. 34 Edw. III., c. 22. The text reads "savagine lev'es ne

The act of 1390 gave rise to a long series of statutes directed to revising, reënforging, and redefining the sporting privilege, acts to put down poaching, acts restricting the use of undesirable methods or devices in taking game, acts establishing closed seasons, acts prohibiting the sale of game. These culminated in 1671 in a measure which, with its supplementary legislation, formed the basic law of the game system for a hundred and sixty years. By its provisions the taking of game was prohibited to persons who did not come within any one of four categories. The first included every person "haveing Lands and Tenements or some other Estate of Inheritance in his owne or his Wifes right of the cleare yearly value of one hundred pounds per annum or for terme of life". The second consisted of those who had "Lease or Leases of ninety nine yeares or for any longer terme, of the cleare yearly value of one hundred and fifty pounds". Every "Sonne and Heire apparent of an Esquire, or [of] other person of higher degree" was also excepted from the prohibition. And lastly owners of franchises, so far as their specified privileges extended, were exempted. As in the case of the act of 1390, this measure did not specifically qualify anyone to kill game, but in effect it meant that the class of sportsmen was more narrowly defined than ever before and restricted to the landed classes.³ Propertyless persons were disqualified; even the possessors of personal property, no matter how wealthy, if they had not sufficient land also, were excluded.

This act of 1671 did not in so many words impose any penalties upon unqualified persons taking game, but it gave official status to the class of gamekeepers, who acted as a kind of special police in the enforcement of the game laws. Before this time the gamekeepers appointed by private individuals had been merely servants who possessed no particular sanction of the law. For general purposes of enforcement, the king had exercised an ancient prerogative derived from the forest law and appointed keepers over wide areas much as he set up his warders in the various forests. This procedure proving unsatisfactory for country-wide policing,⁴ the act of 1671 now authorized every lord of a manor to appoint a gamekeeper who should have the power to confiscate all paraphernalia of sport, such as guns, dogs, or nets, found in the possession of unquali-

conilles nautre desduit des gentils". The translation of "savagine" as "deer" is doubtful. The editors of the *Statutes of the Realm* mention in a footnote that the old translation in MS. Harleian 4999 says, "wielde hares, conynges ne non other disport of gentilmen". It may be that the correct reading should be "Savages ne levres ne conilles nautre desduit des gentils".

³ 22-23 Car. II., c. 25; cf. 7 Jac. I., c. 11.

⁴ This subject is dealt with in the article by Chester and Ethyn Kirby, *loc. cit.*

fied persons. For this purpose he was to search the houses of suspected persons and thus he acted somewhat as a government official. It is evident that the lord of the manor was becoming a kind of local governor in the realm of sport.

On this foundation, their control of the government being assured by the revolution of 1688, the landed aristocracy proceeded in the next generation to construct an elaborate system of regulations and penalties which practically superseded, without actually repealing, the maze of earlier laws. An act of 1691 gave almost unlimited authority to keepers of deer parks to resist poachers and by a heavy fine of twenty pounds for trespass in parks ensured that most trespassers would have to suffer a year's imprisonment and an hour in the pillory for non-payment of the penalty.⁵ In the following year real penalties, over and above the mere confiscation authorized by the act of 1671, were imposed on the pursuit of game by unqualified persons. With a fine altruistic gesture the gentry ordered "inferiour Tradesmen Apprentices and other dissolute persons" not to "presume to hunt hawke fish or fowle" as this led them to neglect their "Trades and Employments".⁶ The sale of game having been declared illegal early in the seventeenth century, Parliament in Queen Anne's reign declared a penalty of five pounds for every head of game found in the possession of any "Higlar Chapman Carrier Innkeeper Victualler or Alehouse Keeper". The twenty shilling penalty of the act of 1692 on the possession of poaching dogs or instruments was increased to five pounds. This consequently meant three or four months' imprisonment for non-payment.⁷ The killing of game at night was absolutely prohibited, qualification or no qualification.⁸

These statutes constitute the main legal framework of the game system as it existed during the Hanoverian era. In the Middle Ages, and even as late as the seventeenth century, aristocratic sport had rested largely on the royal prerogative, which set up forests, scattered the franchises of chase, park, and free warren with an open hand, and by royally appointed gamekeepers attempted to police the game of the whole country. The forest laws had fallen into disuse by the end of the sixteenth

⁵ 3 Wm. and Mary, c. 10. Taking or killing deer entailed a penalty of thirty pounds; pulling down the pales or walls of enclosures was punishable by three months' imprisonment. The act applied to forests, chases, purlieus, paddocks, woods, parks, or any other enclosed ground where deer were kept.

⁶ 4 Wm. and Mary, c. 23.

⁷ 6 Anne, c. 16 (usually cited as 5 Anne, c. 14); made permanent by 9 Anne, c. 27, s. 1. Carriers for qualified persons were excepted from the penalty.

⁸ 9 Anne, c. 27, s. 4.

century and the franchise from one cause and another had generally declined by the eighteenth. The general game laws, originated probably to bolster up these privileged places, had become the real game system, and, although a host of unrepealed and obscure statutes remained to clutter up the law books, the measures which begin with the act of 1671 and end in the reign of Queen Anne constitute the essential outlines. This situation corresponds nicely with the political facts of the time.

It also corresponds with the character of eighteenth century field sports. No other form of amusement was so ardently pursued or so jealously defended by the privileged classes of the Georgian era. They regarded their game as "more sacred than any other class of property". Hunting to them was a kingly sport, "to be followed only by a superior order of men". Already in the fourteenth century game had been "gentlemen's game", and in the reign of Charles II. a book on sport was naturally called *The Gentleman's Recreation*.⁹ Throughout the eighteenth century the statesmen were also customarily sportsmen. Later, Lord Eldon, the Duke of Wellington, Sir Robert Peel, revelled in their dogs and their pheasants, the one for their skill in the field and the other for their consenting to be killed. To the confirmed fox hunter, sport was an orgy in which he rode his horse often to the point of fatal exhaustion and roused himself to such a roaring humor that only coarse jokes and quantities of drink, into which the fox's pad had been dipped for added zest, could satisfy him. It is small wonder that he discovered the secret of English liberty in the sports of the field.

Yet when England at tyrants would level defiance,
Say, what makes her sons so undauntedly bleed?
'Tis the chase—'tis the study of this noble science
Gives spirit, and vigour, and health to the breed.¹⁰

Deer hunting, fox hunting, hare hunting, and coursing all had their ardent devotees. The luxury and artificiality characteristic of the age invaded these hunting sports and led to the introduction of the carted stag, the subscription pack, and the bag fox. The sport of the gun underwent still greater elaboration. Shooting birds on the wing, a novel feat in 1700, became universal in the next fifty years, and before the end of the century the battue, as the practice of driving game to the shooters with the aid of beaters was called, was being introduced with all its

⁹ 13 Ric. II., stat. 1, c. 13; Nicholas Cox, *The Gentleman's Recreation* (London, 1674), and Richard Blome, *The Gentleman's Recreation* (London, 1686).

¹⁰ T. B. Johnson, *The Sportsman's Cyclopaedia* (London, 1831), p. 130.

abandoned butchery. Like the sports, so the sportsmen also varied greatly, from the wealthy aristocrat who could supply game in the quantities suitable for the battue, to the poorer farmer or squire; from the enthusiastic sportsman who lived and died with his hounds and gun, to the gentleman who shot occasionally and casually. These amusements were known everywhere. No part of the country was entirely without them, even if it had only a bedraggled hunt addicted to the pursuit of the bag fox.

Manifestly such a vast and universal system, ardently beloved as it was, could not exist in such a country as England without the greatest pains being taken for the maintenance of a supply of game. The protection provided by the game laws and the natural presence of a few birds and hares could hardly satisfy the growing appetite of the voracious guns. Even the importation of game from France and its sale for food was no remedy, as it provided no one with any sport. Consequently the law made no distinction between foreign and domestic game and London dealers in the former were prosecuted accordingly in 1766.¹¹ The specter of scarcity constantly threatened sport. To dispel it the country gentlemen resorted to artificial methods of preservation.

Every forest and franchise had been a game preserve. Now every squire, greatly aided, no doubt, by the rapid increase of enclosures in the eighteenth century,¹² set about raising game by artificial means. The pheasant, still a rather scarce bird at the beginning of the eighteenth century, lent itself to human care. The barnyard fowl was called into requisition for hatching the eggs and as soon as the pheasants reached an age at which they could take care of themselves they were turned out into the covers. There the gamekeepers fed them in severe weather to prevent their wandering from the estate in search of food.¹³ Partridges, though more difficult to keep on the estate, could be dealt with in the same manner. The Duke of Richmond for a time imported more than a thousand eggs annually from France to be hatched on his estates

¹¹ *Public Advertiser*, Mar. 10, 1766.

¹² *Morning Chronicle and London Advertiser*, Sept. 3, 1784, letter from "Observer" who states: "The breed of game in this country has considerably increased in consequence of the numerous inclosures, which tend in a great measure to protect and rear it to maturity." But cf. *Sporting Magazine*, LII. (April, 1818) 20.

¹³ Oliver Goldsmith, *An History of the Earth and Animated Nature* (London, 1774), III. 187; William Cobbett, *Rural Rides* (London, 1885), I. 245; *Report from the Select Committee of the House of Lords, Appointed to Take into Consideration the Laws Relating to Game*, *Parliamentary Papers*, 1828, VIII., no. 235, p. 48; Peter Hawker, *Instructions to Young Sportsmen*, 2nd ed. (London, 1816), p. 200.

in Sussex.¹⁴ Hares took care of themselves, and, when they were not killed too rapidly, sometimes accumulated in fabulous numbers.

The gamekeepers made it their business to encourage in every possible way the natural multiplication of game. Vermin they killed off as thoroughly as possible. They watched the nests of the birds and often took out the eggs to be hatched more safely under common hens. Further encouragement the sportsmen themselves supplied when they could induce themselves to spare the hen pheasants and partridges with a view to the next year's breed.

Not all gentlemen preserved with equal strictness. Those in some unfavorable parts of the country found that high preservation did not repay their efforts. Others felt satisfied with a somewhat more economical policy and less game, which, they maintained, supplied more real sport. Then, too, some lands, naturally, fell into the hands of old and invalid gentlemen or ladies who had no interest at all in sport. Such "lawless country" lay open to trespassing sportsman and poacher alike and was a bane to the preserving gentry.¹⁵

It was the gamekeeper who acted as the agent of the privileged class. The act of 1671, which first gave him a recognized status, authorized him to seize the sporting paraphernalia of unqualified persons on the manor where he served. Subsequent acts extended his competence, empowering him to seize poachers at night and to use all necessary force for the purpose, and giving him the right, with the authorization of the lord of the manor, to kill game.¹⁶

This last provision resulted in the appointment of many aristocrats to the office. For not all members of the upper classes were legally qualified, since, for example, younger sons of esquires had neither the landed property nor the rank requisite under the law. Consequently gentlemen often used the gamekeeper's appointment as a convenient means of giving a qualification to an otherwise unfortunate friend. A tax on deputations to gamekeepers in 1784 was objected to as a tax on these favors; and the list of keepers in Norfolk in 1787 included several esquires (by courtesy) and one baronet.¹⁷

The common gamekeeper was quite different. Ideally he was a

¹⁴ *Sporting Magazine*, II. (Aug., 1793) 301.

¹⁵ Such a condition is described in Sir Ralph Payne-Gallwey, ed., *The Diary of Colonel Peter Hawker* (London, 1893), I. 12, 147, 157.

¹⁶ 4 Wm. and Mary, c. 23; 6 Anne, c. 16; the act of 9 Anne, c. 27, restricted this last right to a single keeper on each manor.

¹⁷ *Morning Chronicle and London Advertiser*, Sept. 2, 1784; *Norfolk Chronicle*, Nov. 17, 1787.

sober, honest, industrious man, with a knack for killing vermin, and a boldness and shrewdness which would not fail him in encounters with poachers. In practice he was usually some bold pugnacious laborer, often a former poacher chosen on the maxim "set a thief to catch a thief", famed for his accurate shooting, but hardly trained in the finer duties of his trade. He could not often resist the constant temptation to sell game on the sly. Indeed, the keepers were accused of being the greatest poachers in the country.¹⁸ And the combination of ignorance and authority all too often made him into a brutal and arrogant man, despised and hated by all the surrounding countryside.

In practice the gamekeeper served largely as a police officer, following suspicious characters about the manor in order to discover them poaching, watching snares in order to take the poacher who came for his booty, patrolling the fields at night. To him the poacher was in the same class as vermin, to be given no quarter beyond what the law required. Both he and his master could think of nothing more despicable than the surreptitious thief of the expensively raised and protected birds and hares.

Nothing illustrates this attitude more clearly than the use of traps and spring guns to catch the poacher and his dog. Typical of numerous advertisements in provincial newspapers of the later eighteenth century is this notice published in the *Norfolk Chronicle* on January 7, 1786:

GAME

A Caution

Whereas the plantations and covers of William Colhoun, Esq., at Wretham, have lately been infested by the poachers, and the game in them very much destroyed; and one of the poachers, a notorious offender, being taken on Monday, Dec. 19, by his keepers and their assistants, this is to give notice, that in the future there will be MEN TRAPS and SPRING GUNS in the plantations, carrs, and covers set every night, there being no road or foot path whatever through them.

No doubt the preservers often trusted to the terror inspired by such notices rather than to the actual use of their murderous devices; this may be the explanation of another advertisement warning of the presence of "man traps, snakes, and spring guns". But there is no doubt that the spring guns were often actually used and not infrequently with fatal

¹⁸ William Taplin, *Observations on the Present State of the Game* (London, 1772), pp. 24-25; Lord Suffield, *Considerations on the Game Laws* (London, 1825), p. 9, n.

effects.¹⁹ Under such circumstances the poacher's dog could hardly expect much mercy. Spikes were set in the hare runs at just the height to permit the hare to slip past while the pursuing dog was impaled.

Harsh as these measures were, they by no means eradicated the poacher. When game was preserved abundantly in the midst of the rural population no legal authority could ever completely prevent poaching by those persons excluded from the chase by law. The single or individual poacher probably had the most success. It was easy for him to set a snare in the hedges; or to go out at night with a friend or two, a silent lurcher, and a net, and to carry off a covey of partridges before the season opened on the first of September; or to shoot a hare crossing his path or a pheasant outlined against the sky at night and then lie *perdu* when the keeper came. Men often became confirmed poachers of this sort, and were able by the exercise of their wits to make a living from the abundant game in spite of occasional sojourns in prison. These solitary poachers gave the keeper most of his trouble.

Gang poachers, however, attracted much more notice. In the early part of the eighteenth century they devoted their attention chiefly to the deer preserves in the parks and chases, because at that time the preservation of lesser game in large quantities had not progressed to an extent to make it attractive to them. A gang of desperate characters known as the Waltham Blacks so terrorized the region of Windsor and Berkshire that they stung the government into the enactment in 1723 of the harshest law of the game system. The Black Act, as it was called for more than one reason, made it a felony with the death penalty for anyone while disguised to kill deer illegally and even by an *ex post facto* clause threatened the same penalty on guilty persons who did not surrender and confess.²⁰

Such severity, of course, proved no more successful in this than in other criminal laws. A month after the passage of the Black Act the old offenses were being committed as freely as ever.²¹ Every deer enclosure

¹⁹ William B. Daniel, *Rural Sports* (London, 1801-1802), I. 333-334; *Sporting Magazine*, VIII. (Sept., 1796) 325. Several local museums in England contain specimens of man traps, notably Eastgate House at Rochester where a savage trap is to be found, and the Dorset County museum at Dorchester.

²⁰ 9 Geo I., c. 22; continued by various acts and made permanent by 31 Geo. II., c. 42; superseded by 16 Geo. III., c. 30. The history of the Waltham Blacks can be followed in the newspapers of the day and also in G. M. Hughes, *A History of Windsor Forest, Sunninghill and the Great Park* (London, 1890), pp. 19 ff.

²¹ London *Journal*, June 29, 1723; *The Weekly Journal*; or, *British Gazetteer*, same date.

continued to be the haunt of deer stealers throughout the century. The Duke of Newcastle, as warden of Sherwood Forest, was informed by a servant that "the lower sort of people on and about the forest, seeing so many hounds suffered, besides His Majesty's, to chace and kill the deer, take it for granted they may lend with the same impunity a helping hand towards their destruction. . .".²² Nor did the evil persist for want of legislation to curb it. A series of measures varying only slightly in the degree of their severity culminated in 1802 in an act of Parliament fixing the penalty on deer stealing at seven years' transportation, even for the first offense.²³ The increasing preservation of the game for the gun, a change which transformed the whole country into a kind of park, led to a great development of the poaching of smaller game.

Like the deer stealer the new poacher resorted to the gang device. In 1777 a gang pillaged the Earl of Buckinghamshire's pheasant nursery in Norfolk in open defiance of the keeper. Watchers at Windsor fought a sharp engagement with a gang who were waylaid while attending their snares set in the park.²⁴ By 1783 the new practice had become sufficiently general to occasion the publication of a pamphlet on the subject by a prominent justice of the peace, Henry Zouch. His alarming *Account of the Present Daring Practices of Night-Hunters and Poachers* showed them forming armed bodies at night and sweeping up the game, together with other property, in defiance of law and force. The farmers were terrified, and powerless to offer opposition. The annals of the last decade of the century make it clear that this practice was well established. Young men were trained by the experienced, and organizations were formed to coöperate in the paying of fines. Except for its illegitimate character the traffic might in some regions almost be said to have its apprentices and guilds.²⁵

The ruling classes replied to this menace in their usual way by more and severer laws, not only by elaborating and defining closed seasons on game, but by setting up a series of specific poaching statutes which circumscribed the poacher's actions on every side, and laid heavy penalties

²² R. Sutton to Duke of Newcastle, Newcastle Papers, British Museum, Add. MSS., 32, 713, fol. 237.

²³ 42 Geo. III., c. 107; cf. 10 Geo. II., c. 32; 27 Geo. II., c. 15; 16 Geo. III., c. 30; and 51 Geo. III., c. 120.

²⁴ Hist. MSS. Comm., *Report on the Lothian MSS.*, p. 320. *Gentleman's Magazine*, LI. (Dec., 1781) 591-592.

²⁵ Zouch, *Account*, pp. 1-6; cf. *Sporting Magazine*, III. (Jan., 1794) 216; XI. (Jan., 1798) 220; XV. (Mar., 1800) 319; *Annual Register*, XXXVII. (1795), Chronicle, pp. 29-30.

on his transgressions. By an act of 1770 killing game at night entailed a penalty of from three to six months' imprisonment and a public whipping. Sunday became a *dies non* for all sport. A law of 1773 made it possible to pay monetary fines in the place of the imprisonment and postponed the whipping to the third offense, but another of 1800 insured that gang poachers should be imprisoned for six months at hard labor and whipped at the pleasure of the quarter sessions.²⁶ As preventive measures these statutes proved totally ineffective. Gang poaching and the violence which accompanied it became every year more common. In 1805 Lord Suffield's gamekeepers at Gunton in Norfolk, armed only with sticks, fought a desperate battle with a gang carrying firearms.²⁷ The incident is only typical of what was happening generally.

Gang poaching and professional poaching depended upon the fact that game as a commodity commanded a ready sale. Townspeople who could afford it insisted on having it. Hostesses considered the game course indispensable at dinner. The privileged classes found that the most welcome gift they could give to their friends in town was game, and consequently there was a constant flow of these presents to the urban areas. Such quantities were sent to London at Lord Mayor's Day and Christmas that the coaching companies were obliged to provide special transportation facilities.²⁸ But this very legitimate traffic facilitated the illegitimate, for game, by its very nature, was difficult to identify.

To deal with this problem the sale of game under any circumstances had been altogether prohibited since the reign of James I. As already remarked, poulterers, higgler, and such persons were particularly restricted in this respect.²⁹ But these laws could not be enforced. By a strange oversight Parliament had omitted to prohibit the purchase of game, and consequently qualified persons, who could legally possess game, could not be touched when they bought it, although the tradesman or poacher who sold it to them committed a penal act. And in any case game was in such universal demand and was so easy to dispose of that the traffic went on growing every year, *pari passu* with the increasing

²⁶ 10 Geo. III., c. 19; 13 Geo. III., c. 80; 39-40 Geo. III., c. 50. Christmas day was also a prohibited time from 1773. And a second offense in 1800 meant an extension of imprisonment to a maximum of two years. See 17 Geo. II., c. 5, referred to in the act of 1800.

²⁷ *Sporting Magazine*, XXV. (Jan. and Mar., 1805) 228, 339-340.

²⁸ *Norfolk Chronicle*, Dec. 22, 1787; see also John Ashton, *Dawn of the XIXth Century in England* (New York, 1886), II. 2; and *Universal Magazine*, XXXV. (Suppl., 1764) 375.

²⁹ See p. 242.

quantity of game in the preserves. It became a thriving business, in which poachers, wagoners, coachmen, and the town poulterers linked themselves together in a vast network.³⁰ It had become a regular trade in London before 1750. Under a plea of French origin, "Perigord Pyes", each containing four partridges, not less contraband for purporting to have come from outside England, were advertised for sale in London in 1784. Even English partridges figured in this open disregard of the law.³¹

In 1802 this trade, well established under the control of the Leadenhall Market poulterers and the porters at the inns who coöperated with the coachmen and guards, was a prosperous business. The poulterers stood ready to accept any quantity that came on the market. Two persons supplying them were said to have cleared a net profit of £1500 in two years. During the season the coffee houses and taverns everywhere served game, almost without a thought of its illegality.³²

All this constant violation of the law, the poaching, the trespassing, the illegal selling of game, required the constant attention of the privileged classes. No other subject caused so much litigation and brought so many cases into the courts in the eighteenth century as did the game laws. The qualifications engendered constant dispute because no one knew what they meant. The qualification of being the eldest son of an esquire depended upon the definition of the term esquire, but the courts discovered that this was rather a title of courtesy than of law and could approach no nearer the solution than to decide that doctors of physic or captains of volunteers were not esquires.³³ And as for the disqualification of "inferiour Tradesmen Apprentices and other dissolute persons" definition was hopeless.

Aside from these more abstract legal questions it was in the vast array of petty local offenses that the game laws required the most attention. For this business the justice of the peace was the prime functionary. Local potentate, judge, and jury combined, he served as single justice, or, with his colleagues of the commission of the peace, in petty and quarter sessions, at a task which had been entrusted to him from the date of the very first qualification act in 1390. By the measure of 1671,

³⁰ William Taplin, *Observations on the Present State of the Game*, pp. 24-25; the gamekeepers constituted often an important link in the chain.

³¹ *Morning Herald and Daily Advertiser*, Dec. 9, 1784, and see following issues.

³² Daniel, *Rural Sports*, II. 427-428; *Sporting Magazine*, XIX. (Feb., 1802) 275; XXIV. (July, 1804) 174-175.

³³ *Jones v. Smart*, Durnford and East, *Term Reports*, I. 48-51; *Talbot v. Eagle*, Taunton, *Reports*, I. 510; cf. *Mallock v. Eastley*, *Modern Reports*, VII. 482-488.

offenders were to be convicted on the oath of a single witness given before a single justice of the peace. Persons stealing rabbits from unenclosed warrens he might punish by a penalty of treble damages and costs and imprisonment for three months. Gamekeepers armed with his warrants might search the premises of suspected persons. The game laws generally followed these principles. The single justice dealt with ordinary cases of deer stealing under the act of 1692, and might inflict such a considerable penalty as a year's imprisonment with exposure in the pillory. In most cases pecuniary penalties were provided for, with imprisonment in case of default, and this usually happened in the case of the ordinary poacher. Such an act as that of 1800 permitting the punishment of poachers as rogues and vagabonds put considerable power into the hands of the single justice.³⁴

The more serious game offenses required a more solemn procedure, of course. The Black Act sent the suspected felon to the assizes for trial. Second offenses of deer stealing under the act of 1737, punishable by transportation, went to the justices of assize, also; and second offenses in ordinary poaching cases under the acts of 1773 and 1800 went to the quarter sessions.³⁵

In the main, then, the game laws were administered by the justices of the peace. In their efficiency and their attitudes the magistrates varied widely. Generally they had little training or capacity for their work except for their experience varying with the period of their service and a smattering of legal knowledge picked up from Richard Burn's *Justice of the Peace*. Their views were usually narrow and their justice more rough than legal. They were chosen from the ruling class, the class which benefited by the game laws. It can be no cause for surprise, then, that they were regarded, and all too often with reason, as administering the game laws in harsh and arbitrary fashion.

The sporting squire bagged his birds in the morning and his poachers in the afternoon. He was said in 1828 to regard poaching and Methodism as equally wicked and both very much in the class of felony.³⁶ It was a widely held opinion that the country magistrates made it a paramount point of policy to levy the heaviest possible fines upon laborers who committed the heinous crime of killing hares or pheasants; "it very frequently happens", wrote one complainant, "that an epicure in game is a

³⁴ 13 Ric. II., c. 13; 22-23 Car. II., c. 25; 3 Wm. and Mary, c. 10, ss. 1, 3, 7; 39-40 Geo. III., c. 50.

³⁵ 9 Geo. I., c. 22; 10 Geo. II., c. 32, s. 8; 13 Geo. III., c. 80; 39-40 Geo. III., c. 50.

³⁶ *Annals of Sporting and Fancy Gazette*, XIII. (Jan., 1828) 52.

Justice of the Peace, and in this case he has every opportunity of maliciously indulging a sordid propensity, by rigidly inflicting the Game Laws in all their gross impurity".³⁷

Cumulative penalties, which were perfectly legal, the justices of the assize discovered they could not frown down.³⁸ In 1786, the year after the passage of the first successful game certificate act, a poacher was fined a total of thirty-five pounds on the three counts of killing game while unqualified, doing so at night, and having no game certificate.³⁹ The employment of the common informer and conviction on the evidence of a single witness also led to abuse.

Worst of all, the justices of the peace sometimes did not scruple to hear cases concerning the game on their own lands. This practice was not looked upon generally as quite respectable and it would be difficult to say to what extent it was carried. In the nineteenth century justices often left the bench under such circumstances. And even in the eighteenth there is no reason to suppose that all magistrates were harsh and unreasonable, even though the system seems so now. Among lawyers at any rate it was a cause for complaint that many offenders received too slight punishment because the magistrate mitigated the sentence.⁴⁰ During a good part of the eighteenth century the higher courts maintained definitely a policy of watching strictly over summary judgments in game cases and taking care that they were not made arbitrarily.⁴¹ But ultimately they definitely repudiated this view and maintained that, as the jurisdiction of summary procedure had been conferred upon the justices of the peace by the legislature, the courts ought to go to all reasonable lengths to support them.⁴²

Abuse was the more easy because the whole game system was filled with confusion and uncertainty. The poacher could see no moral wrong in taking wild animals. Blackstone could be cited to show that animals *ferae naturae* belonged to the first taker—and conversely to show that they did not. The country gentlemen who expended their capital in breeding and preserving the pheasants for their amusement could not

³⁷ *Sporting Magazine*, XXIV. (June, 1804) 141-142.

³⁸ Edward Christian, *Treatise on the Game Laws* (London, 1821), pp. 168-169.

³⁹ *Gentleman's Magazine*, vol. LVI., pt. 2 (Oct., 1786), p. 902.

⁴⁰ William Nelson, *The Laws of England Concerning the Game*, 2nd ed. (London, 1732), preface.

⁴¹ *R. v. Chandler* (1702), Salkeld, *Reports*, I. 378; *R. v. Corden* (1769), Burrow, *Reports*, IV. 2279-2281.

⁴² *R. v. Thompson*, Joseph Chitty, *Treatise on the Game Laws* (London, 1812), II. 1227.

understand such an attitude. The game code itself abounded in complexities, for almost none of the old game laws, stretching back into centuries of history, had been repealed; law had merely been piled on law, without any regard to simplicity. The game laws, it was said, constituted "the richest treasure a country attorney possesses".⁴³ And so the parlor of the magistrate swarmed with gamekeepers and poachers, trespassers and unqualified sportsmen. Even the qualified gentry, with a fine disregard of their own interests, transgressed habitually, shooting on each other's lands without permission, sporting on Sunday, and winking at the sport of their unqualified younger sons.

In the war on the poacher the squire often found himself the object of considerable hostility in his community. Both he and his gamekeeper seemed to play a rôle hardly distinguishable from that of the universally hated common informer. It is not surprising that he should cast about for some device by which he could at once divest himself of some of this unwelcome stigma and tighten up the loose joints of the rattling and lumbering game system. On several occasions members of the House of Commons invoked their parliamentary privilege as a means of protection. The last of these cases was that of Sir John Gibbons of Middlesex, who complained that a certain Thomas Smith and his servants entered his lands, assaulted him, and "killed his Game, although they were several times forbid to hunt there".⁴⁴ At best such a device could only be exceptional and was probably not used against the ordinary poacher. After 1762 it seems to have been abandoned, perhaps partly because of the rise of a new device of a more general character.

By banding together and pooling their resources in subscriptions to pay rewards to informers and for the expenses of prosecutions the gentlemen found they could work much more efficiently, and at the same time more impersonally, against their enemies. Such a form of organization was already common among the shopkeepers in London for protection against felons of all sorts. It appears to be impossible to ascertain how and when these game associations originated. Several parts of the country seem to have had them by 1750.⁴⁵ The Newcastle manuscripts show such an organization in process of formation in 1747 for the region of Nottingham. The agreement drawn up in that case reads as follows:

⁴³ *Sporting Magazine*, III. (Jan., 1794) 223-224.

⁴⁴ *Journals of the House of Commons*, XXIX. 369; the disposition of the case does not appear, but in previous cases which have been found (see *ibid.*, XXVI. 698; XXIX. 120, 212) definite action was taken; see also *ibid.*, XXIII. 505.

⁴⁵ *Thoughts on the Present Laws for Preserving the Game* (London, 1750), p. 27.

We whose names are hereunto subscribed, in order for the better preservation of the game within the county of Nottingham and for the discovery and bringing to justice all snarers of hares and drivers of partridges and every victualler, innkeeper, or other person exposing to sale any game, and all higlers and owners or drivers of any stage coach or waggon who shall be found carrying game within the said county against the laws and statutes of this realm and for defraying the expences attending the discovery and prosecution of any of the offenders aforesaid, do severally promise to pay the several sums by us subscribed into the hands of Mr. John Mason of East Retford and do likewise empower, authorise, and appoint Mr. John Whitaker, Mr. Edmund Kirke, and Mr. John Williamson, Attorneys at law, to sue and prosecute all such persons as shall be found offending herein. . . .

The Duke of Kingston subscribed twenty guineas for the purpose and Lord Galway five, with the remaining eight subscribers making up a total of sixty-four pounds. In pursuance of the object in view it was ordered that conveyances should be searched, and gentlemen were requested to label all parcels of game plainly in order to prevent any mistake about that sent by poachers.⁴⁶

In 1752 there appeared a national organization along similar lines. The first advertisement of this Society of Noblemen and Gentlemen for the Preservation of the Game, published on February 29, indicates a recently formed body, still recruiting members. It ran:

The Society of Noblemen and Gentlemen for the Preservation of the Game, are desir'd to meet on Tuesday the 10th of March next, to dine at Four o'Clock, at the Star and Garter in Pall-Mall; when 'tis hop'd, such Noblemen and Gentlemen, who are willing to encourage this Undertaking, will meet the present Subscribers, or send their names to Mr. James Cecil in the Temple.⁴⁷

The society, keeping the names of its subscribers concealed from the public eye, soon announced its resolution to invigorate the enforcement of the game laws in a very definite way. It set out to encourage informers, drew up a scale of rewards, set up a special watch in London and Westminster with a view to getting at the nub of the difficulty in the sale of game, and requested qualified persons to label all legitimate parcels of game with care to make deception more difficult.⁴⁸

It was a considerable task which these "Noblemen and Gentlemen" had set themselves, but they proceeded with spirit. Apparently the law prohibiting the sale of game had been left almost totally unenforced for

⁴⁶ Newcastle MSS., British Museum, Add. MSS. 32, 713, ff. 227, 357. Whether the Duke of Newcastle paid is not indicated.

⁴⁷ *Daily Advertiser*, Feb. 29, Mar. 7, 1752; cf. *General Advertiser*, same date.

⁴⁸ *General Advertiser*, Mar. 14, 28, 1752.

many years and the action now taken looked very much like raking up obsolete statutes. More than fifty poulterers and higgler were at once haled into court for exposing game for sale. Prosecutions for a number of years rained upon the heads of the tradesmen and at a penalty of five pounds per head of game they found their trade quite interrupted. Sometimes they received mercy if they apologized and made promises for the future.⁴⁹ Far and wide through southern England the society carried its work. In some cases the most vexatious methods of prosecution were employed, for by suing for the penalties by action of debt in a court of record costs could be run up to overwhelming amounts and tradesmen ruined.⁵⁰ The laws were amended to facilitate this line of attack.

Such vigorous action aroused a loud outcry from the injured parties. It was said that the farmers were glad to be rid of the trespassing and marauding poachers but there is little reason to believe this was true. As early as March, 1752, placards appeared in the streets about the houses of Parliament declaring that if the society did not desist from its prosecutions the farmers and their laborers would destroy the game altogether.⁵¹ In the eyes of its opponents the society became a menace to the liberties of Englishmen and an engine of oppression; during the Seven Years' War pamphleteers began to ask with a somewhat strained eloquence what value there was in British freedom if one could not shoot a hare or a partridge.⁵²

Nevertheless the Society of Noblemen and Gentlemen continued in existence at least down to 1790.⁵³ In the course of time its vigor declined, though certainly not the game traffic which had called it forth. In addition there continued to exist the regional associations out of which the general organization had originated. They were adaptable to local conditions and no doubt served often more satisfactorily than the society of London. A local game association existed in Hampshire in 1769, and at least one and perhaps two in Norfolk in the 1780's.⁵⁴ Such associations

⁴⁹ *Daily Advertiser*, Feb. 24, 1752. *General Advertiser*, Mar. 28 (letter from "Benevolus"), June 2, 1752; *Public Advertiser*, Jan. 30, 1754.

⁵⁰ *Some Considerations on the Game Laws and the Present Practice* (London, 1753), pp. 12-14; 26 Geo. II., c. 2.

⁵¹ *Daily Advertiser*, Mar. 13, 1752.

⁵² For examples see *Some Considerations on the Game Laws and the Present Practice*, pp. 12-16, 18-23; *Remarks on the Laws Relating to the Game and the Association* (London, 1753), pp. 15-17; *An Alarm to the People of England* (London, 1757).

⁵³ *Public Advertiser*, during the period.

⁵⁴ *Norfolk Chronicle*, Nov. 4, 1786, and following dates to 1789 (particularly July 25, 1789), and *Norwich Mercury*, Aug. 1, 1789, etc.

show to what an extent the game system was a mixture of governmental machinery and private initiative. The government supplied justices of the peace, laws, and the framework of justice; but much, in the form of gamekeepers and prosecutions, assisted by the game associations, was left to the activity of those interested.

Still another device for enforcement the ruling class found in taxation. When William Pitt in 1784 introduced his measure for the levying of a stamp tax on gamekeepers' deputations and the right to kill game he probably had in mind only the production of revenue for the government. He was taxing everything he could think of and the game privilege seemed convenient. But most sportsmen looked upon the new duty as a new game qualification, a game law pure and simple. Captain Berkeley eagerly suggested that the tax be made, not two guineas, but five. Such a welcome had rarely been given to a tax. The bill as passed, laying a tax of two guineas on persons qualified to kill game, who were required to secure a properly stamped certificate, and a tax of half a guinea on gamekeepers' deputations, proved quite unworkable through faulty drafting, but a more practical measure was enacted in 1785 with the tax set at the same rates.⁵⁵

From that date forward, therefore, there existed in addition to the qualifications established during the last three decades of the seventeenth century a new qualification in the form of a game tax. It meant that the government became more interested than ever before in the game system. The poacher had now in the stamp office another enemy. And the financial success of the measure led to further taxes, while defects were ironed out to insure efficiency in the collection.⁵⁶ The cost of the certificate was increased in 1791 to three guineas.⁵⁷ Similarly a tax on dogs was established in 1796, and by 1812 it had risen to substantial rates which could not but serve as a restriction on sport.⁵⁸

In these constant and desperate efforts at once to exercise their privileges to the fullest degree and to destroy the pernicious game traffic the governing classes showed little consideration for the farmer. Pestered with poachers, who, in stealing game, acquired somewhat loose ideas of

⁵⁵ *Parliamentary Register*, XVI. (1784) 214. The statute is 24 Geo. III., c. 43. It was never printed. The original is in the Public Record Office, Parliament Rolls, no. 1127. 25 Geo. III., c. 50.

⁵⁶ See, for example, 26 Geo. III., c. 82.

⁵⁷ Of gamekeepers to one guinea; 31 Geo. III., c. 21. See also subsequent acts: 48 Geo. III., c. 55, schedule L; 54 Geo. III., c. 141.

⁵⁸ 36 Geo. III., c. 124; 52 Geo. III., c. 93, schedule G. Cf. *Annual Register*, LIV. (1812) [106-107].

private property, and on the other hand burdened with the support of game and the sufferance of a general trespass by sportsmen, he occupied an uncomfortable middle position in the game system. Most farmers lacked the necessary qualification to come within the privileged class. Freeholders who possessed land giving a hundred pounds of income annually usually rented their lands to tenants, and with the rapid spread of the enclosure movement and the engrossment of the land into large estates the few farming freeholders who had qualifications declined correspondingly. As for ninety-nine year leaseholds there were few at best and not many of them would yield the necessary £150 income. And even with a qualification the tenant could rarely kill game on the land he occupied because the landlords made it a practice to reserve the game specifically to themselves.⁵⁹

The freeholder just within the restrictions of the law resented the game system bitterly. A few pounds seemed to make all the difference in his social position. One farmer in Devonshire, who had a freehold of eighty pounds and a short leasehold of one hundred and thirty pounds decided he was in a state of slavery on his own land and sold out to seek better fortune in America.⁶⁰ The tenant, as contrasted with the freeholder, was more likely to make friends with the poacher and carry on a surreptitious war against the game. A Norfolk man expressed the farmer's view in 1794 in these words:

I rent between 3 and 400 *l.* a year, and have a freehold of about 3 or 4 score more, and yet dare not keep a greyhound to follow at my heels, about my land, nor a gun to shoot a partridge or a pheasant for my longing wife, but shall be severely trounced by my next great neighbour; whilst his game-keeper, who is one generally picked out for one of the best shots in the county, shall load his table with game, and some to spare for your town poulterers; but, my poor son Tom, if found with a fowling-piece in his hand, though it is only to kill a crow that is pecking my lamb's eyes out, his gun shall be taken from him by this saucy game-keeper, and severely rebuked into the bargain by the squire. Now the squire himself never takes a gun in hand. . . 'tis as hard I think, that we farmers, who have bred up a good store of this game, must be wholly denied a little recreation at some of our leisure times, which certainly are but few. . .⁶¹

It was not merely a question of pride with the farmer. The game laws affected him in a very material way. With the increasing preserva-

⁵⁹ Edward Christian, *Treatise on the Game Laws*, pp. 112-113, 238; William Marshall, *The Rural Economy of Norfolk* (London, 1787), I. 67, 73, 76.

⁶⁰ *Gentleman's Magazine*, XL. (March, 1770) 122.

⁶¹ *Sporting Magazine*, IV. (Aug., 1794) 251. Cf. *Monthly Review*, XXXII. (May, 1765) 391.

tion he found his land swarming with game, not a head of which he could touch, but which nevertheless attacked his crops with a voraciousness hardly to be imagined. The winged game returned some compensation by the insects which it consumed, but in the high state of preservation which appeared late in the century there was room for doubt whether the farmer reaped any ultimate advantage. As for rabbits and hares little benefit could be discovered to offset their ravages.

As early as 1753 farmers were declaring that a brace of hares did damage more than equal to the cost of maintaining two sheep. During the Seven Years' War the scarcity of food was laid plausibly to the destructive game.⁶² William Marshall, an agricultural reformer and a close observer, in his *Rural Economy of Norfolk* described an appalling waste. The hares, he declared, not only ate the turnips but by biting little bits out of them caused great quantities to decay. Wheat, barley, and clover they destroyed wholesale by making tracks through the grain and eating the young shoots so that they could not come to vigorous maturity. The pheasants preyed upon the wheat from the time it was sown to the time of harvest, and even followed the grain into the barn. By pecking out the heart of the clover they deranged the whole management of the farms, as this new forage crop played a crucially important part in the new methods of agriculture. "To a person who has not been eye-witness to the destruction which accompanies an inordinate quantity of game", he wrote, "the quantity of damage is in a manner inconceivable."⁶³

And the tenant had no remedy. If he interfered with the game or killed it he was haled before the justice of the peace, perhaps his own landlord, or else his lease was forfeit. He might surreptitiously tread in the nest of pheasant or partridge eggs when he found it or give the poachers secretly to understand that he would not interfere with them, but such measures were obviously unsatisfactory. In the view of the landlords he could depart if he found his bargain unsatisfactory. But if he were tied by a lease and the game increased out of all proportion to what he had bargained for he was caught in a ruinous position with no remedy. Tradition usually kept him on the farm until he was bankrupt or the landlord changed his policy. Nor did the unqualified freeholder fare much better. The small freehold in a preserving country, surrounded by coverts, was often overrun with swarms of game which the owner could not touch. He could invite qualified sportsmen to kill

⁶² *Some Considerations on the Game Laws and the Present Practice*, pp. 36-37. *Public Advertiser*, Feb. 10, 1757.

⁶³ *Rural Economy of Norfolk*, I. 171-178.

the pests and in one case in 1811 this was done. But such a policy could only lead to collisions with the powerful.⁶⁴

Not only did the game run at will over the farmer's land but the sportsmen as well. The gamekeeper and the landlord, who showed more or less respect for growing crops and hedges as the relations with the tenant were more or less cordial, came as a matter of course. In addition came shooters, fox hunters, and sportsmen of every sort, freely striding through the fields, plowing through the hedges, opening gates, and generally irritating the farmer and damaging his property. As he could hardly trail everyone of these he could not usually fasten any particular piece of damage to any one offender. And the trespass law gave him very little assistance, for an Elizabethan statute had provided that unless damages awarded in trespass cases equaled forty shillings the plaintiff should be awarded no more costs than the amount of damage.⁶⁵ Hence it was likely to prove an unprofitable proceeding to sue the ordinary trespasser.

In the time of William III. the legislature had made some slight improvement in these arrangements by provision that if the trial judge would certify the offense to have been willful and malicious the plaintiff should receive full costs. By warning a trespasser not to repeat his offense farmers found they could receive the benefit of this measure. For the judges customarily certified second offenses under such circumstances as willful and malicious.⁶⁶ Nevertheless such machinery was clumsy and uncertain and the trespass evil continued unabated. Farmers could scold trespassers but the qualified sportsmen cared very little for that. It was only the game preservers who made much use of the notice not to trespass.

The opening of the partridge-season on the first of September caused special damage in wet seasons. The shooters with their pointers, quartering the fields before the harvest could be got in, wrought havoc with the standing grain. The "mean, base, scandalous practice" of shooting in standing corn was, like other evils, universally condemned, but, in the excitement of the sport, continually carried on.⁶⁷ In 1796 Thomas Coke secured the passage through Parliament of a bill postponing the open-

⁶⁴ *Annual Register*, LIII. (1811) 128; cf. *Sporting Magazine*, XLI. (Oct., 1812) 13-14; and Daniel, *Supplement to the Rural Sports* (London, 1813), p. 414.

⁶⁵ 43 Eliz., c. 6; Christian, *Treatise*, p. 93.

⁶⁶ 8-9 Wm. III., c. 11, s. 4; Christian, *Treatise*, p. 93. In 1803 the court held (contrary to the doctrine in *Reynolds v. Edwards*, 1794) that the court could not be compelled to certify merely because previous notice not to trespass was proved (*Good v. Watkins*, East, *Reports*, III. 495-496).

⁶⁷ *Public Advertiser*, Sept. 24, 1755.

ing of the partridge season until the fifteenth of September. But three years later the landlords relapsed from their self-denying ordinance and the old date was reestablished.⁶⁸

To crown these absurdities the hunters stoutly maintained that as long as they hunted the fox they had a right to go anywhere. Foxes, they declared, are vermin and the law justifies a trespass in pursuit of vermin as a public benefit. Blackstone's *Commentaries* and Richard Burn's *Justice of the Peace* supported them with citations of old law cases.⁶⁹ As late as 1786 the court of king's bench in the case of *Gundry v. Feltham* declared that a man could legally follow a fox on the lands of another in order to kill it.⁷⁰ This seemed to settle the question for once and all. The *Gentleman's Magazine* broadcast the news among the country gentlemen that their fox hunting had full validity in the eyes of the law.

The difficulty lay in the fact that the decision left them in an absurdly false position. Blackstone's theory had rested on the supposition that fox hunters benefited the public by killing noxious animals. In the seventeenth century there had been some truth in this idea, but it was manifestly contrary to fact in 1786. It was ridiculous to maintain that the fine gentlemen came out from London and from their country mansions dressed in their brilliant hunting costumes, maintained costly hunting stables, and subscribed to the heavy expenses of high-bred packs of hounds all out of a sense of public duty. In fact they took every measure of encouragement and coercion to make sure that the supply of foxes continued and even not infrequently saved foxes at the end of a run in order to have them for future sport. And, most inconsistently of all, the gentlemen insisted on having a monopoly of fox killing, and considered it outrageous for a gamekeeper or a farmer to shoot a fox with a gun. Such a doctrine put the fox on an even higher plane than the stag, for no one suggested that stag hunters could do what fox hunters could do.

The craven farmers submitted to the fox hunting gospel, but if the pursuers of the brush had read a little more carefully the decision of the courts in 1786 and had considered the position of the game preservers and the rise of valuable country estates in the vicinity of London they would not have felt so sure of themselves as they did. The court in its

⁶⁸ 36 Geo. III., c. 39; *London Times*, Feb. 17, 1796. 39 Geo. III., c. 34; see also Public Record Office, Home Office Papers, H. O. 42/152, R. W. Torin to Lord Sidmouth, July 25, 1816.

⁶⁹ William Blackstone, *Commentaries* (London, 1764-1769), III. 213-214; Burn, *Justice of the Peace*, 1st ed. (London, 1755), I. 438. Cf. the same false view in Russell M. Garnier, *History of the English Landed Interest* (London, 1893), II. 469. For cases see, for example, *Gedge v. Minne*, *Bulstrode, Reports*, II. 61.

⁷⁰ *Durnford and East, Term Reports*, I. 334, 337.

opinion had taken great pains, to which no one paid any attention at the time, to state that it expressed no views beyond the doctrine that it was legal to follow a fox onto another man's land. It definitely refused to answer the question which had not then been asked: Did fox hunting constitute a legal method of doing so? Those sportsmen who preserved game but did not also hunt foxes had to face this question, for they were never so foolish as to believe the myth that foxes had no taste for hares or pheasants. And the owners of highly developed and expensively laid out country estates and show places in Herts and near London discovered that it concerned them very much also.

Thus it was Lord Essex, owner of Cashibury Park in Hertfordshire, who secured in 1809 a decision by Lord Ellenborough that trespass by fox hunters was as illegal as any other.⁷¹ The legal point was settled but the decision did not put an end to fox hunting, which was enabled to continue with an ever increasing popularity through the existence of large estates. And the farmer received no benefit. The hunters and shooters went their way as if nothing had happened. The landlords insisted on their tenants showing every consideration to the hunts and the foxes, and continued to flood the fields with their hares and pheasants as the battue demanded.

Clearly this system of privilege could not avoid arousing opposition.⁷² Almost every excluded class was its enemy, the laborers, most farmers, the tradesmen, and the unqualified game eaters of the towns. The discontent has left little trace in the period before large scale game preservation. But when the Society of Noblemen and Gentlemen in the 'fifties undertook to inject into the game system a rigor and severity which had been lacking previously, a considerable outcry arose.⁷³ The radical doctrines of the day easily suggested that all men had a natural right to kill game wherever they found it and it became possible during the Seven Years' War to publish such doggerel verse as this:

What's liberty to me? 'Tis lost! 'Tis gone!
If I must be oppress'd, it matters not
Who are th' oppressors. Shall I hazard life
For those imperious Lordlings, who deny'd
That privilege, which Heaven and Nature meant
For food, or sport, or exercise to all? ⁷⁴

⁷¹ The case is that of *Essex v. Capel*. *Annual Register*, LI. (1809) 370-372; Chitty, *Treatise on the Game Laws*, II. 1382.

⁷² No attempt is made here to go fully into the rise of discontent with the game system.

⁷³ See *ante*, p. 255.

⁷⁴ *Universal Magazine*, XIX. (Aug., 1756) 59-60.

In 1796 Charles Fox's friend, John Christian Curwen, brought the matter of game law reform before the House of Commons. But the debate on that occasion was hardly more than academic. The opposition to the game system, general though it was, had no organization and no driving power. The farmers had not developed their political consciousness, and, even if they had, they were not united. Some were qualified to kill game and others were devotees of fox hunting, which required no qualification. The town classes were not yet sufficiently concerned to take any action. In short the privileged classes remained in the saddle, hardly threatened as yet in their exclusive sporting rights. Indeed, so secure did they seem that they were able to add to the game system continually throughout the eighteenth century, enacting new and severer poaching acts, and writing into the law a new qualification in the form of the game tax. If they could have perceived the consequences of their acts they would doubtless have hesitated. For in the tax on sport they had introduced a new principle, which, while not based upon the idea of equality, nevertheless seemed in a capitalistic society such as England was rapidly becoming, more just than the old system. Ultimately the tax principle was to prove victorious. But it was not until 1831 that the new forces were to secure the reform of the old privileges, and even then with somewhat doubtful results.

During the eighteenth century the country gentlemen reigned supreme. Their game system, part and parcel of the social and political structure of the time, is one of their most significant institutions. If one may judge by the figures of the returns from the game tax and make a few algebraic calculations it would appear that the sporting system was maintained for the benefit of something like twenty or thirty thousand persons, exclusive of gamekeepers.⁷⁵ Yet they were able to cling to it and even to elaborate it. Very few other institutions seemed to most of them so important. And certainly few had more ramifications, social, economic, or political.

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⁷⁵ The calculations are too long to give here but they are based upon the tax returns for 1795 judged in the light of other years, and the supposition that gamekeepers and sportsmen were in the proportion approximately of one to two (judging by lists of persons taking out game certificates in Norfolk). There is no way of making more than the roughest possible calculation.

THE REACTION OF BRITISH LABOR TO THE POLICIES OF PRESIDENT WILSON DURING THE WORLD WAR

THE outbreak of the World War forced the representatives of British Labor, like their comrades on the Continent, to choose whether they would stand by their pacific internationalism, as expressed in party programs and at international congresses, or rally to the patriotic slogans of national defense. In Great Britain, as elsewhere, Labor split on the issue. On the extreme right a minority became violently nationalistic; the great center majority supported the official view of the war and agreed to suspend the political and economic struggle against their class opponents; on the left a smaller group, morally opposed to war, very early manifested a primary interest in the peace issue and in the revival of internationalism. Although soon to be strong on the Continent, the voices in Great Britain in favor of transforming the "imperialist war" into a class struggle in order to promote the world revolution were so weak as to pass almost unheard. These internal dissensions, the collapse of the socialist and trade union internationals, and the abnormal psychological and political conditions of war time forced British Labor virtually to suspend the advocacy of its traditional ideals.¹ Restive under this restraint, Labor opinion became particularly sensitive to the pronouncements and policies of the chief executive of the one great power which had not been swept into the conflict.

British Labor's reaction to President Wilson's policies passed through

¹ At the outbreak of the war the British Labor party was a federal body. Its numerical strength was based on the trade unions, led by Arthur Henderson, J. R. Clynes, and J. H. Thomas. The other components were local groups, the Women's Labor League, and the Socialist societies. In the last were to be found not more than two per cent. of Labor's voting strength, but their influence was far out of proportion to their numbers. The few thousand members of the Fabian Society supported the war as a battle for democracy. The Independent Labor party (the I. L. P.) with Keir Hardie, Ramsay MacDonald, and Philip Snowden in its ranks had a membership of about thirty thousand. The majority, while not actively opposing the war, were most interested in working for peace. The smaller orthodox Marxian British Socialist party (the B. S. P.) suffered a split in which the members went to the two extremes. The increasing pacifism of the majority led in March, 1916, to the secession of a considerable section, including the veteran H. M. Hyndman, who founded a new pro-war National Socialist party.

Note: The materials used in the preparation of this article, as in the author's *British Labor and the War-Time Coalitions*, *Am. Hist. Rev.*, XXXV, 522-541, are in the Hoover War Library, Stanford University, California.

several phases. The President's efforts to maintain American neutrality aroused critical and even cynical comment, especially on the part of the majority who were still primarily concerned with the defense of national interests against the overshadowing threat of German military successes. A new and highly significant phase began in May, 1916, with Wilson's espousal of the cause of a league of nations. Labor responded to the idealism of this "peace aim", which contrasted vividly with the vague and pedestrian pronouncements of official war aims. Socialist and left elements generally warmed to his championship of a new international organization. They welcomed his efforts at mediation between the belligerents and greeted with enthusiasm his speech on "peace without victory". The entrance of the United States into the war and the first Russian Revolution in 1917 created a new situation. The British Labor majority was completely converted from its earlier reserve and approved Wilson's championship of the Allied cause. The left, however, more clearly reflecting the growing war weariness and disillusionment, was discouraged by his apostasy from the cause of peace. The peace program of the Russian Soviet, dominated at this time by moderate Socialists, was more in tune with the British Labor left than the President's efforts to mobilize America's full powers against the enemy. By the end of 1917 the military disasters of that year, the cumulative effect of war-time restrictions and privations, the armistice on the Eastern Front, and the publication in Petrograd of the secret treaties of the Allies all emphasized the dubious inadequacy of official war aims and stimulated the demand for peace or, alternatively, a peace program to justify longer endurance of the burden of war. Wilson's Fourteen Points provided this program and initiated a new phase in the attitude of British Labor. This famous pronouncement, as well as subsequent ones, included many points previously advocated by sections of the Labor party. The President, however, was the first in high position to bring these aspirations into the realm of practical politics. His program gained further force when the Bolsheviks' peace gesture was thrust aside by the mailed fist at Brest-Litovsk. British Labor, accordingly, rose to Wilson's eloquent leadership and found itself marching with the liberal and labor groups of allied and enemy states alike in support of the ideal of a just peace and a new international order.

While attention was absorbed in the effort to repel the German thrust at Paris, it was quite natural that Labor spokesmen should say little about the attitude of the United States. It was assumed that President Wilson would follow the traditional policy of neutrality, so that his

proclamation of August 4 was taken as a matter of course. When it was reënforced two weeks later by an appeal for neutrality "in fact as well as in name", the Fabian *New Statesman* approved the touch of idealism and hoped that nothing would impair it. That journal recognized the potentialities of the United States, however, and ventured a prediction that, as the weeks went by, the attention of all the warring powers would become more and more centered upon the leading neutral state and that the future of the world might well depend upon decisions made at Washington.²

As the war progressed and the United States daily became more involved, there was friction with both belligerents over questions of contraband and of cargoes bound for neutral European ports. Since the British navy controlled the seas, American grievances against that power seemed the greater. Protests were made of which the first significant enough to rouse comment was that of December 26, 1914. The pro-war Labor press greeted it with considerable irony and sarcasm. It was said that the President was willing to protest in the name of international law where moneyed interests were concerned but kept silence upon the flagrant breaches in Belgium. Undefended cities might be bombarded, art treasures destroyed, and Hague conventions scrapped, but not till dollars were threatened would he raise his voice in protest. A facile explanation was found in the efficacy of enemy propaganda, the influence of German-Americans, and the cupidity of big business. "The inspiration of the Note is German—it is on this particular subject that the German-American press has been concentrating for the past two months", said the *New Statesman*, adding that "it is not to be supposed that the American financial interests affected required much artificial stimulation". Many lengthy articles appeared on the number of unassimilated citizens of Teutonic origin in the United States and their supposed influence on the President. American politics were frequently portrayed as a contest between two groups of "hyphenates", the pro-Ally and the pro-German. However desirous Wilson might be of steering a course between them, he was certain to be attacked by the one as timid before Germany and by the other as subservient to the Allies. If in the main his policy had not actually impeded the Allies, it was because the former group was slightly the stronger, but in the case of the present note it was believed that his hand had been forced by the pro-Germans.³

² *New Statesman*, Sept. 5, 1914.

³ *New Statesman*, Jan. 2–Apr. 10, 1915; *New Age*, Jan. 7–May 8, 1915; *Federationist*, Feb., 1915.

While the early months of the war saw Wilson insisting upon the full preservation of American property rights, mostly against Great Britain, there followed a period when the safety of American lives was the chief object of solicitude. Here Germany was the offender. The early part of 1915 witnessed a submarine campaign which evidenced the terrible significance of that weapon to neutrals and belligerents alike. The patriotic Labor press was impatient with Wilson's tardiness to act. The *Seaman*, organ of a union whose members had first-hand acquaintance with the German methods, attributed it to German influence. The *New Statesman* criticized the selfishness of a point of view that was silent while the ships of weak neutrals were sunk, and became vocal only when its own nationals suffered. When the *Lusitania* went down, the *New Age* said that America by her pusillanimity was forfeiting the esteem of the world. From the left wing *Forward* came the thrust that the United States was not even on the verge of taking any decisive step, because to do so would threaten the profits accruing from the steadily increasing volume of munitions orders. In Wilson's three notes was seen a determination to avoid hostilities at any cost. The last one of July 21, 1915, was resented as double-edged, for the President not only stated that German naval commanders had demonstrated that submarines could be operated in substantial accord with the accepted practices of naval warfare, but also that the United States and Germany were both contending for the freedom of the seas. The invitation to the German government to practical coöperation on this question, "at this time when coöperation may accomplish most", evoked resentful comments from British journals. When in the following month the *Arabic* was sunk the *Seaman* said the neutrality of America was fast becoming the disgust of humanity. Wilson's notes on the submarine issue, in fact, had few friendly reactions until on September 1, 1915, the German government gave its general pledge that its submarines would not sink liners without warning and without safeguarding the lives of noncombatants. The President's patience and forbearance were thereupon suddenly seen in a new light. A few days later, accordingly, his action in requesting the recall of the Austro-Hungarian ambassador was given a most favorable interpretation. On any crucial issue, it was now said, his poise and circumspection reacted on the national nerves like a sedative. A Roosevelt would have forced matters to a climax after the *Lusitania* sinking but would have divided the country, while Wilson, with methods slower and more patient, but not less resolute, was assuring himself in advance of the whole-hearted support of the people. Whenever he should be driven to

announce that diplomacy had done its utmost and that the ultimate decision rested with Congress, he would find a united American nation ready to follow his lead.⁴

After December, 1915, President Wilson was concerned with the problem of national defense. On December 7 he broached to Congress his preparedness plan, which in January and February, 1916, was followed by a speaking tour. Some observers saw in this move a recognition of military weakness as the cause of impotence in the face of German aggression, but did not believe that it would be followed by any decisive action. As the months wore on without change in the diplomatic situation, it was labeled a political maneuver to steal some Rooseveltian thunder for election purposes and, therefore, for home consumption only.⁵ The Socialist minority on the left, however, was disappointed in what apparently was a surrender to the jingoes. In preparedness they saw the machinations of greedy, unscrupulous armament rings. By blessing the movement, Wilson, they feared, would destroy his qualifications to act as a peacemaker between the belligerents.⁶

On February 10, 1916, the Central Powers announced that after the end of the month their submarine commanders would be instructed to sink any armed merchant vessel, whether carrying passengers or not. On March 24 the *Sussex* was sunk. Would Wilson act? A widespread opinion anticipated a repetition of the "procrastinating inquiries" of the previous year, but when at last on April 27 the President spoke in his ultimatum, which carried a threat to sever diplomatic relations, there was a chorus of approval. His messages and speeches were cheered as "stinging neutral rebukes" which would carry weight with all non-belligerents. He was now credited with prevision during the preparedness campaign, for in retrospect his speeches seemed to have in view just such a crisis as the present. When in May the German government yielded, a great victory was conceded. Germany had surrendered at the point of President Wilson's sword as soon as she was sure it was really out of the scabbard.⁷

Meanwhile the disputes between Great Britain and the United States, less acute than the submarine issue because only property and not life was involved, intermittently attracted attention from the Labor press.

⁴ *New Statesman*, Mar. 20, July 31, Sept. 11-25, 1915; *New Age*, May 13, 1915; *Seaman*, Feb. 26, Aug. 27, 1915; *Glasgow Forward*, May 22, 1915.

⁵ *New Statesman*, Dec. 11, 1915-Feb. 5, 1916; *New Age*, Feb. 10, 1916.

⁶ *Labour Leader*, June 1, Aug. 17, Sept. 28, 1916; *Forward*, Sept. 2, 1916; *Socialist Review*, Jan.-Mar., 1916, pp. 51 ff.

⁷ *New Age*, Apr. 27, 1916; *New Statesman*, Mar. 4-May 20, 1916.

A note of October 21, 1915, insisted that the British orders in council were violating basic principles of international law. The direct language of the American President was generally deemed unfriendly in tone. He was accused of undue regard for the letter of the law, of pettifoggery over insignificant details, of concentrating upon obsolete textbook rules which ignored totally changed conditions of warfare, and of playing for anti-British votes in the next election. Wilson's protests against the British "black list" of certain American firms were minimized in importance by claims that even pro-Ally groups in the United States believed that, in order to prove impartial neutrality, it was necessary to criticize both belligerents and sometimes, as in this case, to make mountains out of molehills. Always there were thrusts at the "sordidness" of the United States as a country where war wealth was blinding people to the fundamental issues involved in the great conflict. The readiness to float Allied loans was contrasted with the reluctance to make the necessary sacrifice to save civilization. Commercialism had killed chivalry in America and had produced only a disappointing neutrality which more and more appeared the indifference of the Levite and the priest, who passed by while a neighbor was being butchered and outraged.⁸

Sometime in 1915 it became apparent that the American President was persuaded that, when the time came to discuss peace, the United States, as the most important neutral, would have a great task to perform. Such a possibility accorded ill with the temper of the belligerent Laborites, who were too disappointed with the "timid neutrals" to permit one to influence a peace program. A year later, however, the President's open espousal of the cause of a league of nations aroused the admiration of the idealists of the party. His speech of May 27, 1916, before the League to Enforce Peace was immediately recognized as of first importance. World organization was a cause in which British Labor had already done much pioneering. Now they felt grateful to President Wilson for definitely bringing it into the realm of practical politics. It was of the utmost significance that the chief executive of a great power had publicly proclaimed his adherence to the proposal for a league and it was hoped that the British government would welcome his lead. Especially pleased was the radical left. The speech, it was said, marked a new era in international relationships. "It is certainly a great advance upon any suggestion put forward in a responsible way by the head of any

⁸ *New Statesman*, Oct. 9, Nov. 13, 1915, Nov. 18, 1916; *New Age*, Nov. 18, 1915, Mar. 16, 1916; *Clarion*, Dec. 10, 1915, June 2, Sept. 15, Nov. 3, 1916; *Scottish Cooperator*, Jan. 28, Nov. 24, 1916.

Government in modern times", said the *Labour Leader*. At the next annual conference of the Labor party in January, 1917, a resolution was carried unanimously to work for an international league to enforce the maintenance of the peace on the plan advocated by the President of the United States.⁹ By coming forward as the champion of the cause which so vitally interested Labor, President Wilson took the first step toward putting himself at the head of their forces. There were, to be sure, a few discordant notes from extremists of both right and left. A small right wing organization, the British Workers' League, hoped America would remain neutral and aloof in order that at the final council table there would be no moderating influence in dealing with the enemy of liberty and civilization. They desired no German-American "Rosenbaum or Hoffenmeyer" present in the guise of American diplomats to rob the Allies of the fruits of victory and expressed doubts that America would enter the proposed league. At the other extreme the equally small Marxian British Socialist party, although paying tribute to Wilson's personal honesty and disinterestedness, avowed that a capitalist league to enforce peace stood as much chance of realization as a thieves league to enforce honesty.¹⁰

In these years while the press that voiced—and created—majority opinion was critical of Wilson and frequently inclined to be cynical in its interpretation of American neutrality, that of the left wing Socialist minority was consistently friendly. Although never actively opposing the war, the I. L. P. and kindred groups were primarily interested in the peace issue. Long before any utterances of the American President warranted expectation of support for their purpose, his very position predisposed them to look hopefully toward him. Since the Allied governments were absorbed in the military situation, any effective peace move would have to come from elsewhere. It was logical, accordingly, to expect it from the head of the greatest neutral state. Upon him they centered their aspirations for an early and decent settlement.

On July 4, 1915, there appeared in the New York *Tribune* an appeal headed "‘Save the World!’—An Englishman to Wilson", which deeply stirred the Socialist elements of Great Britain. It was from the pen of E. D. Morel, a pacifist Liberal, already closely associated with Ramsay MacDonald and kindred spirits in the Union of Democratic Control and

⁹ *New Statesman*, May 8, 1915, June 3, Oct. 28, 1916; *Federationist*, Mar., 1917; *Labour Leader*, June 8, 1916; *Bradford Pioneer*, Feb. 9, 1917; *Report of the Sixteenth Annual Conference of the Labour Party* (1917), p. 134.

¹⁰ *British Citizen and Empire Worker*, Nov. 11, Dec. 30, 1916; *Federationist*, Dec., 1916; *Call*, Nov. 9, 1916, Feb. 1, 1917.

soon to enter the ranks of Labor. Morel was a sincere idealist, who conceived of the situation as a tragic one in which the warring peoples desired peace but, because unable to influence their rulers, must look elsewhere for initiative and leadership. "In the two hemispheres", he wrote, "there is one man, and only one man, who, by his character and through the great position he enjoys, can save the soul of the peoples and of the governments of Europe. That man is President Wilson."¹¹

With such sentiments the left wing was fully in accord and never ceased to hope that President Wilson would intervene. His espousal of the League to Enforce Peace in the speech of May 27, 1916, aroused the liveliest anticipations of early mediation. When Wilson avowed his belief in such fundamentals as the right of a people to choose the sovereignty under which they would live, the rights of small states to have their independence and territorial integrity respected, and the right of the world to be free from every disturbance of its peace that had its origin in aggression, it seemed almost that he was adopting the program of the so-called pacifist section of British Labor.¹² To Bruce Glasier, editor of the *Socialist Review*, it seemed that "among all the rulers of the world today, he [President Wilson] appears . . . to have shown the loftiest appreciation of the new ideals of world citizenship". As during 1916 President Wilson continued to expound the principles for which America stood and her duty to play a high part if necessary, he found his most ardent supporters in the Labor left. Of all the elements in the party they were happiest in his reelection. The victory at the polls was interpreted as the repulse of the militarist "Prussians of the type of Mr.

¹¹ New York *Tribune*, July 4, 1915; *Bradford Pioneer*, Sept. 17, 1915; Glasgow *Forward*, Sept. 25, 1915.

¹² The first peace program of the I. L. P. was formulated at the annual conference of April 5-6, 1915. Its four points given below will be recognized as essentially the same as some later advanced by President Wilson. "In order that the peace may be just and lasting the conference demands:

(a) That the people concerned shall give consent before there is transfer of territory;
(b) No further treaty, agreement, or understanding be entered into without the knowledge of the people and the consent of Parliament, and machinery to be created for the democratic control of foreign policy;

(c) Drastic all-round reduction of armaments by international agreement, together with the nationalization of the manufacture of armaments, and the national control of the export of armaments by one country to another;

(d) British foreign policy to be directed in future toward establishing a federation of the nations, and the setting up of an International Council, whose decisions shall be public, together with the establishment of courts for the interpretation and enforcement of treaties and international law." *Report of the Twenty-third Annual Conference of the Independent Labour Party* (1915), p. 88.

Roosevelt", who probably would have led the country straight into the war. It was gratifying to know he was in office for the period that would doubtless see the war ended and the peace conference at work.¹³

Wilson's summons to the belligerents on December 18, 1916, to state definitely their peace terms in order that the world might know and compare them was not well received by the more warlike Labor journals, nor by the Allied press generally. It was objected that the time was not ripe. "A premature or inconclusive peace would be a greater danger than the war itself", said John Hodge, a Labor member of the newly formed Lloyd George ministry. Coming so soon after the German overtures, it was taken as a reënforcement of the enemy's move. German hypnotism was at work and a German peace in the air, exclaimed the militant organ of the British Workers' League. Most irritating to the Labor majority was the statement that the professed aims of the Allies and Central Powers were virtually the same. The *New Statesman*, too, thought it unfortunate that the proposal for a league to enforce peace, of which it was an early protagonist, should be presented to the world in a document regarded with signal disfavor. Generally the President had a bad press.¹⁴

More favorable reactions occurred in some quarters. Dr. G. B. Clark, a supporter of the war who contributed regularly to the *I. L. P. Forward*, welcomed the note as affording the Entente a splendid opportunity to state their case to the neutral world. The *New Age*, hitherto critical of Wilson, advanced the startling interpretation that the note was a device to afford the Allies an opportunity to put their case before the American people under the most favorable circumstances on the theory that Wilson was already convinced that in self-defense America would sooner or later be driven into war against the Central Powers. The explanation of this unique point of view is to be found in a series of articles previously contributed by Professor George D. Herron to interpret the President to its readers. More consistent with former opinion was the joyful greeting of the Socialist left, who once more believed their own position confirmed and strengthened. It was "the policy we have been urging for the past eighteen months", said Ramsay MacDonald. The whole world was placed under deep obligation for "a great historic act of Christian statesmanship", said the *Bradford Pioneer*. E. D. Morel hailed the note as

¹³ *Labour Leader*, May 25-June 22, Nov. 16, 1916; *Socialist Review*, Aug.-Sept., 1916, pp. 224-225, Jan.-Mar., 1917, p. 12; *New Statesman*, Nov. 11, 1916.

¹⁴ *New Statesman*, Dec. 30, 1916; *British Citizen and Empire Worker*, Dec. 30-Jan. 27, 1916; *Seaman*, Jan. 5, 1917; *Clarion*, Jan. 27, 1917.

the act of a strong man who realized the immensity of the opportunity given him and who was willing to break with traditional formulae in order to espouse the cause of the peoples. The national administrative council of the I. L. P. sent an address of gratitude assuring the President that his action was gratefully appreciated by "the sober and responsible sections of the British people"—a bit of presumption which brought some gibes from the trade union center of the Labor party. The Marxians of the British Socialist party rejoiced at the "shrewd blow" which pointed out that there was no visible difference between the war aims of the belligerents. To them the action of the President appeared to put peace in sight. When the Allies responded, Philip Snowden wrote in the *Labour Leader* that the obtaining of a definite statement of terms was a great success for the pacifists.¹⁵

President Wilson revealed his reaction to the belligerents' replies in his "peace without victory" speech to the Senate on January 22, 1917. In stating the conditions under which the United States would join the proposed league of nations, which included equality of rights for all nations, recognition that governments derive all their just powers from the consent of the governed, freedom of the seas, and limitation of armaments, he drew the outlines of a program of international idealism which called forth a widespread favorable response from the ranks of Labor, in which was now developing an increasing undercurrent of skepticism as to the purity of their own government's war aims. On the morning of January 23 the annual conference of the party met in Manchester. The delegates assembled with the morning papers in their hands containing the report of the speech to the Senate. Early in the course of the presidential address G. J. Wardle mentioned the name of President Wilson. For the moment he was allowed to proceed no further. The trade union majority and the Socialist minority, with women delegates conspicuously in the lead, interrupted with an ovation of cheers. It was the greatest demonstration of the conference. The warmth and enthusiasm of Labor contrasted strongly with the hostility with which organs of the older parties greeted "peace without victory". Labor saw Wilson the chief exponent of its own ideals.¹⁶

¹⁵ *Forward*, Dec. 30, 1916, Jan. 27, 1917; *Bradford Pioneer*, Jan. 12, 1917; *Labour Leader*, Dec. 28, 1916, Jan. 18, 1917; *Call*, Dec. 28, 1916, Jan. 11, 1917; *Socialist Review*, Jan.-Mar., 1917, pp. 1-3; *Report of the Annual Conference of the Independent Labour Party* (1917), pp. 8-9; *British Citizen and Empire Worker*, Jan. 20, 1917; *Scottish Cooperator*, Dec. 29, 1916.

¹⁶ *Report of the Sixteenth Annual Conference of the Labour Party* (1917); *Labour Leader*, Jan. 25, 1917; *British Citizen and Empire Worker*, Jan. 27, 1917; *New Age*, Feb. 1, 1917; *Clarion*, Feb. 2, 1917; *Shop Assistant*, Feb. 3, 1917.

The Independent Labor party especially hastened to claim the American President as their own asset. In the columns of the *Labour Leader* Philip Snowden pointed out how closely he had approached their position. "The I. L. P. and pacifist bodies in Great Britain", said he, "are entitled to feel and to express special gratification with the fact that the head of the greatest neutral Power in the world has come to the support of the same ideas and proposals which they have long advocated." They, too, had long urged that a peace based on victory would breed future wars and that in a negotiated peace alone was a permanent settlement possible. Snowden thought the bold declaration of the President must hasten the termination of the war. Ramsay MacDonald eulogized the speech as the one utterance of the war which made him feel that twentieth century civilization was not destined to perish. The *Bradford Pioneer* hailed Wilson as "the one great statesman the world possesses". *Forward* and the *B. S. P. Call* acclaimed him the man of the hour. Members of the Union of Democratic Control, including MacDonald, Snowden, Morel, and C. P. Trevelyan, wrote to request the President to demand from the Allies a restatement of their peace terms that would harmonize with his speech. On the extreme Labor right were some unfavorable voices. The British Workers' League denounced Wilson as an intolerable meddler and an academic excursionist into the realm of Utopian politics. "If we are not fighting for Victory, what ARE we fighting for?" exclaimed its spokesman. Nor could the *Clarion* see how the problems of Europe could be solved or even Wilson's own league brought into existence without first a German defeat. The moderate *New Statesman* appreciated his loftiness of thought and again rejoiced in his support of a league of nations, but could neither accept a principle which would deprive naval powers of their one offensive weapon nor a peace without victory which could be, in its estimation, only a German victory. The *New Age* showed more friendliness than in earlier years: the speech was not merely the most remarkable pronouncement of the war but also, because of the implication of American participation in a league, the most significant utterance of the decade.¹⁷

Only a few days after the "peace without victory" speech came the

¹⁷ *Labour Leader*, Jan. 25, 1917; *Bradford Pioneer*, Jan. 26-Feb. 2, 1917; *Call*, Feb. 1, 1917; *Forward*, Mar. 17, 1917; *British Citizen and Empire Worker*, Jan. 27, 1917; *Clarion*, Jan. 26, 1917; *New Statesman*, Jan. 27, 1917; *Socialist Review*, Jan.-Mar., 1917, pp. 1-3; Charles Seymour, *The Intimate Papers of Colonel House*, III. 139. The editor of the *New Age*, Feb. 1, 1917, repeated his conviction that Wilson was preparing to offer the Allies the armed support of the United States. An article by George D. Herron in the issue for January 11 maintained that unless Germany put her peace terms on the table, America might soon be numbered among her enemies.

German government's repudiation of its promise of May 4, 1916, by a statement that it would sink all ships met in the barred zones, and the American answer in the form of a severance of diplomatic relations. British Labor, like all the world, watched with keenest interest. When the expected declaration did not immediately follow, the *New Age* marveled at Wilson's continued patience, but attributed it to the intention of further consolidating public opinion. Others thought the moment a precious one to cultivate Anglo-American friendship. The chauvinist *British Citizen and Empire Worker* professed an aversion to American entry into the war, because it did not want to see at the peace conference any "less implacable force than any members of the existing Alliance are likely to show in the final negotiations with the German plenipotentiaries". At the other extreme Philip Snowden regretted the painful sequel to the pacific efforts so fresh in mind and the *Bradford Pioneer* lamented that the one peace statesman in the world's governments was apparently taking sides in the struggle. The Marxian *Call* drew a lesson in the materialist conception of history with the picture of a genuine pacifist and sincere idealist dragged out of splendid isolation into a world war by force of economic ties with the Allies.¹⁸

The news of Wilson's address to Congress on April 2 and of the entry of the United States into the war four days later was greeted with enthusiasm in Great Britain. To the majority in the Labor movement it seemed that America was coming in with unimpeachable motives and the highest ideals. American intervention, together with the recent Russian Revolution, emphasized the lines of cleavage as between peace loving democracy and aggressive despotism. It strengthened the conviction in the justice of the Allied cause, while the assurance of Wilsonian idealism at the peace conference foreshadowed a righteous settlement. Unlike the *Times* and other representatives of the older press, which disapproved of Wilson's distinction between the German government and the German people, the Labor journals generally recognized it as a corollary of the war for democracy. So the articles deprecating American slothfulness, commercialism, and pro-Germanism gave way to others welcoming the prospect of closer understanding between the great English speaking peoples and recognizing the value of American aid. The veteran Socialist, H. M. Hyndman, published an open letter to Wood-

¹⁸ *New Age*, Feb. 15, 1917; *Clarion*, Feb. 9, 1917; *New Statesman*, Feb. 10, 1917; *British Citizen and Empire Worker*, Feb. 10, Mar. 3, 1917; *Labour Leader*, Feb. 8, 1917; *Bradford Pioneer*, Feb. 9, 1917; *Call*, Feb. 15, 1917.

row Wilson saluting American intervention. The *British Citizen and Empire Worker*, which had so often attacked and caricatured Wilson as the tool of pacifists and pro-Germans, now grew lyrical in praising him for bringing the kindred nation into the great crusade. From the opposite wing of the party F. W. Jowett devoted much of his address as chairman of the annual meeting of the I. L. P. to an appreciation of Wilson. He pointed out that the President, unlike their own statesmen, had kept the nation informed of his policy, so that America entered the war unbound by secret commitments, such as existed between Great Britain and Russia, and without interest in alliances to maintain a balance of power. Wilson had set an example to the Allies by making a clear declaration of his objects. The speaker concluded that, if the Allied governments should follow the President's lead, a speedy peace would soon be possible.¹⁹

- America's entry into the war, however, utterly disheartened most of the I. L. P. peace-by-negotiations group. Ramsay MacDonald, who had idealized Wilson and centered upon him his hopes for a decent settlement, could only regard him as an apostate. The prospect for a negotiated peace, which had a few weeks before loomed so large, had vanished. American participation would prolong the war, cause the death of millions, and deprive her of every possibility of enforcing a fair settlement, because "war psychology" would engulf the American people just as it had the other belligerents. J. Bruce Glasier, another veteran of the party, shared these opinions. However sincere Wilson might be, the "one great rock of refuge and peace" had been submerged. Philip Snowden's disappointment was bitter. He thought Wilson honest but inconsistent, for the answer to every line of his address to Congress was to be found in his own notes and speeches of the preceding months. Wilson had abandoned his high ground for the common position taken by every belligerent statesman. He predicted that, as the war fever rose and raged in the United States, the noble impulses still discernible in the President's words would disappear and the people would learn from practical experience what engaging in a war for liberty abroad meant to liberty at home. The *Bradford Pioneer* had dark forebodings for the future. Wilson took a country into war without any predatory desires, a fact which might restrain some of the more greedy Allies and result

¹⁹ *New Statesman*, Apr. 7, 1917; *New Age*, Apr. 12-26, 1917; *Clarion*, Apr. 6-13, 1917; *Forward*, Apr. 21, 1917; *Seaman*, Apr. 13, 1917; *Scottish Cooperator*, Apr. 27, May 11, 1917; F. J. Gould, *Hyndman, Prophet of Socialism* (London, 1922), p. 222; *Report of the Annual Conference of the Independent Labour Party* (1917), pp. 39-42.

in a league of nations, but it was recalled that not many years before a jingo fury had swept that same nation into unforeseen paths of imperialism. The B. S. P. in its annual conference and in the columns of the *Call* developed another "profound lesson in the materialist conception of history". Before 1914 the United States was a borrower nation. Now the position was reversed and her world interests in jeopardy, whereupon Wall Street, the real ruler of the country, sensed that aloofness was no longer possible. It was such forces, using Wilson's known disinterestedness as a useful cloak, that carried the country into the war.²⁰

During the following months President Wilson's preoccupation with the vigorous prosecution of the war deepened the gloom on the Labor left. When on June 9 the note to the new Russian government inviting the coöperation of the two peoples in the common object was made public, Philip Snowden bemoaned the wide departure from the "peace without victory" spirit. As a belligerent, he sighed, Wilson could only be a partisan. The Flag Day speech, claiming that the lust of world power of Germany's military masters had made it impossible for America to remain neutral, appeared to Snowden only a rehash of the stuff that had come out of the mouths of European statesmen in the first months of the war. The *Bradford Pioneer* lamented that Wilson had laid aside his high ideals in an attempt to enforce morality by the sword. The true leader now was revolutionary Russia, that blameworthy country of July, 1914, which had executed a glorious repentance and enunciated the program of no annexations and no indemnities. There were further attacks on the growing dictatorial powers of the President and the restrictions on free speech in the United States.²¹

The Labor majority, however, uniformly commended the President's course. Those of the war party who had sneered at his earlier notes and denounced or ridiculed American neutrality were now most laudatory. They praised his energetic preparations to make the Central Powers feel the might of America. They looked to him for moral leadership. When new material on German diplomacy came to light, it was of him they thought as the one to make use of it. The Willy-Nicky correspondence, said the *New Statesman*, "brings some useful grist to President Wilson's mill". In *Forward* "Rob Roy" (Dr. J.

²⁰ *Socialist Review*, May-June, 1917; *Labour Leader*, Apr. 5-May 31, 1917; *Bradford Pioneer*, Apr. 13-27, 1917; John L. Balderston in the *San Francisco Chronicle*, World Topics Section, Oct. 6, 1929; *Call*, Apr. 12-June 21, 1917.

²¹ *Labour Leader*, June 14-21, Sept. 6-Oct. 11, 1917; *Bradford Pioneer*, June 22-July 6, 1917; *Forward*, Aug. 25, 1917.

Stirling Robertson) compared his speeches to the lofty and penetrating utterances of Tolstoy and said: "He gets right down to the bed rock of the moral and political issues, and puts them in the plain and direct language that comes straight from the heart of 'every man'." ²²

When on August 27, 1917, Wilson's reply to the Pope's peace note was published, it won general applause in Great Britain. The *New Statesman* voiced the prevalent feeling when it said Wilson had stated their reply with such conviction and force that nothing essential remained to be added by the other Allied leaders. "It is a pleasure", said "Rob Roy" in *Forward*, "to turn from the divided counsels of Europe to the clear, decided, and farseeing utterances of President Wilson." The *New Age* thought that the secular authority had shown himself better qualified to speak for mankind than the head of a great church. All sections of the party except the extreme right expressed satisfaction at his rejection of economic reprisals after the war such as were contemplated by the Allies in the Paris Resolutions of 1916. The I. L. P. organs were especially jubilant on this score, although they had no enthusiasm for the implied demand that the form of the German government be changed before peace negotiations be undertaken. Only the B. S. P. now manifested a lack of confidence in the President. The *Call*'s charge of insincerity was based upon the refusal of the American government to issue passports to delegates to the proposed Socialist and Labor conference at Stockholm. ²³

The speech to Congress on December 4, 1917, evoked widespread comment. The militants approved the will to victory, the demand for the evacuation and restoration of occupied territories, and the endorsement of the aspirations of subject nationalities in Austria-Hungary and Turkey. In contrast to President Wilson's "weighty words" the recent peace letter of Lord Lansdowne seemed composed of "empty phrases". At the same time they welcomed his repeated disapproval of an economic boycott after the war or any other manifestation of sheer revenge. By continuing to emphasize the distinction between the German rulers and the German people, it seemed that Wilson was holding out hope to the latter and, accordingly, showing himself more farsighted than European statesman. More and more a difference in methods and aims be-

²² *Forward*, Aug. 11, 1917; *British Citizen and Empire Worker*, Sept. 1, 1917; *New Statesman*, Sept. 8, 1917.

²³ *New Statesman*, Sept. 1, 1917; *Forward*, Sept. 8, 1917; *Shop Assistant*, Sept. 8, 1917; *British Citizen and Empire Worker*, Sept. 1, 1917; *Clarion*, Sept. 7, 1917; *New Age*, Sept. 6, 1917; *Bradford Pioneer*, Sept. 7, 1917; *Labour Leader*, Sept. 6, 1917; *Call*, Sept. 6, 1917.

tween the Allies and the United States was apparent and, if the ideals of the war were to be attained, it would be by accepting the American lead.²⁴

The Socialist groups were in despair at the will to military victory, together with "his assumption of the disinterested and exalted motives of the one side and the unrelieved depravity of the other".²⁵ In view of the revelations of the secret treaties recently made public by the Russians, it seemed unaccountable that the President should manifest such convictions. Yet toward his ideals for a settlement, there was a more favorable attitude in these quarters than at any date since the "peace without victory" speech. The *Labour Leader* said editorially: "His statement of International ideals after the war is so clear, his dealing with the freedom of the seas so unfaltering, his appeal to the German people once freed from their militarist rulers to enter into a permanent peace in a free world so unmistakeably sincere that together they form a series of promises bound to come home to roost sooner or later."²⁶

The turn of the year witnessed the promulgation of a series of important peace programs. On December 28, 1917, the Labor party led off with its Memorandum on War Aims followed on January 5, 1918, by a pronouncement from Lloyd George. On January 8 President Wilson delivered the notable speech on the Fourteen Points, which drew an enthusiastic response from the entire Labor movement.²⁷ The first joint meeting of the Labor party executive, the Parliamentary party, and the new Political Committee of the Coöperators, symbolizing the spirit of unity, which during the past year had developed in the Labor movement, had been set for the next day. The opportunity was seized to issue a manifesto welcoming the policies enunciated by the American President. On January 23 the annual conference of the Labor party met at Nottingham. President Purdy's address stated that, if both sides would accept the principles laid down by the President, the way was clear for a world settlement that would contain no germs of future wars. The conference then passed a resolution, moved on behalf of the party executive by Arthur Henderson, to welcome "the statements as to War

²⁴ *Forward*, Dec. 22, 1917; *New Age*, Dec. 13, 1917.

²⁵ Snowden in the *Labour Leader*, Dec. 13, 1917.

²⁶ *Labour Leader*, Dec. 6, 1917; *Bradford Pioneer*, Dec. 7, 1917.

²⁷ The Fourteen Points were issued at this moment largely to maintain the enthusiasm of liberal and labor circles in Great Britain and France. Charles Seymour, *The Intimate Papers of Colonel House*, III. 317; Walter Lippmann, *Public Opinion* (New York, 1922), pp. 208 ff.

Aims made by the British prime minister and President Wilson, in so far as they are in harmony with the War Aims of the British Labour Movement and make for an honorable and Democratic Peace".²⁸ The conference was glad to mention their own program in the same breath with that of the President, for the two were felt to be substantially the same. The qualifying clause had reference more to the utterance of Lloyd George over which there was less enthusiasm.

In the Labor world Wilson was lauded as the spokesman of Labor ideals. Almost every section saw in the Fourteen Points the supreme expression of its own program. Those who believed with Asquith and Viscount Grey interpreted them as an amplification of their official statements. The protagonists of a league of nations perceived there the outlines of tremendous changes that through world organization would in the next few years transform society. On the question of supporting Russia it was generally held that President Wilson stood in most favorable contrast to Lloyd George, for he paid a tribute to Russian idealism and insisted that Russia should not be deserted. Equally significant was the contrast in the treatment of economic questions. Whereas Wilson clearly intended to undo the Paris resolutions, the prime minister kept silence. On the question of subject nationalities the former's "points" coincided closely with Labor's own statement of war aims. Finally, the majority applauded his methods. He neglected neither the weapon of the sword nor the power of the pen. Without abating the thoroughness of his military effort, President Wilson simultaneously continued and even intensified his diplomatic campaign. It was the policy Labor had long pressed on their own government. They were pleased with its success. An editor of *Forward* wrote: "In this conflict a speech by President Wilson counts for as much as a victory in the field."²⁹

Here and there was heard adverse comment on some details. From the right came a question as to the wisdom of abandoning the traditional British policy on the freedom of the seas. The president of the seamen, Havelock Wilson, voiced the opposition of his union to any concessions on this point.³⁰ From the other extreme came some doubts or dissents. Ramsay MacDonald feared that at the end of the war the

²⁸ *Report of the Seventeenth Annual Conference of the Labour Party* (Jan., 1918), pp. 23, 94, 105.

²⁹ *Forward*, Jan. 19, Feb. 9, 1918; *New Statesman*, Jan. 12, 1918; *New Age*, Jan. 17, Feb. 21, 1918; *Scottish Cooperator*, Jan. 18, 1918.

³⁰ *British Citizen and Empire Worker*, Jan. 12-19, 1918; *New Statesman*, Jan. 12, 1918.

President would find himself powerless in face of imperialism and old diplomacy and predicted some of the defects of the Treaty of Versailles. The I. L. P. group regretted the failure to include in the territorial scheme Egypt, Tripoli, and other Allied possessions recently acquired by force. Yet this wing was among the President's staunchest supporters on the points of reduction of armaments, freedom of the seas, abolition of secret diplomacy, denial of economic war, restoration of the devastated areas, and a league of nations. Never since the "peace without victory" speech, in fact, had the Socialists thought so highly of the President. They endorsed his speech as, in the main, in line with the ideas of their International.³¹

The prestige of the President was heightened by his reply of February 11 to Count Hertling and Count Czernin in which he laid down four principles that must underlie territorial settlements. With his insistence that provinces must not be the subject of barter and that any territorial readjustments must be for the benefit of the people concerned, he came far closer to the heart of Labor than did European statesmen. His words made a stronger appeal than the restatement of British aims by Asquith and presented a striking contrast to the stiff tone of the Supreme War Council at Versailles. Labor welcomed the moderation that encouraged discussion. In fact there was even less adverse criticism than of the Fourteen Points, partly because they were not of the detailed nature of the latter. When, on February 23, the Inter-Allied Labor and Socialist conference met in London, the four principles were included verbatim in their peace program.³²

In the spring of 1918 while the German drives were making great wedges in the Allied front, peace talk subsided before the necessity of repelling the military danger. In a series of speeches between April 6 and July 4 President Wilson stated that the Allies would be diverted by no insincere approaches on peace and that there must be "force without stint" and "force to the uttermost". Complete victory and the destruction of arbitrary power were necessary preliminaries to a settlement, he said in advancing the four propositions of his Independence Day speech.

The will to victory at the moment harmonized with the mood of the war party. "President Wilson tried sweet reasonableness and found

³¹ *Labour Leader*, Jan. 10-17, 1918; *Call*, Jan. 17, 1918.

³² *Labour Leader*, Feb. 14, 1918; *Bradford Pioneer*, Feb. 15, 1918; *New Statesman*, Feb. 16, 1918; *British Citizen and Empire Worker*, Feb. 16, 1918; Charles A. McCurdy, *A Clean Peace: the War Aims of British Labour*, (London, 1918).

it a dud", wrote Robert Blatchford in the *Clarion*.³³ At the same time the emphasis on force sent some of the other wing again into doubts and perplexities about the American leader, who had again apparently forgotten "peace without victory" and was speaking the "knock-out blow" language of Lloyd George and Winston Churchill. He preached open diplomacy, yet was utterly silent upon the secret treaties. Surely he was cognizant of them with their revelation of Allied annexationist aims, for although officially secret, they had been published and translated into most European languages. He sent a sympathetic message to Russia (March, 1918), yet did not prevent the seizure of Vladivostok by Japanese and other Allied forces. The infamous Paris Economic Resolutions still stood. In spite of the speeches about liberty, there appeared to be a lack of it in his own land, as the arrest of Eugene V. Debs testified. Instead of converting the Allied governments to his idealism, Wilson seemed to be borrowing their methods.³⁴ The great organized expressions of the Labor movement, however, continued to center their attention on furthering the President's peace program. Resolutions by the parliamentary committee of the Trade Union Congress and the executive committee of the Labor party praised his terms as the basis of a peace of reconciliation and congratulated Lloyd George for accepting them. The Inter-Allied Socialist and Labor Conference, which met at London, September 17-20, 1918, welcomed the Fourteen Points as a confirmation of their own program of the preceding February and called upon organized workers everywhere to exert pressure upon their respective governments to adopt them. It bears significant testimony to Labor altruism that, at a moment when the Allied counter offensive was putting a decidedly favorable aspect on the battlefield, this assembly, the most representative yet held, consistently demanded a peace based not upon the war map but upon Wilsonian idealism.³⁵

The last of the President's great speeches dealing generally with the issues of the war was delivered on September 27 at New York. After dwelling on the proposed league of nations, he laid down five principles of peace which again brought an enthusiastic response from British Labor. Said the *New Statesman*, "President Wilson's latest speech, admirable in its clarity, its high-mindedness, and its farsightedness,

³³ *Clarion*, May 24, 1918; "Rob Roy" in *Forward*, July 20, 1918.

³⁴ *Bradford Pioneer*, Apr. 19, May 31, July 19, Aug. 9, 1918; *Labour Leader*, Apr. 11, July 11, 1918; *Forward*, July 13, Aug. 17, 1918; *Socialist Review*, Oct.-Dec., 1918, p. 313; *Call*, Mar. 21, July 11, 1918.

³⁵ *Fiftieth Annual Report of the Trade Union Congress* (1918), p. 131; *Report of the Nineteenth Annual Conference of the Labour Party* (1919), pp. 3-10.

supplies just that sort of *credo* of our aims and policy which we need". From the I. L. P. wing came a chorus of approval. When Wilson said there must be no discrimination between those to whom the victors wished to be just and those to whom they did not wish to be just, that no special or separate interest of any group of nations could be served or economic combinations tolerated, and that all international agreements and treaties must be made known to the rest of the world, they could truthfully claim he was expressing ideas and advocating policies that had been their own since the war began. Evidently their voices had not been unheard and unheeded for he said, "Assemblies and associations of many kinds, made up of plain work-a-day people, have demanded almost every time that they have come together, and are still demanding that the leaders of their governments declare to them plainly what it is exactly that they were seeking in this war". So they were pleased when he called upon his associates to make it clear to the people of the Central Powers that they could have peace on terms that were just and fair to all parties concerned. They appreciated the use of the word "associated", which to their minds freed him from any taint of territorial and economic greed clinging to "Allies". Since President Wilson had uttered a formula that internationalists could accept, they were glad to see the leadership passing from the hands of their own statesmen into his.³⁶

As the summer passed, the military outcome became more and more certain. Austria weakened first and in September made overtures to President Wilson. Since the note was not a full acceptance of the Wilsonian program, the Labor press commented favorably upon the President's refusal to consider it a satisfactory basis for negotiations. On October 4 the new German government of Prince Max followed with an appeal for peace. As the *Clarion* pointed out, it was an eloquent admission of a mighty change in world politics that it was addressed to no neutral king or belligerent monarch, but to the President of the world's greatest republic. In the exchange of notes that followed, Wilson's handling of the situation was approved as "adroit", "superb", and "beyond praise". So, too, was his refusal to deal with "Prussianism" and his insistence upon the democratization of Germany. While the negotiations were in progress the parliamentary committee of the Trade Union Congress, which could now speak for five million organized workers, together with the national executive of the Labor party issued

³⁶ *New Statesman*, Oct. 5, 1918; *Labour Leader*, Oct. 3, 1918; *Bradford Pioneer*, Oct. 11, 25, 1918; *Shop Assistant*, Oct. 26, 1918; *New Age*, Oct. 3, 1918.

a joint statement endorsing the line taken by the American President. They pointedly called upon the Allied governments to declare publicly and collectively an unqualified acceptance of his conditions as the basis of negotiations for a general peace, a step the latter had as yet failed to take.³⁷

The Socialist left, too, watched closely Wilson's conduct of the negotiations. At the rejection of the first Austrian offer there was a moment of sickening disappointment. They feared he might prove ineffective at the very moment the longed-for peace was possible. The correspondence with Germany, however, quickly dispelled these doubts, so that even the brilliant but caustic Snowden characterized it as dignified and encouraging. To Wilson's diplomacy they attributed in large part the German military collapse and the democratic revolution which followed. Once more they interpreted the achievement as confirming the wisdom of their own program, namely, the simultaneous employment of diplomatic and military weapons. In the words of Ramsay MacDonald, Europe through the mouth of Woodrow Wilson was now listening to them. The prospect of peace rallied them to the ardent support of the only statesman who promised the realization of their ideals. Active assistance appeared all the more necessary as dangers beset the Wilsonian program from Allied quarters, where a belligerent press was excitedly opposing any armistice and peace in the spirit of the Fourteen Points. This jingoism was expressed in Labor and Socialist ranks only by H. M. Hyndman and the chauvinists of the British Workers' League, a small group by this time wholly out of sympathy with the Labor party and rapidly getting outside it. Another danger in America itself was seen in the attitude of Theodore Roosevelt and Senator Lodge toward the President. Imminent danger to the Fourteen Points and a league of nations, accordingly, brought the Labor left solidly into line with the majority in support of Wilson's leadership.³⁸

Victory was followed by a slump in idealism. Voices that had been stilled before the tide of opinion were now raised in behalf of one

³⁷ *Clarion*, Sept. 20–Oct. 18, 1918; *New Statesman*, Oct. 19–26, 1918; *New Age*, Sept. 26, Oct. 31, 1918; *Forward*, Oct. 26–Nov. 2, 1918; *Labour Leader*, Oct. 17, 1918. On September 3, 1918, Colonel House called to Wilson's attention the danger of loss of influence in Labor circles in France and England, if success became assured without the Allies formally committing themselves to the American program. Charles Seymour, *The Intimate Papers of Colonel House*, IV. 64–65.

³⁸ *Labour Leader*, Sept. 26–Oct. 31, 1918; *Bradford Pioneer*, Oct. 25–Nov. 15, 1918; *Forward*, Oct. 5–Nov. 2, 1918; *Shop Assistant*, Nov. 9–23, 1918; *Socialist Review*, Jan.–Mar., 1919, p. 2; *British Citizen and Empire Worker*, Oct. 19, 1918; *Clarion*, Oct. 25, 1918.

special interest or another. There were disquieting reports of schemes of territorial aggrandizement and of hostility to the proposed league of nations. In the United States the Congressional elections went against the President's party in spite of his appeal for support. In England Lloyd George won an election with a slogan wholly at variance with the Wilson spirit. These developments were followed with anxiety by Labor. Philip Snowden wrote, "There is nothing to hope from the statesmen of Great Britain, France and Italy. President Wilson may save the situation, if he can only be assured that there is sufficient democratic backing in the Allied countries to enable him to defy the influential forces which are working for a vindictive and selfish peace." So he and other Labor spokesmen called upon all who wished a peace of reconciliation to make their voices heard above the clamor of the jingoes and allow President Wilson to enter the peace conference with knowledge of the support of the peoples of the Allied countries.³⁹

Shortly after the armistice the rumor that President Wilson would visit Europe in person brought assurances of a hearty welcome, although a few doubts were expressed as to whether such a visit would strengthen or weaken his position. His actual appearance in France was the signal for a magnificent greeting from all the liberal and labor forces of Europe in which the British section joined whole-heartedly. His physical presence, it seemed, brought home as never before the strength that American idealism might exert at the peace conference. It was an assurance that, along with statesmen doubted or positively distrusted by Labor, there would be present one who would not permit that conference to be turned into a scramble for power and plunder. There might be feeble dissenting voices on either extreme, such as an openly expressed hope that a visit to the devastated areas might alter the Utopian ideas of the President, or an ill-timed sneer from the B. S. P. remnant that he had entered the war solely to save American investments, but the masses heartily approved a telegram of welcome sent by the Trade Union Congress and the Labor party. This greeting, signed by the secretaries of the two organizations, C. W. Bowerman and Arthur Henderson, respectively, voiced their admiration for Wilson's democratic statesmanship and endorsed specifically his program of a league of free nations, drastic reduction of armaments, and open diplomacy. When a few weeks later he paid a short visit to England

³⁹ Snowden in the *Labour Leader*, Dec. 19, 1918; *New Statesman*, Dec. 7-14, 1918; *Forward*, Oct. 26-Dec. 28, 1918; *Bradford Pioneer*, Nov. 22-Dec. 27, 1918; *New Age*, Oct. 31-Dec. 19, 1918; *Shop Assistant*, Dec. 28, 1918.

he was received both in the capital and in the provinces with an unparalleled spontaneity of enthusiasm in which Labor and Socialist elements were conspicuous. In London an address was presented to him on behalf of the Labor party and Trade Union Congress which reflected the whole-hearted admiration felt by the entire working class. When President Wilson left for Paris, accordingly, it was with the hopes of the British Labor movement centered on his ability to translate into the provisions of a treaty the high ideals they possessed in common.⁴⁰

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⁴⁰ *Report of the Nineteenth Annual Conference of the Labour Party* (1919), pp. 21-22; *New Statesman*, Aug. 17, 1918-Jan. 4, 1919; *New Age*, Nov. 28, 1918-Jan. 2, 1919; *Forward*, Dec. 21-28, 1918; *Bradford Pioneer*, Dec. 20, 1918; *Labour Leader*, Dec. 26, 1918; *Shop Assistant*, Jan. 4, 1919; *Clarion*, Dec. 20, 1918; *British Citizen and Empire Worker*, Dec. 28, 1918-Jan. 4, 1919; *Federationist*, Dec., 1918.

NOTES AND SUGGESTIONS

WORLD WAR ANALOGUES OF THE *TRENT* AFFAIR

It is widely believed that the War of 1812 established for the United States, and that the *Trent* affair confirmed for the world, the principle that the crew and passengers of a neutral vessel shall not be subject to seizure on the high seas by belligerent force. Somewhat disillusioning, therefore, is the information that between November, 1914, and March, 1917, fifty-six men were forcibly removed from twelve ships flying the American flag and sailing on the high seas between neutral ports. Most of those arrested were subjects of the Central Powers, but at least one of them had filed a declaration of his intention to become an American citizen, and another had actually become naturalized. The French offended most frequently, six times, but the British, although participating in only five of the seizures, were responsible for forty-four of the persons concerned. The Germans, lacking control of the sea, were involved not more than once. In two instances passengers alone were removed, but as a rule regularly employed members of crews were seized, a practice which appears to have left several vessels dangerously short-handed.

The first case of this kind occurred in November, 1914, when the French removed from an American ship in Caribbean waters a German, August Piepenbrink, who four years earlier had filed a declaration of his intention to become a citizen of the United States. He was held by the British authorities at Jamaica, and strong representations were subsequently made both to Great Britain and to France. Although the question of the prisoner's citizenship was argued, it is more important to note that Secretary Bryan took the position, which was consistently maintained throughout the neutrality period, that no person was subject to seizure from a neutral vessel on the high seas unless actually incorporated in the armed forces of the enemy and bound for a belligerent port. The incident was closed when the British and the French governments in common agreed to release Piepenbrink "as a friendly act, while reserving the question of principle involved . . .".¹

¹ To avoid unnecessary documentation, it will suffice to note that the diplomatic correspondence referring to the cases here discussed appears in *Papers relating to the Foreign Relations of the United States*, 1915 *Supplement*, pp. 744-755; 1916 *Supplement*, pp. 630-679; 1917 *Supplement*, pp. 526-532.

During December, 1915, a French cruiser, the *Descartes*, stopped four American ships near Porto Rico and boarding parties removed eight Germans and Austrians. This apparent beginning of a policy of wholesale seizure created a stir in the United States, and the owners of the vessels brought pressure to bear on the Department of State to safeguard their interests. With great vigor, therefore, Secretary Lansing reiterated the principles enunciated in the Piepenbrink case, emphasized the "very bad impression" created in the United States by these incidents, and insisted on the release of the prisoners.² The French government attempted to justify its action on the ground that the men, although not incorporated in the armed forces of the enemy, were plotters—an allegation which in no wise affected the position of the United States—and finally agreed to release the prisoners. But the Department of State, pressed by the shipowners, refused to be satisfied without an announcement of future policy. The French foreign office stated that it would have to consult England, and, hoping to remove any possible cause of friction, reported that the captain of the *Descartes* had been given orders to act with the greatest circumspection and not to stop any more American vessels.

The last French seizure, some six months later, took place in July, 1916, off the coast of Greece, when the second mate, of German birth but a naturalized citizen of the United States, was removed from an American ship, the *Frederick Luckenbach*. The French refused to recognize the officer's American citizenship on the ground that he had become naturalized after the outbreak of the war, but the Department of State, referring to the Piepenbrink case, was able to secure his release with a minimum of difficulty but without any definite commitment as to French policy.

In April, 1915, a German torpedo boat off the Swedish coast stopped an American vessel, the *Muskogee*, and a boarding party removed two seamen, both alleged Scandinavians. It developed, however, that the men were disguised German reservists, who apparently welcomed the opportunity to return home. The Department of State was thereupon content to drop the case by expressing its unwillingness to "acquiesce in a practice which might be regarded as lending assistance to deserting seamen . . .".

² In general, public opinion in the United States, as revealed by the newspapers, was quite indifferent to the practice of seizure. The activities of the *Descartes* aroused the most interest, but the *China* incident, the most serious of all, passed almost unnoticed, as was true of the other ten cases.

The United States encountered in England, the traditional defender of the advantages enjoyed by preponderant naval strength, a power prepared to uphold its practices with ability and vigor. It is surprising that a clash was postponed until the period between January, 1916, and March, 1917, when there occurred five different instances of seizure by British ships, three of them involving the members of crews and not departing in any essential point from the Piepenbrink case.³ The *Ausable*, however, was boarded while on its course and taken to an English port for the purpose of arresting a German subject; consequently, the Department of State regarded this seizure as having taken place at sea. The case of the *China*, the most important of all, requires more detailed treatment.

In February, 1916, a British cruiser off the Chinese coast stopped an American steamer, the *China*, and an armed force removed twenty-eight Germans, eight Austrians, and two Turks. Lansing became greatly concerned, demanded the release of the prisoners, and in the strongest terms insisted on an "apology for the disrespect shown the flag . . .". Even Ambassador Page acted with such energy in handling the affair that on two occasions he received expressions of approbation from his superior. Sir Edward Grey attempted to justify the action of the British captain on the ground that the prisoners were plotters, but reference to the designs of the Confederate agents on the *Trent* broke down this contention, and the foreign office agreed to release the thirty-eight men. A short time later Grey learned that some of the Germans were reservists seeking to return to their country, and he desired to be released from his promise with respect to fifteen of the prisoners. Lansing, however, was obdurate and insisted that only men actually incorporated in the armed forces of the enemy were subject to removal on the high seas without prize court action. The British foreign office was disposed to agree with this principle, but claimed that German reservists, under modern conditions of warfare, fell into the category of armed forces, an interpretation unacceptable to the United States.⁴ In the end, Grey was persuaded to release, with regrets, the thirty-eight men. Lansing, however, was eager to press for a settlement of the principles under dispute, and he was preparing to suggest arbitration when the United States declared war. Under these changed conditions the two powers, now allies, agreed

³ The three American ships were the *Henry S.*, the *Marcus L. Urann*, and the *Allaguash*.

⁴ The British, however, did not agree that the destination of those incorporated in the armed forces of the enemy must necessarily be a belligerent port before seizure could take place without prize court action.

to exercise reciprocally the practice to which the United States had objected as a neutral. All of the *China* prisoners, after prolonged negotiations, were released in Shanghai some nine months after their capture; but several other German subjects under discussion were still held by Great Britain when the United States entered the war.⁵

To summarize and conclude: It appears that the more pressing, but in principle no more important, neutral difficulties of the United States between 1914 and 1917 have obscured the fact that a number of persons were forcibly removed from American vessels on the high seas and that the principles of the *Trent* case have by no means received universal acceptance. Nor does this study include the one instance of the French boarding an American vessel and forcing three Germans to sign paroles not to serve in the armed forces of their country during the war, seizures from American ships while in port or on canals, of which there were several, or the numerous cases of search with intent to remove enemy aliens. Nor was the act of seizure in itself the only disagreeable feature of the incidents under review, for reports of the firing of projectile shots, the breaking open of boxes, the damaging of the ship's lining, the removal of the most needed officers, the separation of families, the financial loss resulting from delay and inconvenience, and discourteous and arbitrary treatment by boarding parties—all these features are unpleasantly reminiscent of pre-1812 days. The arrests were not only irritating but relatively valueless, for most of the men removed were regularly employed, except those on the *China*, and apparently had no intention of joining the belligerent armies or navies. In the case of the *China*, the British claimed only fifteen of the prisoners as incorporated in the armed forces of the enemy; but even if these men had been retained, the resulting advantages would have been more than offset by the danger of antagonizing public opinion in the United States. Nevertheless, in this one case at least, it would seem as if England acted with more show of reason than was evidenced in the other seizures, and her point that the whole subject should later be considered in the light of modern warfare appears

⁵ Both Ambassador Page and the editor of his letters give the erroneous impression that the *China* affair was of little consequence and that the British settled it with dispatch. Burton J. Hendrick, *The Life and Letters of Walter H. Page*, II. 155. The published documents show that more than thirty communications, several of them lengthy, were exchanged on this subject alone, and that the tone adopted by the United States was extremely vigorous. On May 5, 1916, Grey promised to release the men, but the ensuing delay was so annoying that the Department of State sent at least four telegrams to Page, specifically inquiring if the prisoners had been freed and, if not, why not. It is to be noted that not until six months later, partly owing to transportation difficulties, were the men returned to China.

to have been well taken. In general, both France and Great Britain were deferential to the demands of the United States, a nation whose friendship was eminently desirable, but they were much more willing to surrender individuals than principles. It is significant, however, that the United States, the only neutral with sufficient power to command a hearing, took vigorous steps to check a practice which threatened at one time to become general and which otherwise would doubtless have been exercised on a much larger scale.

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DOCUMENTS

Another Dispatch from the United States Consulate in New Orleans

THIS *Review* a few years ago (vols. XXXII., pp. 801-824; XXXIII., pp. 331-359) printed a group of documents under the title Despatches from the United States Consulate in New Orleans, 1801-1803, which were selected from the bound manuscript volume in the State Department Archives labeled "Consular Letters, New Orleans". The following letter, which comes from the same source, was not published in that series apparently because, through a mistake of the binder of the volume, the first four of the eight manuscript pages of the letter, containing the date, were placed after a letter of 1806, that is, in a section having nothing to do with the transfer. The last four pages, which appear in the proper place, would seem to a reader to be a fragment of little value. In view of its contents, now that the parts are brought together, the letter should be added to the published series, for it gives valuable information regarding the activities of the writer, Daniel Clark, American consul at New Orleans, in support of the interests of the United States there, and it contains a brief but pungent description of the transfer of Louisiana from Spain to France.

Cornell University.

ARTHUR P. WHITAKER.

New Orleans 3rd December 1803

Sir

I had the Honor of advising under date of the 29th ult^o.¹ that the Province was to be delivered up to the French Government on the 30th and that the preparations of the prefect² were in forwardness for the Occasion. I saw on the evening of that day with some anxiety the marked dislike of the militia and their officer, to do duty under him, and as he had refused the Service of the Spanish Soldiery as auxiliaries which had been handsomely offered him by the Spanish Commissioner, I determined on offering him assistance to preserve tranquility and good order in the City until the arrival of our Commissioners,³ and the forces under them which a thousand voices were hourly calling for. The friendly disposition of the Spanish officers and their willingness⁴ to Comply with their orders to deliver up the Country were manifested

¹ *Am. Hist. Rev.*, XXXIII. 353-355.

² The French prefect, Pierre Clément de Laussat.

³ Governor William Charles Cole Claiborne and General James Wilkinson, commissioners of the United States for taking possession of Louisiana.

⁴ First written "unwillingness" and then corrected by the partial erasure of the prefix.

at this time in the most unequivocal manner. on the morning of the 30th notice having been given to the Americans and those connected with them of my wish to assemble them they met accordingly and a Volunteer association⁵ was immediately formed Consisting of about 100 persons who agreed to do military duty under the American flag and officers of their own choice who were immediately nominated and authorised to make the Prefect the offer of their Service to maintain good order and which was gladly accepted. The appointment of Captain as it was a mark of the Confidence of my fellow Citizens being confirmed in me I accepted, and we have since then constantly done duty and the Grand Guard and the City Patroles have been furnished by the Company which now Consists of upwards of 180 of the most respectable people who all wear the American Cockade and in Case of necessity could be immediately doubled so that I flatter myself there is a power in my hands fully adequate to preserve peace and tranquility let who would endeavour to disturb it. The youth of the City and the respectable merchants are hourly joining the Company and adopt the Cockade so that I hope to have a Battallion of americans or of people heartily attached to the Cause of America organized before the arrival of the Commissioners to whom I forwarded an express at the moment possession was taken and the french Colors hoisted with a letter from the prefect and a few lines from myself to hasten their departure from fort Adams. The morning of the surrender of the Country was gloomy and an incessant torrent of rain poured down the whole day; notwithstanding, the Soldiers and militia were under arms and the principal part of the Inhabitants, male and female assembled in the great square; at 12 o'clk the spanish Commissioners attended by the Cabildo having met at the Town house, the prefect and his suit were introduced, possession was delivered, the spanish flag hauled down and the french substituted in its room under a discharge of Cannon. Except the noise of the Cannon not a sound was heard, the most gloomy silence prevailed and nothing could induce the numerous spectators to express the least Joy or give any sign of satisfaction on the Occasion.⁶ a general fear and hatred of the french Government prevail, and our own is looked to as the point of salvation for the Country. this enthusiasm is rapidly increasing and has seized even to the [*sic*] who already appear with black Cockades and in a week I flatter myself there will be found very few young or old,—without this outward sign of attachment to our Cause which I spare no pains to promote and distribute Cockades to all who apply for them—the very officers of the Spanish Government aid me by their

⁵ The information here given in regard to the "association" is one of the most interesting features of the letter. The subject is discussed in *Am. Hist. Rev.*, XXXIII. 355-356. The *Pittsburgh Tree of Liberty* of Jan. 21, 1804, published an extract of a letter from a commercial house at New Orleans to another at New York, dated Dec. 6, 1803, in which it was stated among other things that this volunteer body was formed on the recommendation of the American consul (Clark) and consisted of one hundred and fifty Americans and fifty "inhabitants", who turned out in rotation every forty-eight hours to guard the public buildings and forts and preserve order until the arrival of the United States army.

⁶ Intendant Morales's report of the transfer corroborates Clark on this point. So universal was the detestation of the new régime in Louisiana, he said, that the French authorities had to employ one of their own priests in order to obtain the substitution of the French republic for the king of Spain in the prayers (*Archivo General de Indias, Audiencia de Santo Domingo, legajo 2599. Morales to Soler, Dec. 5, 1803, no. 260*).

endeavours, the proclamation of the Prefect has added great weight and it will be the fault of those appointed to govern us if the enthusiasm is not carried to the highest pitch and the people rendered perfectly Content and happy under the new change of Governm^t. On the day of the surrender every thing passed in the most perfect harmony, the spanish Guards were withdrawn, the late Col^o. of militia having resigned, was replaced by another, the Cabildo was suppressed ⁷—a municipality installed in its place and a few other officers appointed to preserve the peace. The City funds have since been delivered up. the prefects fete on the following day was splendid, all ranks and nations, was numerously attended and universal satisfaction was given, the Conduct of the spanish authorities has been frank and Generous and there is every reason to hope that matters will remain quiet and the people in good temper till permanent regulations are made to ensure their future tranquility. I enclose you Copies of the proclamations, the arretes of the prefect and municipality that you may see and judge of the nature of their proceedings. The Spanish Sloop of War now here is preparing for sea and in a few days will return to the Havana with the remnant of the Battallion of Mexico now here and the other spanish Troops will be embarked as shortly after as possible. The Marquis de Casa Calvo is preparing a fete ⁸ to rival that of the Prefect and this interchange of Civilities, politeness and attention will be a further step to support good order—In imitation of our Conduct the prefect has now set to work to organise a Company of french ⁹ to guard his standard on the day of delivery to us, but he will not succeed in making it either as respectable or numerous as that of the American Volunteers among whom are enrolled many of those whom he at first Counted on, and if I would permit those enrolled in the City militia to join me I should leave him almost without a single soldier. To quiet those who are already enrolled and who apply to me I tell them that in a few days they will have an opportunity of shewing their attachment to the U. S. by their zeal in executing the orders of the Commissioners, that in the meantime their services is as acceptable and useful as militia men under the orders of the officers appointed by the prefect as if they served immediately under myself, that we have all the same object in view, to preserve good order and that a very short time will unite us under the same standard never to be afterwards disunited. This produces the desired effect and the day we take possession will be a day of Joy and exultation, it will not pass in Gloomy silence like that which ushered in the Authority of the prefect but the General Joy will manifest itself ¹⁰ by the most heartfelt and unbounded acclamations—and when the american flag is hoisted the sound of the Cannon announcing

⁷ Laussat's highly unfavorable opinion of the *cabildo* can be found in Marc de Villiers du Terrage, *Les Dernières Années de la Louisiane Française* (Paris, n. d.), p. 418. The *cabildo* was a kind of town council, but it was not in any sense a popular body, since its members were nominated by the governor and appointed by the king. Claiborne wrote Madison on Dec. 27, 1803, that he was "not a little indebted" to Laussat for suppressing it. Dunbar Rowland, ed., *Official Letter Books of W. C. C. Claiborne* (Jackson, 1917), I. 315.

⁸ This is probably the fête which was given by Casa Calvo on Dec. 8 and is said to have cost him 15,000 francs. Villiers du Terrage, *op. cit.*, p. 427.

⁹ Cf. *ibid.*, p. 420.

¹⁰ At this point occurs the break between the two sections of the manuscript mentioned in the introductory note.

the Event will be drowned in the louder cries of our exulting people. I long for and anticipate the pleasure all will feel on the occasion, and can with truth assure you that not a dozen individuals in the City wish for the Continuance of the Prefects authority. Would it had never existed as he will doubtless take from hence Occasion to impress on the people the Certainty of a support from France to all who at any time may espouse her Cause and procure them satisfaction for wrongs done them in Consequence. this he has in agitation and tho' clothed only with a little brief authority he intends reinstating the Commandant of Atacapas in his Post who was suspended for an excess of Zeal for his Cause and by an arreté has declared another innocent, who was accused and imprisoned for a murder said to be Committed by him in the same district.¹¹ This immediate reparation of wrong and over hasty zeal on his part to declare a supposed Criminal innocent without waiting for legal forms and interfering in a matter wholly foreign to his authority, viz. the Judiciary, Can only be meant to keep alive a spirit of party and increase it. He shewed me yesterday the arreté he meant to issue respecting the supposed assassin, and as it was Conceived in terms too harsh and severe must offend the spanish Authorities by declaring innocent a man whom they all looked on as guilty, and by accusing them of wilfully persecuting innocence merely for an attachment to france, might be productive of harm, I prevailed on him to alter and modify it. Still the nature of the thing must give well grounded reason to complain of his violence and party attachments. I take the liberty to recommend that Govenor Claiborne be instructed privately not to employ those who having received favors and pay from the spanish Government were at the same time zealously promoting the Cause of France and crying out against us—these men he will chiefly find employed in filling up the tempory offices created by the prefect, and tho' myself a decided Enemy to persecution and careless who may fill any office or hold any employment yet I think it would be incompatible with the public weal to continue the few mortal enemies we have in the Country in place who are mostly as ignorant and incapable as they are now fawning adulators of the prefect and would be dangerous if they had the power and opportunity to be so. these characters are well known and the Public voice will call for their removal. in this particular I shall intrude my opinion on the Governor unsolicited and hope he may perceive the necessity of paying some attention to it. notwithstanding my known attachment to the U. States, the decisive language I held when delays and difficulties were supposed to be contemplated, when the honor or Interests of the U. S. in any manner attacked and the more decisive measures it was as well known I should resort to if necessary, I have still the pleasure to inform you that I have been singularly fortunate in preserving the friendship and Confidence of all the spanish officers, also Consulted and trusted at the same time by the prefect and enjoy a high share of popularity and authority with the public, I shall endeavour to avail myself of these favorable Circumstances and strengthen then the growing attachment of the people to

¹¹ The commandant in question was Louis DeBlanc, and the accused man Louis St. Julien. The person whom he was charged with murdering was his wife. The merits of the case were soon obscured by the partisan controversy which it aroused. See James A. Robertson, *Louisiana under the Rule of Spain, France and the United States* (Cleveland, 1911), II. 45, 238-239, and *Official Letter Books of W. C. C. Claiborne*, index, under "St. Julien".

the U. States; to encrease the fervor of their enthusiasm and Convince them that under their government they can alone expect protection safety and happiness; my task is now nearly ended, and if my endeavours to be useful on all occasions, if that attachment to the U. S. which I may boldly flatter myself to have created nursed, matured and finally impressed on the people of the Country, if the Zeal I have shewn in the defence and protection of individuals and national Interests, the dangers I have exposed myself to, suffice it to procure me your approbation—I shall think myself amply rewarded by it, and remain very

Respectfully Sir,
your very ob^t Servant
Daniel Clark

P. S. 6th December—All remains quiet and harmony prevails among us—at the moment of closing this letter a Courier has arrived from Washington with Dispatches from the Spanish ambassador to the Governor and marquis.¹² he left it on the 2^d nov. the Contents of these dispatches have not yet transpired. I have just come from visiting the marquis who has given orders that the troops of the U. S. whether by land or water be permitted to pass the spanish forts at Baton Rouge. We are in anxious expectation of the arrival of our Commissioners but entertain no fear of any thing disagreeable occurring until they get here.

Honble. James Madison

A Secret Military Document, 1825

THE report¹ submitted to the Duke of Wellington on the state of the defenses of Canada in 1825 is a valuable document in the study of the history of the relations between the United States and Canada, although the contents of the official copies are not so important as the omissions. In 1825 a commission consisting of Major General Sir James Carmichael Smyth, president, Lieutenant Colonel Sir George Hoste, and Captain John B. Harris was sent by the British war department to investigate the state of defenses of the British North American provinces. That this was considered an important undertaking is shown by the personnel of the commission, two of whom are subjects of biographies in the *Dictionary of National Biography*.²

¹² That is, dispatches from the Marqués de Casa Irujo, Spanish minister to the United States, to Governor Salcedo and the Marqués de Casa Calvo, Spain's commissioners for effecting the transfer of Louisiana to France.

¹ *Copy of a Report to His Grace The Duke of Wellington Master General of His Majesty's Ordnance &c &c &c Relative to His Majesty's North American Provinces by a commission of which M. General Sir James Carmichael Smyth was president, Lieut. Colonel Sir George Hoste, Captain Harris members.* (London?, 1825.)

² Sir James Carmichael Smyth, Baronet, 1779–1838, had served with the royal engineers at the Cape of Good Hope in 1795 and on the Continent. He was at the battles of Quatre Bras and Waterloo. After his Canadian mission he was sent to Ireland in 1828 on a similar one. In 1829 he was appointed governor of the Bahama islands and in 1833, of

The commissioners wrote their report in Halifax on September 9, 1825, and the war department ordered that twenty-five copies be lithographed. However, it was thought inadvisable to lithograph a lengthy paragraph of the report, the fifty-second, "on the vulnerable points of America". The manuscript bears the note, "N. B. His Grace [the Duke of Wellington, Master General of the Ordnance] desires that the 52nd. Paragraph is not to be lithographed — Four copies to be made". The four copies evidently referred to the fifty-second paragraph only. Lithographed copies of the report, which do not contain this paragraph, are preserved in the Boston Public Library, the Public Archives of Canada, and the War Office, while the Bodleian Library, the British Museum, the New York Public Library, the Burton Historical Collection, and the Library of Congress do not appear to possess copies. However, the copies in the Public Reference Library, Toronto, and in the Public Record Office, among the papers of Sir James Carmichael Smyth, have as inserts copies of the fifty-second paragraph. The original manuscript of the report, from which the fifty-second paragraph given below is copied, is preserved in the Public Record Office.³

The commissioners left Liverpool on April 17, 1825, and sailed on an American packet to New York, where they arrived on May 17. They shortly afterwards set out for Quebec and arrived on May 25. Sir Peregrine Maitland was in command of the forces in both Upper and Lower Canada during the absence of Lord Dalhousie.

After studying the situation the commissioners came to the conclusion that the frontier might be said to stretch for nearly nine hundred miles from "where the 45th Degree of North Latitude intersects the range of mountains between the District of Maine in the United States

British Guiana. *D. N. B.*, LIII. 185-187. *A list of the officers of the Army and Royal Marines* (London, 1825), pp. 18, 59, 333. Sir James Carmichael, ed., *Precis of the Wars in Canada, from 1755 to the Treaty of Ghent in 1814, with Military and Political Reflections, by the late Maj.-Gen. Sir James Carmichael Smyth* (London, 1862).

Sir George Charles Hoste, 1786-1845, royal engineers, lieut. col. 1825, colonel 1841. Present at the battles of Quatre Bras and Waterloo and accompanied Smyth to Ireland in 1828. *D. N. B.*, supp. vol. II., pp. 447-448. *Army List*, 1825, pp. 44, 334.

John Brenchley Harris, captain royal engineers, Jan. 10, 1812, on temporary half pay Apr. 1, 1817. *Army List*, 1825, p. 339.

³ The writer is indebted to Dr. George Locke, chief librarian, and Miss Frances Staton, reference librarian, of the Toronto Public Library for drawing his attention to this document, and to Mr. C. T. Flower, secretary of the Public Record Office for supplying information regarding the manuscript and enabling him to have the fifty-second paragraph photostated. He is also indebted to the officials of all the above mentioned institutions for information regarding the report.

The Public Record Office reference to the report is W. O. 55-1551-7.

and Lower Canada as far as that end of the River St. Clair next to Lake Huron". They did not feel that the shores of Lake Huron, with the exception of some country about Penetanguishene harbor, could be considered a military frontier as that country was in a state of nature and covered with impenetrable forests. But they added that notwithstanding the length of frontier, local circumstances were such that American armies had only three lines of operation which they could follow with success against the Canadas. These lines of possible operation were described in great detail but it will be necessary only to note them here.

The first and most important route was that via Lake Champlain, which was, according to the commissioners, also the weakest and most vulnerable point in Canada. The second line of attack would be upon Kingston from Lake Ontario. The commissioners felt that there was little danger of attack in the 170 miles between Kingston and Montreal, but the completion of the proposed Rideau canal would make defense of the second section vital. The movement of American troops in the Lake Ontario area would, they felt, be made in the following ways: "The capture of Kingston, the destruction of the dockyard and naval establishment at that important point. The taking possession of York, which being the seat of government, and the depot for all papers and archives of the province would cause considerable confusion. And lastly a cooperation in the invasion of the Niagara frontier." The third center of operations would be on Lake Erie. This would involve the landing by the enemy on Turkey Point to attack the rear of the forces defending the Niagara peninsula. Amherstburg would also be a center of attack in the third line of operations although the commissioners felt that only a predatory attack needed to be feared in this sector as they said, "An invasion of the country with a view to permanent conquest would we respectfully submit, hardly be made at so remote a part".

The report describes nothing in Upper and Lower Canada except the military defenses and canals. No word is said regarding the social or political condition of the colonies. The commissioners were entirely impersonal and did not even tell how they traveled. The only remarks which might be construed as political are those describing York (later Toronto) which had been made the center of government of Upper Canada in 1797, regarding which the commissioners wrote, "We cannot avoid expressing upon the subject of York our regret, that it should ever have been selected for the capital of Upper Canada. It offers no advantages that we are aware of either of a civil, military or commercial nature. There never can be any water communication to it, . . . Kingston appears

to us to be the natural capital." The commissioners believed that the commercial importance of Kingston would be increased by the completion of the Rideau canal and by making Kingston the capital the civil, naval, and military authorities would be collected together.⁴ From a military point of view, however, the report is all that could be expected and undoubtedly gives details of the defenses of Canada in 1825, not preserved in any other place.

The most interesting feature of the report is that the possibility of war between the United States and the British American provinces was considered, by the commissioners, to be very real and that they thought a plan of attack on the United States might well be drawn up. That the Duke of Wellington considered the proposals important enough to warrant their omission from the published report adds to their interest.

The lines of attack on the United States proposed by the commissioners were contained in the fifty-second paragraph which is here given in full.

*Department of Public Records
and Archives of Ontario.*

JAMES J. TALMAN.

52nd.

Vulnerable points of America.

In reflecting upon the general defence of His Majesty's North American Provinces, it occurred to us, we venture to observe to Your Grace, that on such an extensive Frontier as is presented by the United States, opposite to Canada, New Brunswick and Nova Scotia—the Enemy must have vulnerable points against which Offensive Operations might be undertaken with every prospect of success—and which, of course, would materially contribute to the defence and security of British North America. As we landed at New York—we had an opportunity of travelling to Canada by what must be, we humbly conceive, the principal line of Operations from the United States against Canada/ namely, by Lake Champlain and the Richelieu River. A British Army pushed forward by this Line/ and advanced from the head of Lake Champlain to Waterford, the point of junction of the Mohawk with the North River—, would effectually prevent all invasion of Canada—es it would be in command of the point from whence all the water communications emanate, and the different lines of operation commence. As such a movement would probably, however, be reckoned too enterprising and hazardous, it struck us that the Communication between Waterford and Lake Erie, conducted not far from our frontier, and parallel to it for so many miles, must at any rate, be liable to interruption. With a view to ascertain this fact we deemed it advisable, and which measure we hope will meet with Your Grace's approbation, that Captain Harris⁵ should travel along this Canal, on his

⁴ *Report*, p. 45.

⁵ As the commissioners, when they were at Detroit, discovered that it would take them six weeks to visit Drummond Island and return, they determined to send Captain Harris to study Amherstburg and Drummond Island while they returned to Halifax. Paragraph 25.

return from Drummond Island⁶—and join the Commission at Halifax, instead of returning to Quebec. From his report it appears that there are three points where there would be very little difficulty in sufficiently destroying the Works of the Canal so as to render it unavailable for the purposes of forwarding any Military Stores to Lake Erie or to Lake Ontario, for several Campaigns at least. Within 30 miles of Buffalo, the mouth of the Canal on Lake Erie; at a place called Lockport, there are 5 double Locks, close to each other, required to rise 60 feet in a space of 130 yards. These Locks are so close to the British Frontier, that there could not be much difficulty in sending over a sufficient detachment to destroy them. Thirty Miles from Lockport—in continuing along the course of the Canal, an embankment has been made across a deep chasm of 75 feet in height—by 100 yards in length, to retain the Canal. This embankment could, of course, very easily be cut through. Twenty Miles on further,—and situated 7 miles from the Mouth of the Genessee River, (which empties itself into Lake Ontario) the Canal is conducted across that River upon an Aequeduct of 10 arches—at a Town called Rochester. The ground is represented as being very strong at Rochester—and such as could be advantageously held by a Corps, until the necessary Operations for blowing up one or two of the Arches—Could be arranged.

We have thought it our duty, with the utmost deference, to submit our Ideas and the result of our enquiries and observations to Your Grace: at the same time, we are convinced Your Grace will deem any operations undertaken merely with a view to injure the Canal, and to throw delays and difficulties, rather than altogether to impede, the Enemy's communications and means of assembling his Military Stores, but a petty mode of Warfare, and not suited to the character and dignity of His Majesty's Arms. Should, however, the advance to Waterford be reckoned too rash, and be disapproved of as risking too much without an adequate object, we are afraid, from the peculiar geographical situation of the United States, that no military Operation whatever, can be undertaken from His Majesty's North American Provinces (by land) or that any blow can be struck from thence which would be sensibly felt by the Government of the United States.

We take the liberty of observing to Your Grace that many of the States of the Union have a small direct taxation, and a Revenue arising from the Sale of Lands, and other sources. The General Government of America has, however, no mode of raising money but by the Custom House Duties upon its Imports and Exports. If, therefore, this external commerce can be effectually and completely suspended, the Government from want of means to pay the expenses of a War, it appears to us, must be compelled to make Peace upon the Terms imposed by that Power which can control its navigation.

We submit, with the utmost deference, that the means are in our power, completely to blockade New York, and a very considerable extent of the American Coast—by taking possession of Long Island and of Staten Island, and thus not only to deprive the American Government of all revenue arising from the commerce of so important a place; but to prevent any Ships

⁶ Drummond Island, a British military post in the northern part of Lake Huron, is in Michigan, having been granted in June, 1822, to the United States by the commission appointed under article VI. of the Treaty of Ghent. However, the British troops did not leave until Nov. 16, 1828. Michigan Pioneer and Historical Society, *Historical Collections* (Lansing, 1895), XXIII. 306, 543.

REVIEWS OF BOOKS

GENERAL BOOKS

Historical Scholarship in America: Needs and Opportunities. A Report by the Committee of the American Historical Association on the Planning of Research. (New York: Ray Long and Richard Smith. 1932. Pp. viii, 146. \$1.50.)

THIS survey of *Historical Scholarship in America* comes opportunely as the American Historical Association approaches the close of its first half-century. It is a good time for taking account of stock, for open-minded reconsideration of the work that needs to be done, in the light of present day perspectives. What may reasonably be expected of American historians in the years to come? What, in particular, can the American Historical Association, as the chief corporate agency of the profession as a whole, contribute toward the realization of such legitimate expectations? These are large questions, certain to be approached from different points of view; on many aspects of the inquiry varying modes of approach will lead to equally different conclusions. The present report is doubtless intended to initiate general discussion, to serve, so to speak, as *agenda* for consideration in committee of the whole. The findings and recommendations of the planning committee are the result of extended discussion, both in the main committee and in subcommittees fairly representative of particular fields of study and different schools of thought. It is, therefore, much to be desired that the report should be widely read and its conclusions carefully weighed.

Recent discussion of the status and functions of the Association has been stimulated by certain developments of the last ten years. One factor has been the effort of the Association to secure additional financial support, whether through an increase in its permanent endowment, or through temporary grants for specific purposes. Though handicapped by adverse conditions, this effort has attained a moderate degree of success and enlarged the funds available for publication and research. It thus becomes more than ever the duty of the Association to consider how its resources can be used most effectively. A second factor has been the establishment within the last decade of organizations for the promotion of research in certain groups of subjects, notably the Social Science Research Council and the American Council of Learned Societies. With the setting up of both these institutions and the formulation of their programs, the Historical Association has been actively concerned. Like the other coöperating societies, the Association has naturally been forced to reconsider the differentiation of its own special func-

tions, and the best means of relating its own activities to those of other groups of workers. So it came about quite naturally that the present inquiry was authorized by the Council of the Association with the financial support of the two research councils.

Recognizing at the outset the difficulty of formulating recommendations equally applicable to Ancient history on the one side and American history on the other, the committee has relied largely upon the work of five "Conferences of Specialists", one each for Ancient, Medieval, and Modern history, and two for American history. The separate statements formulated by each of these groups appear in part II. of the published report. In part I., the general committee summarizes those conclusions in which a substantial consensus of opinion was reached, with due recognition also of special situations in the various fields. A suggestive retrospect of "history in America", contributed by Dr. Jameson, supplies a suitable background for the discussion of present problems and future policies.

The specific proposals offered by the committee cover so wide a range as to preclude adequate discussion here of more than a few points. With respect to the materials of research, the committee proposes a considerable expansion of the type of service already undertaken or contemplated by research agencies—more systematic planning for the development of library collections, both printed and manuscript; large-scale surveys for the location and listing of manuscripts; the publication of documentary sources. Under this head also come useful suggestions for the extension and improvement of historical museums. Another group of proposals has to do with the problem of guiding research, especially that of younger scholars, so as to promote studies of hitherto neglected fields as against too close cropping of other areas. A third closely related problem taken up by the committee is that of supplying suitable means of publication for the results of such researches.

A fourth set of proposals is concerned with more effective organization and procedure in existing agencies for the promotion of historical research. As far as the American Historical Association is involved, the two major recommendations under this head are the establishment of a permanent secretariat and the making of regular provision for specialist conferences similar to those which have collaborated in the present inquiry. The first of these measures has already been accepted in principle by the Association, and though the financing of such an advance is obviously difficult at this time, an important first step has already been taken. Responding to a request from the Association, the Carnegie Corporation has recently voted an appropriation of \$12,000 which, unlike the greater part of the new endowment, is available for overhead service. The present grant is made without commitments for the future; but judicious use of this new fund should enable the Association to demonstrate the value of a full time secretariat, not only or chiefly for the management of routine business, but primarily in the in-

terest of effective leadership both in the discussion of policies and in the devising of ways and means for carrying them into effect.

When all is said and done, no accumulation of material, or formulation of research programs, or improvement in administration will in itself insure a high quality of historical scholarship. That depends in the last resort on the type of men who can be attracted to the profession, and the guidance which the universities are able to give them. So the committee has properly emphasized the problem of recruiting capable men, providing them with more adequate training, and enabling them to work with greater freedom from routine demands. With most of what is said under this head the reviewer is in substantial accord with the committee. To one more or less familiar with the output of graduate schools in this country, it is a question whether almost the first step to be taken is not one of elimination. A major problem in any university is that of giving the student, outside the classroom as well as in it, a sufficiently bracing intellectual atmosphere; and the solution of that problem is complicated by the large number of persons in our graduate schools for whom academic life is unduly concerned with accumulating "credits" toward degrees. The promising young scholar too often finds a prevailingly low level of intellectual interest among his fellows, and loses much of the stimulus to which he is fairly entitled.

The need for more exacting tests in the selection of research students seems now even more urgent than in the early years of graduate instruction in this country. The kind of history which we now look for demands more of the scholar than was required in the days when history seemed so largely a matter of past politics. We are now increasingly impressed with the need of cross-fertilization, not only as between history and the other sciences usually called "social", but between the "social sciences" as a whole and such other studies, old and new, as literature, the fine arts, philosophy, psychology, and anthropology. This broadening of the field of interest is much to be desired; but if our "new history" is to win respect from trained workers in other fields by something more than a merely superficial interpretation of their results, our future historians must bring to their task a richer equipment and a more exacting discipline than most of us can claim. With due recognition of what may, indeed must, be done in the more mechanical operations of research, a new orientation such as we are now attempting seems to demand more than ordinary stress on the training of young scholars for intellectual leadership. A reconsideration of present requirements from this point of view is very much needed.

In discussing the obstacles to research by members of university faculties, and the responsibilities of administrative officers in this respect, something may well be said about the tendency of many teachers, even without administrative pressure, to dissipate their energies by attempting too many formal courses, by multiplying textbooks which do not always represent significant

contributions either in material or in new points of view, and in other ways which will occur to anyone familiar with the academic scene. These things, for which college presidents and deans are by no means wholly responsible, have their part in diverting energies which might otherwise be applied to improving the quality of instruction, as well as to research.

Columbia University.

EVARTS B. GREENE.

The Idea of Progress: an Inquiry into its Origin and Growth. By J. B. BURY, Regius Professor of Modern History, and Fellow of King's College, in the University of Cambridge. Introduction by Charles A. Beard. (New York: Macmillan Company. 1932. Pp. xl, 357. \$2.50.)

IN 1920 I was almost as much astonished as delighted to learn that J. B. Bury had published a book entitled, *The Idea of Progress*. Delighted, because the subject was one that interested me greatly; astonished, because it was apparently so remote from the studies on which Bury's fame rested. At that time I was familiar with his *Greece*, having taught it (—it, rather than Greek history, of which otherwise I knew very little) to reluctant students. I was familiar with his two books on the Roman empire, and with the admirable introduction to his edition of Gibbon's *Decline and Fall*. And one sweltering, July day I had listened to a lecture which he delivered at the University of Kansas on Early Britain—a lecture which was, I thought, almost as dry as the day—was humid. From all of which I got the impression that J. B. Bury was a most learned scholar whose statements of fact could invariably be relied upon, but whose "interpretation" of the facts would invariably be confined to the clarification of the immediate factual situation. In what professional historians condescendingly referred to as the "philosophy of history" I imagined him to be not at all interested, and might readily have classed him with those typical British scholars whom Taine had in mind when he wrote: "I am disgusted with everybody, dear Edouard. Germans make intolerable hypotheses, Frenchmen make none, Englishmen do not even suspect that one could make any" (*Life and Letters*, II. 35). Can it be, I thought, that J. B. Bury has written an entire book about an "idea", and not only about an idea, but about so interesting an idea as "progress"? I immediately got the book, found it of absorbing interest, found that it "illuminated" history as few history books ever do.

How it illuminated history I tried to express in a review of the book (*Am. Hist. Rev.*, XXVI. 77-78) to which I have little to add, since the text here printed is identical with that of the original edition. But to the present text is prefixed a valuable introduction by Charles A. Beard, who points out that Bury, in his cautious and discriminating way, had all his life been deeply interested in the significance of history as a whole, had reflected much and

written something on the "philosophy of history". It seems that all the time he was writing those terribly sound factual histories of Greece and Rome he was also making himself familiar with the general history of human ideas, and particularly with the ideas men have had about the significance of their own history. "I cannot imagine", he wrote as early as 1904, "the slightest theoretical importance of a collection of facts or sequence of facts, unless they mean something in terms of reason, unless we can hope to determine their vital connection in the whole system of reality." If one should object to this that Bury's own works appear to be concerned solely with determining, within narrowly chosen periods, exactly what happened, his answer would be: "the possibility of an interpretation of history as a movement of reason, disclosing itself in the nature of terrestrial circumstances, seems the only hypothesis on which the postulate of 'history for its own sake' can be justified as valid." So far, no doubt, this is just good Hegelian doctrine, qualified by Ranke's criticism that Hegel expounded the Idea realizing itself in the actual without taking the trouble to find out what the actual actually was; like Ranke, Bury fully appreciated the necessity of determining what actually happened before speculating on the great Idea that caused it to happen. Ranke found the key to the Idea in the "individuality of nations", each nation being, as one may say, drafted at the appropriate moment to make its peculiar contribution to the realization of the Idea. But Bury differed from Hegel and Ranke in this, that he refused to deify the Idea: for him the Idea was not a transcendent force dwelling in the shadowy world of absolute Being; it was no more than a pattern imposed on the factual reality by the minds of actual men. For Bury, therefore, the philosophy of history was to be sought in what Droysen called the "self-consciousness of humanity"; it would be humanity's consciousness of itself viewed in the perspective of the centuries. Such a philosophy of history would obviously not be something fixed, something predetermined, to which events must conform; it would be something always changing, an idea always being reshaped and enriched by experience.

Apparently what attracted Bury to this line of thought was the sharp contrast between the classical idea of finality and the modern idea of evolution. The Greeks were sufficiently aware of "how strange it is that man should be what he is and should have wrought all that he has wrought"; but the classical world scarcely went beyond that to ask whether man might accomplish much more in the future. It remained for the modern mind to "escape from the illusion of finality", and to conceive of an endless "evolution" toward something better. Bury's book is the systematic exposition of the stages by which the modern mind substituted for the classical notion of endlessly recurring cycles, and for the Christian notion of a heavenly felicity after death, the idea of a progressive perfecting of man's life on earth. Mr. Beard, in his introduction, having made it clear that Bury's work was the result of

a lifetime of reading and reflection, raises the interesting question of the relation of the idea of progress to the rapid changes and improvements brought about by technology. It is obviously easier to believe in progress in an age of rapid changes in the conditions of life than it would be in an age of stable conditions. What then will become of the dogma of progress when and if, as may very well be, the possibilities of invention and technological advance are exhausted? Bury did not raise this question; but he was far too acute not to realize that the fundamental premise of any doctrine of progress carries an implication that the doctrine itself will give way to something different. "Will not that process of change, for which Progress is the optimistic name, compel 'Progress', too, to fall from the commanding position in which it is now, with apparent security, enthroned?" The price which we must pay for the pleasure of "escaping from the illusion of finality" is the recognition that nothing, not even the realization that we have escaped from that illusion, is likely to endure. All philosophies based on the absolute and the unconditioned no doubt have their defects; but all philosophies based upon the universal relativity of things have their defects also; one of the chief being that they must be prepared, at the appropriate moment, to commit hara-kiri in deference to the ceaseless transformation which they postulate.

Cornell University.

CARL BECKER.

BOOKS OF ANCIENT AND MEDIEVAL HISTORY

Storia della Magna Grecia. Per EMANUELE CIACERI, Professore Ordinario della Reale Università di Napoli. Volume III., *Decadenza e Fine degli Stati Italiani: Romanizzazione del Mezzogiorno d'Italia dalla Metà del IV Sec. A. C. al Sec. VI D. C.* (Rome: Albrighi, Segati and Company. 1932. Pp. xii, 351. 40 l.)

PROFESSOR CIACERI here brings to conclusion his great work on the Greek cities of southern Italy. The first and second volumes deal with their foundation and the period of their greatest splendor. The third volume for the most part records the story of their decline. In fact from the end of the third century B.C. to the sixth century of the Christian era only a few scattered references to these cities can be found, and for this period their history is almost a complete blank.

With the decline of Sybaris and Croton, Tarentum became the most important city of Magna Graecia. The clash with Rome was caused by an incident for which Ciaceri has no satisfactory explanation. In the days when Roman senators had little interest in trade, a treaty had been drawn up between the two states, and in one of the provisions Rome agreed to refrain from entering Tarentine waters with her ships. It is significant that she violated the treaty by sending a fleet to coast along the shores of southern

Italy soon after the democratic party had won its long struggle with the landowning aristocracy of the senate. The Tarentines attacked the fleet and war was declared. The motive of the Romans in breaking the treaty has never been clearly understood. It seems to me that we must seek an explanation in the character of the triumphant democracy of that period. The senatorial aristocracy consisted of landed proprietors whose wealth and influence had suffered from the depreciation of their holdings in Latium. The expansion of Rome in central Italy had however brought a considerable development of trade and commerce from which undoubtedly the plebeians had been the first to profit. We may conjecture that this party, eager for new and larger fields of exploitation, led the movement to challenge the treaty with Tarentum and to open the way to bring the profitable trade with the East into their own hands. Evidence for the commercial interests of the Romans at the time may be found in the currency reforms of 269 and the development of a fleet. A few years later when the menace of Carthaginian domination of the Straits of Messina arose, the senate took no action in the matter, but yielded its prerogative to the centuriate assembly, possibly under pressure exerted by the commercial interests of the democracy which realized more fully what Carthaginian control of this vital passage would mean to Roman trade. Finally the development of Adriatic piracy after the first Punic war is a clear indication of the importance of eastern trade at this time, and the firm measures taken by Rome to suppress Teuta show that the commercial interests were a prime consideration in Roman statecraft.

There is little doubt that, during the first Punic war, the cities of Magna Graecia furnished the bulk of the ships and marines for the Roman fleet. Unfortunately Roman historiography did not begin until after the Hannibalic war, when the annalists, animated by a spirit of hostility towards the Greek cities because of their defection to the invader, wilfully concealed their loyal services in the earlier struggle, and concocted the romantic myth of the construction of a purely Roman fleet and the fantastic tale of training a hundred thousand marines on rowing machines along the shore. Even the invention of the *corvus*, which Ciaceri ascribes to a Roman engineer, should be credited to the Greeks. The Syracusans used this device against the Athenians during the Peloponnesian war, and it must have been familiar to the naval engineers of Tarentum.

In the second Punic war Ciaceri ascribes the defection of Tarentum and other cities of southern Italy partly to internal dissensions and treachery, and partly to the fact that the foundation of a Roman colony at Brundisium and the development of this port had seriously injured the older trade routes to the south. But the alliance of Hannibal with Philip of Macedon, with Syracuse, and with the Greek cities of Magna Graecia seems to indicate that some wider and more fundamental principles of world politics were involved.

Greeks and Carthaginians, bitter commercial rivals, had never before made common cause. I would suggest that the Greeks, fully conscious of the dangerous new rivalry of Rome, sought by alliance with Carthage not so much to destroy Rome as to restore Carthage to a position where she could meet Rome on more equal terms. Possibly the Greek statesmen reasoned that if Hannibal won, as they had every right to expect after Cannae and the defection of Capua, the Greek cities would emerge from the struggle in the enviable position of neutral states lying between the great powers of the Western Mediterranean which would be more or less evenly balanced. They could thus secure favorable commercial terms from one or the other at any time as the price of their support. Be this as it may, it is easy after the event to see how badly the Greeks miscalculated the strength of the contestants. By casting in their lot with Hannibal, they earned the bitter resentment of the victors and, after the war was ended, confiscation of territory and loss of trade connections in Italy brought about a swift decline. The Greek element in southern Italy either died out or was merged by fusion with the neighboring indigenous tribes. The process of Latinization was accelerated by the planting of Roman colonies, but economic conditions were such that even this attempt to rehabilitate the ancient cities failed. In the imperial age the glory of Magna Graecia survived only as a literary tradition.

While Magna Graecia virtually disappears from the pages of history after the Hannibalic war it had already fulfilled an important part in the cultural development of Mediterranean civilization. When the West was slowly emerging from barbarism, the Greek colonies acted as interpreters and disseminators of the culture of the East. Ciaceri devotes the last two chapters of this volume to a sane and judicious study of the cultural development of southern Italy and its influence on Rome. In art, in religion, in law, and even in military theory and political institutions the Etruscans and later the Romans themselves learned much from Magna Graecia. Above all after the first Punic war there came to Rome from southern Italy Livius Andronicus, Naevius, Ennius, and Pacuvius to whom belong the honor and glory of laying the first and firm foundations of Roman literature.

Princeton University.

ALLAN CHESTER JOHNSON.

Christianity in Celtic Lands: a History of the Churches of the Celts, their Origin, their Development, Influence, and Mutual Relations.

By DOM LOUIS GOUGAUD, Benedictine Monk of St. Michael's Abbey, Farnborough. Translated from the Author's MS. by Maud Joynt. (London: Sheed and Ward. 1932. Pp. lxii, 458. 18s.)

IN his latest work the learned Benedictine has given us a synthesis of our present knowledge in his favorite field, the early history of the Church among the Celts. It is based on his *Chrétientés Celtiques* (Paris, 1911), but "revised,

corrected and considerably enlarged, with such improvements as the incessant researches and ripening process of the intervening twenty years have suggested" (p. vii). It is in reality a repertory of everything of value published before 1932.

The introduction contains a select bibliography (chronological and by subjects) of the works useful to the student (and others whose "faulty or quite uncritical" nature is pointed out), the works published since 1911 taking more than one-fourth of the space. This extensive bibliography (thirty-seven pages) is supplemented by copious references in footnotes to additional works and, especially, contributions to periodicals.

The treatment of so large a subject—though the period studied reaches to the twelfth century only—necessarily involves many unsolved questions. The author discusses these with a becoming caution, content to await the presentation of competent evidence after further research.

To the consideration of the questions involved, Dom Gougaud brings not only the instinct and the training of the historian, but, let it be said frankly, the indispensable qualification of an understanding of the spirit of Catholicism. For it must be admitted that the significance of the differences between the customs of Celtic Christians and those of other parts of the Church has been too much exaggerated. These differences were due to their stern "orthodoxy" in maintaining old customs which were at first only local or which had been changed on the Continent, particularly at Rome. The fundamental cause was their ignorance of authoritative pronouncements from Rome, and this, of course, was due to interruptions of communication between Rome and the far western fringe of Europe by the Nordic incursions. Yet it is noteworthy that they showed no rebellious spirit in matters of doctrine: they looked to the See of Peter for guidance in that, but they understood better than some modern writers the difference between doctrine and discipline. Catholics are amused at the lack of humor which interprets divergences of usage as to the shape of the tonsure or the date of Easter as evidence of schism or even of heresy! The author makes it quite clear that the Celtic churches were steadfast in maintaining communion with Rome both as to doctrine and as to orders, and in matters of discipline were willing to conform to Roman practice when they were shown that such practice had papal authority behind it. Even St. Columbanus's remonstrances with the pope over the Easter-date question (when he finally recognized there was a real question of obedience to authority at issue) give proof, strong as they are, that he realized that he must in loyalty give up his own view if the pope persisted in his!

At times one wishes that Dom Gougaud had gone into greater detail, or had cited opinions only referred to. But as a work of popularization the size of the book would have passed reasonable limits. The copious and detailed

references to fundamental sources and to discussions of particular problems provide a safe guide for those who wish to investigate further in this direction. Along with the first volume of Dr. Kenney's *Sources for the Early History of Ireland*, this volume takes first rank as a convenient and authoritative summary of our knowledge of the field treated.

The Catholic University of America.

JAMES A. GEARY.

Dahlmann-Waitz, Quellenkunde der Deutschen Geschichte. Auflage 9.

Herausgegeben von HERMANN HAERING. *Registerband.* In Verbindung mit M. KELLER und S. SALLOCH, bearbeitet von HERMANN HAERING. (Leipzig: K. F. Koehler. 1931, 1932. Pp. 992; 993-1202. 60 M.)

MANY will recall the resonant article in the *Historische Zeitschrift* (CXXXVI., 1927) in which Dr. Haering discussed the principles which must be followed in a new edition of this standard bibliography of German history. By an act of poetic justice Dr. Haering has been chosen editor of the new *D.-W.*, and, assisted by a staff of fifty-four collaborators, after two and a half years of labor, the ninth edition has now appeared. The original edition of this first of modern historical bibliographies was published something more than a century ago; it was presently followed by *Pirenne* for Belgium, *Monod* for France, and *Barth* for Switzerland, who used it as a model but undertook corrections and improvements in structure and arrangement from which the later, especially the last, editions of the German bibliography greatly profited. No one will maintain that the present general plan of *D.-W.* is subject to serious criticism. It is a model of thoughtful planning and conscientious labor such as the world of scholars has a right to expect from the best traditions of German scholarship. *D.-W.* has adapted itself admirably to the expansive tendency of modern historical study. As each new edition has added new fields of interest, so the present edition adds a whole new section on "Auslanddeutschtum" and another on German colonial history. Notwithstanding the more extensive use of small type, abbreviations, and the accumulation of titles under a single number, the volume has increased its size by a third and the index appears as a separate volume. Yet the editor informs us of the heroic efforts he has made to prevent the new *D.-W.* from degenerating into a mere library catalogue, that he did not desire to compete with the *Jahresberichte der Deutschen Geschichte*, that he strove to have the work remain a handbook for students, in the best sense a *bibliographie raisonnée*, indispensable for those who do not live near large libraries where other more exhaustive bibliographies are available. The principle of *Pirenne's* bibliography, that it is intended neither for the bibliographer nor for the specialist but for the student, has become the guiding principle of the new *D.-W.*, although the specialist will continuously marvel at

the wealth of material to be found here. Not the least valuable innovation of the present edition is the constant reference to such larger bibliographies as the *Jahresberichte*, R. Beßmann's *Quellenkunde zur Sächsischen Geschichte*, G. Wolf's *Quellenkunde zur Reformationsgeschichte*, to mention only a few, which makes the new *D.-W.* indispensable even to the specialist. The generosity with which cross references have been added everywhere enhances the usefulness of the new edition. There is a reasonable presumption that the search for a particular title, if it proves fruitless under one head, will eventually be successful under another, although this often requires a great deal of paging.

Yet the new *D.-W.* is not without certain grave defects which, it must be added, the editor is the first to admit in his preface. His effort to prevent the size of the volume from becoming unhandy has induced him to employ a system of abbreviations and symbols often so cryptic that they will be a source of constant difficulty to the non-German user. Not all the collaborators are equally competent masters of their respective fields, for, receiving no remuneration for their arduous labor, they had to be chosen where they could be found. Not all contributors have strictly adhered to the principle of the *bibliographie raisonnée*. The sections on the economic and constitutional history of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries leave much to be desired. On some sections one cannot entirely dispense with the old edition. Due to the want of means in certain local German libraries some contributors have not had the necessary bibliographical helps at their disposal. The editor intended to improve on the old edition by adding the year of publication in all references to periodical literature, but in almost one-fourth of the references this could not be done. The British and American student will find that the French literature which has appeared since 1912 is more adequately represented than works in the English language. In some cases this may have been due to the inability of German libraries to purchase the books but in others it is due to undeniable shortcomings on the part of the contributor. The author of the section on the political history from 1740 to 1786, for example, is clearly unfamiliar with the not inconsiderable English literature on this period. It goes without saying that it is impossible in a work of this sort to satisfy all wishes. Yet there are certain inclusions and omissions which are difficult to pardon.

The reviewer may be permitted to select at random a few instances from his own list of corrections. In the section on the history of the Christian religion, 3442, one misses fundamental studies like Karl Adam, *Wesen des Katholizismus* (1925), F. Heiler, *Der Katholizismus* (1923); under 3349 the four volumes of G. G. Coulton's *Five Centuries of Religion* are not mentioned; nor, under 8786, is Luigi Nina, *Le Finanze Pontificie nel Medio Evo* (1929). While G. Wolf's section on the Reformation is as admirable as his

larger bibliography, he has omitted, under 10,089, Ernst Correll, *Das Schweizerische Täufermennonitentum* (1925), one of the best of all studies on the Anabaptists. Under 14,923, Priebatsch, *Geschichte des Preussischen Offizierkorps* (1920), is omitted; likewise, under 12,523, E. Dette, *Friedrich der Grosse und sein Heer* (1914). While the authors have devoted no little space to the war-time propaganda of the Entente there is nothing on the German patriotic and propaganda societies such as the "Alldeutscher Verband", the "Ostmark Verein", the "Wehrverein", and "Jung Deutschland", to mention only a few of them.

Ohio State University.

WALTER L. DORN.

Die Weltstellung des Deutschen Reiches, 911-1047. Von ALEXANDER CARTELLIERI, Professor an der Universität Jena. (Munich: R. Oldenbourg. 1932. Pp. xxxviii, 513. 30 M.)

WITH this volume Professor Cartellieri offers a rather ponderous continuation of his *Weltgeschichte als Machtgeschichte*, 382-911, *Die Zeit der Reichsgründungen* (1927). His forty-seven short chapters he divides into three books: *Der Aufstieg des Deutschen Reiches* (911-967), *Das Deutsch-Römische Kaisertum* (967-1002), and *Der Höhepunkt des Deutschen Kaisertums* (1002-1047). But these titles, as well as the titles of some of the chapters, are not to be taken too seriously as an accurate indication of the contents. For Cartellieri's concern is not with German history alone; nor again, does his method of treatment lead up to the climax that the titles of his three books would lead us to expect. He is concerned essentially with *Weltgeschichte*, with Germany in a world of European and Mediterranean powers, Byzantium, Islam, the Slav world, Italy, the Papacy, France, England, the Scandinavian north; and certainly his history of such a world is too like a mere chronicle of events to leave any impression of a line of development.

Indeed, Cartellieri is writing history of a strictly limited sort, such as we no longer expect in a general work that promises so much in the title. It is good old-fashioned political and military history, and that without relief for it lacks even the embellishments of rhetoric. The entire omission of all other material by an author who insists that power must be based on a *gesunde Wirtschaft, gerechte Verfassung, und freies Geistesleben*, is therefore a serious objection to a work that aims to demonstrate the predominance of the German empire during this period. Cartellieri himself must have felt this lack when he apologizes for dismissing the Ottonian ecclesiastical policy with a few sentences. The objection becomes the more serious when we remember that it is not simply German history that the author is narrating. The interrelations of his world were not simply political and military. By choosing largely to ignore all other factors, he presents a one-sided picture, and makes no use of the opportunity to instruct by comparison.

What unity the book has, comes through chronology. One goes forward if at all only by groups of years. A chapter on Lorraine between East and West (911-925), contains indeed the history of Lorraine during these years but it contains also the political history of Germany, France, Italy, the Papacy, and Byzantium for the same period; a chapter on Henry II. and the Reform of the Church (1015-1024), while it does include a statement of Henry's attempts at reform, deals with the history of France, Italy, and Germany. There are certainly advantages in this concatenation in time which is likely to bring together facts not usually associated in one's mind, but to move from Lemnos to Armenia and to Lorraine in less than a page does not necessarily make history more intelligible than a topical arrangement. Chronology is hardly the answer to the problem of how to write world history.

One must not, however, detract from the general utility of the work. Although it is not a book that the present reviewer could read continuously with any great satisfaction, it is a sound reference work for military and political events. It is recent in its scholarship. It is accurate. Cartellieri is careful to locate every place mentioned and to give dates as precisely as possible. Its constant use of analogy is generally helpful, although one might object, for example, to finding in Leo of Vercelli a modest forerunner of Dante and in Boleslav Chabri a forerunner of Panslavism. There is not a map in the book. We can, however, hardly fail to be grateful to Professor Cartellieri for giving us a condensed and up-to-date *Jahrbuch* going so far beyond the confines of German history.

The University of Nebraska.

• EDGAR N. JOHNSON.

Feudal Monarchy in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem, 1100 to 1291.

By JOHN L. LA MONTE, Assistant Professor of History, the University of Cincinnati. [Monographs of the Mediaeval Academy of America, no. 4.] (Cambridge: Mediaeval Academy of America. 1932. Pp. xxviii, 293. \$4.50.)

THIS excellent survey of feudal government in the crusading states supplants Dodu's *Institutions Monarchiques dans le Royaume Latin de Jérusalem*, published in 1894. Since that date there has been much laboring in and around this field and the author of the present work has reaped the harvest. But his book excels even more in critical scholarship. After all, little has been added to the sources which were available to Dodu. He had most of the volumes of the *Académie des Inscriptions*. Even Röhrich's *Regesta*, which had appeared in 1893, is listed in his bibliography, and the author is not justified in saying, as he does in his preface, that "Dodu was particularly unfortunate in having written before Röhrich's *Regesta Regni Hierosolimitani* had appeared". Evidently chronicles seemed more important to Dodu than charters, and an examination of his footnotes will show that he did not use the literary sources very critically.

The first part of Dr. La Monte's book is a constitutional history of the Latin kingdom. While the monarchy was elective, it was stronger than when it became hereditary. The elective kings, of course, ruled while the kingdom was on the make, whereas the hereditary monarchs reigned when the Latin state was declining, and were not persons of dominating personality. Feudalism on this new far flung frontier of Christendom did not yield to either absolute or constitutional monarchy as it did in the West. It preserved the decentralization of twelfth century France. The *Haute Court* remained a court of the vassals, and did not become the instrument of centralized monarchical government. Although Amaury was strong enough to obtain the *Assise sur la ligece*, a sort of Salisbury Oath which made all arrière vassals liegemen of the king, his successors were too weak and had too many troubles to make this law effective.

The failure of the monarchy to master the feudal lords is explained more fully in book II., which describes the administrative machinery of the kingdom. Perhaps the most original contribution in this section is the description of the chancery. Book III. describes the relations of the kings with Tripoli, Antioch, and Edessa, with the Church and the military orders, and with the Italian communes or commercial colonies. With Saracen enemies without, and independent lords, churchmen, Templars, Hospitallers, and merchants within their kingdom, it is not difficult to see why the kings of Jerusalem did not go far on the road to absolutism.

Whether the feudalism described in the *Assises* was more pure and perfect than that which existed in the West is immaterial. As Professor McIlwain says, "The word 'feudalism' is little more than a rough generalization or formula under which we try to include such conditions, economic, social, and governmental, as are found to be common and uniform . . . in that obscure period of rapid change between the dismembering of the Carolingian Empire and the growth of national states" (*Cam. Med. Hist.*, VII. 664). The transplanted feudalism of the Latin kingdom was conservative. It clung tenaciously to its original principles. Perhaps for that very reason, as the author suggests, it held its ground longer in the East than centralized monarchy could have done.

The method of treatment leads to some repetition, but few mistakes have been noted. Von Seybel, which appears twice, is evidently a misprint for Von Sybel, and Rohard and Renaud were chamberlains not marshals as stated on page 122. Several appendixes, including lists of officials to which the author has made additions, are very helpful. It is gratifying to know that the author is at work on a sequel, a study of the kingdom of Cyprus.

The University of Texas.

F. DUNCALF.

The Correspondence of Pope Gregory VII.: Selected Letters from the Registrum. Translated with an Introduction by EPHRAIM EMERTON,

Winn Professor of Ecclesiastical History (Emeritus), Harvard University. [Records of Civilization: Sources and Studies, Volume XIV., edited under the Auspices of the Department of History, Columbia University, Austin P. Evans, General Editor.] (New York: Columbia University Press. 1932. Pp. xxxi, 212. \$3.50.)

PROFESSOR EMERTON spreads before the reader a panorama of papal activities during the pontificate of Gregory VII. The letters chosen are more than merely representative; they contain almost the entire substance of the great pope's correspondence. Of course no selection can completely satisfy every one. Some of the letters sent to the frontiers of Christendom might be replaced with others concerning the affairs of France. The three letters in the second book which deal with the offenses of the bishop of Poitiers illustrate delightfully the difficulties which faced the church reformers. Should we not also have had Gregory's decision in the ancient feud which grew out of the claims of both Tours and Dol to metropolitan authority over the churches of Brittany? On the whole, however, no one of the omissions is important enough to detract seriously from the value of the collection.

Only one major criticism may be made of Professor Emerton's work. In a collection of source material intended primarily for the use of non-specialists, the introduction and notes are of fundamental importance. While Professor Emerton's introduction is in general satisfactory, one is rather surprised to find no discussion of the Cluniac reform movement as part of the background for Gregory's ideals. There are very few notes, and these are not always fortunate. For instance, the editor has, apparently at least, missed the point of the letter to the monks of Romans-sur-Isère which provided for the transformation of this house into an establishment of regular canons. Professor Emerton does not pretend "to comment exhaustively upon each individual letter", but brief notes explaining the significance of the various epistles would be of immense assistance to students. As it stands this book can hope to achieve its full utility only when used in connection with the lectures of a medievalist.

It would, in my opinion, be difficult to overpraise Professor Emerton's mastery of the art of translation. He has transferred the meaning, spirit, and mode of expression of the Latin originals into simple and distinguished English. Unfortunately he did not always take sufficient note of the context. *Rebus vero sancti Petri quae in Anglia colliguntur* obviously refers to special papal revenues such as Peter's pence and cannot be rendered accurately as "the property of St. Peter in England". Again, in the letter to Beatrice and Matilda about Bishop Werner of Strasbourg *venit* cannot mean "is now on his way hither" as the context makes clear that the bishop had already left Rome on his homeward journey.

The translator of these letters has performed a very real service for teachers and students of medieval history. Expressing his own doubts as to the

value of his work, Professor Emerton mentions the common criticism of translations of source material: "those who really care about the matter can and will use the original, and others need not be considered at all". In an age when innumerable college teachers, to say nothing of graduate and undergraduate students, have a most meager, if any, command of Latin, this argument has little weight. The future effectiveness of the teaching of medieval history depends very largely on the production of more books of this variety.

The Johns Hopkins University.

SIDNEY PAINTER.

Economic and Social History of Europe in the Later Middle Ages, 1300-1530. By JAMES WESTFALL THOMPSON, Professor of Medieval History in the University of Chicago. [The Century Historical Series.] (New York: Century Company. 1931. Pp. viii, 545. \$5.00.)

THIS volume is a continuation of the author's *Economic and Social History of the Middle Ages, 300-1300*, which appeared in 1928 (*Amer. Hist. Rev.*, XXXIV. 299). It is designed for the student and general reader who has only English, and does not compete with or replace such careful and judicious manuals as R. Köttschke's *Allgemeine Wirtschaftsgeschichte des Mittelalters* (Jena, 1924) and J. Kulischer's *Allgemeine Wirtschaftsgeschichte des Mittelalters und der Neuzeit*, volume I. (Munich and Berlin, 1928), to which the specialist will go.

The new volume serves well the purpose for which it was designed. The non-specialist will gain from it, by and large, a vivid impression of the economic and social activity, resourcefulness, and versatility of the later medieval period. He will, it must be confessed, be puzzled, rather frequently, by contradictory statements, which, however, usually relate to subordinate matters. These contradictions should have been caught in the preparation of the index. For example: annates were a year's income (p. 12), a half-year's income (p. 289); the Flanders galley route was opened in 1317 (p. 90), in 1314 (p. 246); under Charles V. French industry and commerce made great progress (p. 117), and *contra* (p. 123); France established permanent domination over Genoa in 1396 (p. 243), lost it in 1400 (p. 303), and held it 1396 to 1409 (p. 321); and the failure of the alum supply was in large part responsible for the ultimate decay of the Florentine cloth industry (p. 281), and a new and wonderful find in the papal lands furnished a superior quality and a large quantity of it (pp. 297-298). A few verbal incongruities appear in the same statement, as "The Boro-Russians, or Prussians, . . . were a people of Lettish race, kindred to the Finns. . . ." "They were fisher folk and fur-hunters and, like all Slavs, bee-keepers" (p. 180).

Another type of slip (three cases were noticed in perusing the book) results from inadequate quotation. Vinogradoff's summary of Page's idea that the Black Death "set the stone rolling in the direction of commutation" is im-

plicitly given as Vinogradoff's own view, and Vinogradoff's criticism (*i.e.*, that the Black Death did not originate this movement) of Page's idea appears as Thompson's correction of Vinogradoff (p. 394, and note).

The author has a few whimsies (what author has not?). He thinks that good manners declined ominously during the period under the influence of the bourgeoisie—he tells us so thrice (pp. 9, 384, 497-498)—that the bourgeois, as *parvenus*, were not interested in building churches, and, being without traditions of higher culture, preferred flamboyant architecture (p. 493). His opinion that there was “a rebellion of the business mind of the later Middle Ages against the Church's prohibition of interest” (p. 499) is rather hard, this reviewer thinks, on Thomas Aquinas and the canon lawyers, who showed the men of business how to secure interest legitimately.

*These adverse criticisms, it should be borne in mind, relate to details and *obiter dicta*, and should not be taken as representing an adverse judgment on the learned author's achievement.

The University of Wisconsin.

G. C. SELLERY.

BOOKS OF MODERN EUROPEAN HISTORY

The Economic History of England. By E. LIPSON, M.A., Reader in Economic History in the University of Oxford. Volumes II. and III., *The Age of Mercantilism.* (London: A. and C. Black; New York: Macmillan Company. 1931. Pp. viii, 464; v, 542. \$5.00 each.)

THE fact that Mr. Lipson's first volume is now in its fifth edition is ample proof of its value to economic and other historians. It is more than a reviewer's *cliché* to say that we have waited eagerly for the appearance of its successors. Now that the two new volumes are before us, we must admire a courage that remained undaunted in the face of the mountain of printed sources waiting to be examined. Even where a subject has been “monographed” Mr. Lipson has not been satisfied with secondary sources or with other men's interpretations. Instead, he has insisted on ploughing a long lonely furrow; he has endeavored to keep clear of the views and theories of others, and it is perhaps no accident that the name of Sombart does not appear in the bibliography.

The field covered ranges from the Elizabethan Age to the Industrial Revolution; it is called the Age of Mercantilism, though we have to wait till volume III. before we are told what mercantilism is. Onto that field the author steps without first taking a walk round it; he does not believe in the ancient practice of “beating the bounds”; or, to vary the metaphor, he divides his terrain into six fields, cuts each up into long narrow strips, and describes each strip. I wish his brilliant, bird's-eye survey of the period, published in the *Journal of Economic and Business History* for August, 1932, could be

printed as an introduction to the second edition, to guide the student through the jungle of special studies of which the work consists.

The book is divided into six long chapters. First comes a picture of the position and organization of five textile trades, coal, and iron. Then under the heading of foreign trade we have descriptions of ten trading companies, but no study of the colonizing companies. Agriculture comes next, and is given only ninety-four pages (including the Corn Market and the Corn Laws)—surely an inadequate quota. Volume III. opens with 200 pages on the Mercantile System, including the protection of industry, money, and the balance of trade—this is a long survey of the pamphlet literature—the navigation and colonial systems, and Ireland. The next two hundred pages contain an omnibus chapter on capital and finance, wages, technical training, unemployment, the standardization of industry, the craft guilds, patents of monopoly, and trade unionism. The final chapter deals with the relief of the poor.

On nearly every topic Mr. Lipson brings forth new facts; but in addition certain general theses stand out which will seem new to many readers. Perhaps the chief is that of the continuity of economic development. Time after time, in different keys, the theme rings out that "there is no hiatus in economic development, but always a constant tide of progress and change, in which the old is blended almost imperceptibly with the new". There is no sudden ending of the Middle Ages, no sudden outbreak of the Industrial Revolution. The features which we regard as essentially mediæval live on with surprising vitality, and the characteristics of the modern age—capitalism in all its forms, congregation of workers in large groups under the employer's roof, integration, combinations, labor problems, business fluctuations, credit, etc.—have been developing for three centuries, at least, and were part of the economic order long before the textile inventions or the steam engine. "The Antiquity of Modernity" might almost serve as a subtitle for the book. The developments of the nineteenth century were new in degree, not in kind. In his eagerness to establish this thesis Mr. Lipson possibly goes too far; he watches so keenly for signs of the new order that perhaps he underestimates the tenacity with which old forms and ideas survived over large areas of industry, agriculture, and trade.

One closes the book wondering what is the content of economic history. All through the study we are looking at types of organization, at problems of state control, at controversies. Every chapter in volume III. has the word "state" or "national" in the first sentence, and the biggest sections in the book drag us back endlessly to ordinances, statutes, or the outpourings of controversialists. But never do we hear the blow of a hammer, the clatter of a shuttle, the "Gee up!" of a ploughman, the bang of a desk lid, or the flapping of canvas over a becalmed ship. Is economic history only, or even, mainly, a branch of political or constitutional history, a study of economic

physiology? Ashley was frank when he called his little red book *The Economic Organisation of England*. For that side of the story the documents are available, and Mr. Lipson has done a splendid job on them. But it tends to be impersonal, bloodless. I talked a few weeks ago with a man who had worked a hand spinning-jenny and a handloom in the days before the Crimean War, and from him I caught glimpses of life, labor, and leisure such as never got into the pages of a royal commission report. The trouble lies in the lack of material; the rescue of business records may help us to catch glimpses of the past two or three centuries; but for the rest the breath is not available by which the dry bones can be made to live.

The University of Minnesota.

HERBERT HEATON.

The Works of Samuel de Champlain. Reprinted, translated, and annotated under the General Editorship of H. P. BIGGAR. Volume IV., 1608-1620. Translated by H. H. LANGTON, the French Text collated by J. HOME CAMERON. [Publications of the Champlain Society.] (Toronto: the Society. 1932. Pp. xvi, 373.)

THIS volume IV. of the works of Samuel de Champlain is to be followed by two more to complete the definitive edition that includes all of Champlain's works with, for the first time, a complete English translation. The book consists of books III. and IV. that conclude part 1 of *Les Voyages de la Nouvelle France Occidentale* published in 1632, and covers material in earlier volumes: the founding of Quebec, the ill-advised sharing in war on the Iroquois, the abortive effort to reach the northern sea (Hudson Bay) overland, the winter among the Hurons. In addition, Champlain tells of his efforts in France down to 1620 to organize the fur trade so as to avoid ruinous competition. These efforts resulted later in Richelieu's Company of New France of which the story will come in the later volume. Champlain died in 1635, three years after the publication of *Les Voyages*. It shows the interest concerning Canada of the time that this large book was reissued in 1640. By that time the Jesuit *Relations* on Canada were being widely read in religious circles in France.

Since Champlain was not a master of literary French, Mr. Langton is to be congratulated on his translation into correct and lucid English of many rather clumsy phrases. He has allowed himself a certain liberty, for, as he notes, the critic has the French text before him and can judge for himself. This French text has proved troublesome. For the edition of 1632 Champlain supplemented his own early books by using the *Relation* of the Jesuit father Biard (1616). Naturally he was not a skilled editor. He corrected some errors, repeated others, and in some places either he or the printer made nonsense of the text. The present rendering based on careful examination of all existing editions may be regarded as final.

The native whom Champlain describes had not yet been corrupted by the

fire water and other evils from Europe. He was what conditions in America had made him, with qualities, some admirable, some the reverse. A school of anthropologists in our time is disposed to challenge the opinion that primitive man is warlike and brutal. Yet Champlain found the natives incessantly at war, incredibly cruel in waging it, and haunted by fears that caused fertile areas to remain untenanted and drove some tribes to a hard struggle for life in the remote and unfriendly wilderness. On the other hand the tribes visited by Champlain were uniformly friendly to the stranger, no matter what warfare existed among themselves. In Corsica to-day the vendetta does not affect the outsider.

Though Champlain crossed the Atlantic many times in small ships and in discomfort lasting for long weeks, he is so much at home on the sea that he dismisses a long voyage in a sentence. His whole heart is in the work of discovery. He says of his abortive effort, with all but incredible toil, to reach the northern sea, that he forgot all his past hardships at a moment when he had what proved an elusive gleam of success. He furnishes a glimpse of the intimidation in trade that is copied by the modern "racketeer". When traders at La Rochelle refused to accept restrictions on the trade to Canada imposed by royal authority, the mayor supported them by warning those who urged obedience that they "would run the risk of being drowned in the river harbour" and that he might not "be able to amend matters", which no doubt means inability to punish the evil doers.

The University of Toronto.

GEORGE M. WRONG.

Correspondentie van Willem III. en van Hans Willem Bentinck, eersten Graaf van Portland. Uitgegeven door Dr. N. JAPIKSE. Gedeelte II., Uit Engelsche en Nederlandsche Archieven en Bibliotheken. Deel I. (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff. 1932. Pp. xxii, 659.)

THE historian-archivist who undertakes to present the correspondence of William III., stadholder and king, and that of his most trusted friend and servant, runs risks of overwhelming his readers, and of being himself overwhelmed, by the great masses of material extant. In his early twenties William was recognized as the savior of the United Netherlands; he was rapidly becoming the hope of Protestant Europe and of that part of Catholic Europe which feared France. In the two years covered by this volume,¹ 1672-1674, the frail thread of his life was already shuttling through vast webs of diplomacy and war from which death alone was to part it. A personage of such importance received and sent letters unceasingly. Even Dr. Japikse, who entered upon his task with a ripe appreciation of its mass and difficulties, admits surprise at the sheer bulk of William's correspondence. To reduce

¹ Nominally the volume covers the period 1656-1674, but only 39 of the 670 documents published *in extenso* derive from the years before 1672.

this bulk he has omitted the letters already published in two well-known collections: Sir John Dalrymple's *Memoirs of Great Britain and Ireland*, and Groen van Prinsterer's *Archives ou Correspondance Inédite de la Maison d'Orange-Nassau*. Further, he has limited his search to material in Dutch and English libraries and archives, although, as he suggests, systematic search in those of Belgium, Germany, and Austria would probably be rewarding. Further still, some 856 documents of minor importance are listed at the end of the volume, each with date, place of origin, the identifying name, and a line descriptive of the content. Long memorials on political conditions in foreign lands drawn up by Dutch envoys, and their lengthy accounts of formal audiences, even when addressed to William, have been excluded. Such documents, says the editor, have slight importance for a work whose definite purpose is to inform concerning the life and acts of an individual (p. xxi). But he is careful to present such part of the interchanges of diplomacy as serves to throw light on the stadholder's motives and policy. All this labor of discrimination and selection has been performed by Dr. Japikse with such excellent judgment that the reader cannot fail to be impressed with the continuity of the story of William's life and the evolution of his character recorded in these documents. It is true that time and chance, relentless simplifiers of human record, have deleted beyond recovery much that was written. Many years of William's adult life were spent in camps where it was impossible to maintain an ordered archive, "being obliged", he explained to Amerongen, "to run hither and yon like a post-horse" (p. 236). Though he was by no means unconcerned about the opinion of posterity, he did not express that concern by preserving copies of his own letters, or the originals of those addressed to him, except when he attached political importance to them as was the case with the documents now in King William's Chest in the Public Record Office in London. The net result of all subtractions is the 670 letters contained in this volume, most of which are either not in print or not readily accessible. Though Bentinck's name is retained on the title page, almost nothing of his has survived for these years. William is the sender or the receiver of these letters. Clearly the prince wrote or dictated the communications he signed, for his letters have, as his editor observes, "a ring of their own". Very seldom is this a note of personal feeling, informally expressed. The notes to Baron von Friesheim, written when William was fifteen, are affectionately reproving. And he must have liked the Earl of Ossory: "Vous estes l'homme du monde le plus paresseus", he tells him in 1671 (p. 39); and in 1674 he wishes Ossory had been present at the battle of Senef (p. 472). To Waldeck and Van Reede he unbent, was frank towards them and confident of their loyalty and devotion. To his other correspondents he wrote *en prince*, but without egotism or passion, always succinctly, firmly, objectively: "Quand les maux sont incurables, il y a long-

temps que j'ay appris a m'en consoler", he told Fagel (p. 487), and it was true.

Although Dr. Japikse's work is of first importance to students of the life of William III., it will be highly valued by all who are interested in the crisis in the life of the Dutch Republic occasioned by the French invasion of 1672. The state was unprepared for this terrific shock, as William himself was unprepared. Both, the reader of these letters will be apt to think, were saved by sheer firmness. William was not the only Hollander resolved to die in the last ditch rather than yield: witness Fagel's letter, written on July 1, 1672, when the fortunes of the republic had reached their nadir. He reported the indignation with which the provinces not yet in the grip of the French had repelled Louis's conditions of peace. "And as for me", wrote Fagel with emotion, "I would ten times rather die, if that might be, than become a wretched slave of France and involve posterity in open ruin of soul and body." The mistakes of the ruling class in the years which preceded this war had been many, but it was the spirit of this class which now "held the skies suspended" over the republic.

Vassar College.

VIOLET BARBOUR.

Stanhope: a Study in Eighteenth-Century Diplomacy. By BASIL WILLIAMS. (Oxford: Clarendon Press; New York: Oxford University Press. 1932. Pp. xv, 478. \$5.00.)

"COURAGEOUS in war and peace, and one of the greatest of our foreign ministers, Stanhope has been strangely neglected by historians of his own race." An article in the *Dictionary of National Biography*, J. E. Edwards's indifferent, hundred-page summary, and a worse, unsigned tabloid in the *Britannica* represent the independent efforts in English to make him live. The present work, therefore, fills a gap in English biography.

Professor Williams describes Stanhope's share in the capture of Gibraltar while he was the protégé of the more-than-eccentric Earl of Peterborough, the ubiquitous and self-appointed diplomat of the time. Stanhope was partly responsible for the English defeat at Almanza, and seems almost to have invited the disaster at Brihuega. His most significant military achievement, the author points out, was the capture of Minorca. He joined in the successful opposition to the commercial clauses of the Treaty of Utrecht. He was also very active in the Whig *coup d'état* of 1714, and in suppressing the Jacobite rebellion of the following year. To him is largely due the flowering of the Treaty of Utrecht into three decades of peace and prosperity for England. The Treaty of Westminster, the Triple Alliance, and the so-called Quadruple Alliance bound up most of the wounds left gaping by the peace of 1713-1714, and are lasting monuments to his tact and political vision. What an interesting time this peripatetic "knight errant of diplomacy" must

have had in matching wits with the Regent, Dubois, John Law, Alberoni, Elisabeth Farnese, Victor Amadeus II., Frederick William I., Peter the Great, and Charles XII.! The blame for splitting the Whigs in 1717 rests, not with him, but with Sunderland and George I., whereas the credit for reuniting the party must go to Stanhope. He had no responsibility for the South Sea Bubble and no financial interest in the company. He was thoroughly incorruptible, and by his uprightness gave to political life a high tone, which it soon lost under Walpole. His early death was the inevitable outcome of a quarter century's assiduous cultivation of the bottle.

The work under review is preëminently scholarly and judicious. The author's extensive knowledge of the tangled skein of European politics gives him a sureness of touch in interpreting Stanhope's career. His mastery of the earlier part of the period leaves something to be desired, but his account of British diplomacy for the first half of the reign of George I. is by all odds the clearest and most satisfactory in English. The errors noted are few indeed. Charles Montagu was never a viscount (p. 153). Marlborough's real threat to resign came early in 1710, not in the previous year. The author probably errs in describing the retinue accompanying Boufflers during his peace parleys with Portland in 1697, "as a brilliant cortège of 500 courtiers". Stepney, probably the ablest English diplomat of the time, talked to these officers, who "seem to wish peace more than wee doe, and by appearance they made, certainly stand more in need of it; for they looked dejected, and the best of them were cloath'd, mounted and accoutred but very indifferently".

Professor Williams's account is based largely upon the more available manuscripts in English libraries, while for the archival materials of Berlin, Vienna, and Hanover he has depended largely upon secondary works. In rewriting Stanhope's military exploits he would have done well to examine the abundant manuscript collections at the Dépôt de la Guerre and the Archives de la Marine in Paris. The manuscripts at the Rijksarchief (The Hague) might also cast some light upon the Dutch reluctance to join the Quadruple Alliance. Unfortunately this excellent book lacks an annotated bibliography. It is a pity that so valuable a portion of a scholarly contribution should be treated so casually. The index is so brief as to be somewhat disappointing.

Indiana University.

WILLIAM THOMAS MORGAN.

The Letters of David Hume. Edited by J. Y. T. GREIG. Two volumes. (Oxford: Clarendon Press; New York: Oxford University Press. 1932. Pp. xxxii, 532; 498. \$15.00.)

THIS is a definitive edition. The efforts of the editor make it improbable that any considerable number of Hume's letters remain undiscovered; moreover, the editorial work is done so carefully that it will not need doing over.

The collection consists of 544 letters written by Hume. Of these, sixty have not hitherto been published and fifty have not been published in England or America. Where the autographs still exist, they have been transcribed with all peculiarities of spelling and punctuation. Seventy-one, of which extracts only have hitherto been published, are now published in full. This is the first edition in which the whole extant body of Hume's correspondence has been included. The editor has added twelve appendixes including chiefly letters addressed to Hume. The annotation is excellent. It gives all the information about persons and events needed in reading the letters; it is genuinely learned without being dull; and it does not overload the text.

Hume's letters unluckily have little to offer the historian of philosophy. From the period when he was doing his original work there are only three—to Francis Hutcheson in 1739-1740 (nos. 13, 15, and 16)—that have to do with his speculations. He was clearly not the man to conduct his education under the eyes of his friends, and this is not surprising when we reflect that his originality was not appreciated by any writer before Kant. Nor do the letters form what is usually called a personal document. They are revealing, but they reveal the sort of character which Hume himself described in the concluding paragraph of *My Own Life*. Professor Greig states the case well in his introduction (pp. xxi f.): "The extant letters . . . reveal most sides of David Hume the man—his precocity of intellect, his independent spirit, his kindliness of heart, his love of fun, books, whist, good company, old claret, and rich and well-cooked food, his pleasant vanities, the laziness that grew upon him after 1759, his readiness to think too highly of his friends and any books they happened to produce, his admiration for the French, his prejudice against the Churches, all 'enthusiasts', the Whigs, and Englishmen, his general but not unbroken equanimity of temper, and his fine common sense."

It is an interesting group of correspondents to which Hume's letters introduce us. First and foremost, there is the extraordinary group of Edinburgh men of letters and of affairs, who went far to justify Hume's belief in the superiority of the Scotch to the English: Adam Smith, William Robertson, Adam Ferguson, Francis Hutcheson, Lord Kames, Hugh Blair, Gilbert Elliot of Minto, and James Oswald of Dunnikier. In the second place there are Hume's friends and acquaintances in France: the Comtesse de Boufflers, with whom alone Hume carried on an intimate correspondence, Montesquieu, Turgot, and of course, Rousseau. Not the least interesting are the letters to his publishers, Andrew Millar and William Strahan. Finally, there is a small and rather miscellaneous group of letters to Englishmen: Horace Walpole, the Earl of Hardwicke, Edward Gibbon. A letter to the last (no. 516), in which Hume acknowledges the gift of the first volume of the *Decline and Fall* and which Gibbon says "repaid the labour of ten years", includes this characteristic slap at the English: "I own, that if I had not

previously had the Happiness of your personal Acquaintance, such a Performance, from an Englishman in our Age, would have given me some Surprise."

Hume is not a man who can be easily classified either in the categories of his own or of a later time. His skepticism cut the supposedly rational foundations from under natural theology as completely as the latter had undermined revelation. Similarly, the frank utilitarianism of his political and social philosophy destroyed the traditional principles both of Toryism and Whiggism. And yet Hume more than shared the dislike of his age for what he called "enthusiasm" and "faction". Temperamentally, he was in religion the perfect rationalist, who nevertheless knew that religion had nothing to do with reason. In politics he became ever more conservative, though he lacked utterly the sentimentalities upon which conservatism flourishes, and his social philosophy was substantially that of the Benthamite radicals two generations later. Thus Hume stands in relation to divergent schools both of thought and policy without belonging to either. His skeptical dissolution of rationalism cleared the way for the romantic glorification of sentiment and tradition, and yet no one would have abhorred this result more than Hume. His utilitarianism prepared the theories of the philosophical radicals, but in Hume's day the party lines were not yet drawn in England for the contest over *laissez faire*. In this connection one wonders whether, as an historian, Hume has received entire justice. The *History* is certainly a compilation, but the request for books not available at Edinburgh (now first published in letters 173, 174), to which Mr. Greig calls special attention, shows that Hume was not always satisfied with the materials he had at hand. Moreover, nineteenth century liberals were not always perfectly objective in their judgment on constitutional questions, any more than eighteenth century Whigs.

Cornell University.

GEORGE H. SABINE.

Correspondance Inédite, 1789, 1790, 1791, du Marquis de Ferrières, Député de la Noblesse aux États Généraux. Publiée et annotée par HENRI CARRÉ, Doyen Honoraire de la Faculté des Lettres de Poitiers. [Les Classiques de la Révolution Française, publiés sous la Direction de M. Albert Mathiez.] (Paris: Armand Colin. 1932. Pp. xvi, 468. 50 fr.)

THE title "Classics of the French Revolution" is here somewhat misleading, for Ferrières's letters are now printed for the first time. The *Mémoires* of this rather obscure Constituant, deputy of the nobility of the Saumurois, were published in 1798, and later reprinted in three volumes in the Baudoin collection. This *Correspondance*, composed chiefly of letters from the deputy to his wife back home in Poitou, has been preserved intact in family archives. It is well worth resurrecting. There is in this book little new in the strictest

sense of the word—little new light on matters of disputed fact, little occasion for new judgments on political history. Ferrières talked little, and did less, in his three years as deputy, and the official historians of republican France would once doubtless have held these intimate letters of slight use. That two French university professors should have had a hand in publishing them today is another sign of changing fashions in the writing of history. For, if Ferrières has little to add to the political history of the Revolution, he is not without interest for its social history. There are literally hundreds of items of this sort: "On a établi des ventilateurs [in the hall of the Assembly]. On l'arrose deux fois au moins pendant chaque séance, avec un mélange de vinaigre et de parfum" (p. 231); or "j'aime encore mieux que Coucaud se croie mon égal, que de voir un Grand me croire son inférieur, et m'assimiler presque aux gens qu'il gage, et qu'il nourrit" (p. 120). Nor, as can be judged from this last quotation, are such items simply of a lively and picturesque interest. They will help the social historian to build up generalizations. Ferrières helps us to understand the plight of the *noblesse de province*, torn between their aristocratic pride and their bourgeois interests, and we may add, their bourgeois culture. He writes, "Je serais fâché que Séraphine [his married daughter] eût deux enfants; c'est assez d'un, et souvent trop" (p. 239), and when this is added to what we have learned of the marquis's business affairs, the problem of depopulation descends from economic statistics to psychological fact. Ferrières, after managing to get some marshes drained in the Saumprois, writes that this will give him more credit among his constituents than all the work of the constitution (p. 132), and we realize that one of the characteristic vices of modern French democracy goes back to its very origins. "Les capitalistes nous amènent insensiblement à tout ce qu'ils veulent", he writes in 1789, with astonishing modernity; "ce sont eux qui font réellement les Etats" (p. 135). Yet these letters are more than a source; they deserve to stand by themselves as a work of art, as the product of the interaction of a well-defined personality and a very special historical environment. The letters are amazingly fresh and real. Perhaps about half the matter contained in them was consciously written to go down to posterity; but not the other half. Some of it is too intimate—the marquis's hemorrhoids, his dislike for his son-in-law, his redeeming a fellow deputy's gold buckle from the Mont-de-Piété, and some of it—the marquis's political judgments, his financial fears—too indiscreet. Ferrières was somewhat a miser, definitely a hypochondriac, and very much a coward. He was also very intelligent. The combination made him an unusually detached observer of the French Revolution. He knew his tenants personally and ran his own farm; his pride of class was never stronger than his common sense. Perhaps there were more like him among the *noblesse de province* than the textbooks have allowed.

The book has a complete index, an interesting preface by the late Professor

Mathiez, and is very fully annotated by Professor Henri Carré. It has an excellent chance of becoming a classic of the Revolution.

Harvard University.

CRANE BRINTON.

The Armies of the First French Republic and the Rise of the Marshals of Napoleon I. By the late Colonel RAMSAY WESTON PHIPPS, formerly of the Royal Artillery. Volume III., *The Armies in the West, 1793 to 1797, and the Armies in the South, 1792 to March, 1796.* (Oxford: University Press; New York: Oxford University Press. 1931. Pp. xvi, 286. \$5.50.)

THIS third volume of the late Colonel Phipps's study of the armies of Revolutionary France may, unfortunately, be the last. Colonel C. F. Phipps, who has edited the manuscripts left by his father, died while the present volume was in press. Such a work owes so much to its editor that the hope of the publishers, that some one may be found to continue the series, may prove difficult of realization.

In this study of the armies in the West and South, Colonel Phipps has clung to the motif of the earlier volumes, the rise of the marshals of Napoleon. Such figures of the empire as Augereau, Sérurier, Victor, Suchet, Bessières, and Lannes appear with detailed personal and military pedigree. Hoche, Grouchy, Kellermann, Masséna, and Berthier reappear to undergo detailed examination. Bonaparte himself receives considerable attention and a rôle of importance is claimed for him at an earlier date than that frequently assigned. It is undoubtedly in this emphasis upon personalities that the charm and much of the value of the book will be found. The analysis of these individuals is both sympathetic and careful and the reader cannot but feel better acquainted with their military characters after he has finished the volume.

He will do well to be content with this and not expect a clear and adequate account of the campaigns. As a history of the war, in the usual sense, Colonel Phipps's study is far from satisfying. In his concentration upon individuals, so much of the general story is either omitted or drastically condensed that the unfamiliar reader can gain but little idea of the general situation. This is especially true of his account of operations in the West. The exception is the campaign of 1795 on the Italian frontier, which is well and adequately described.

In this age of overproduction of footnotes, one at first welcomes the decision of the editor to spare them except where essential. But when it turns out that this means almost an absence of footnotes, even at points where difficult evidence is being handled, relief gives way to a feeling of unsatisfied curiosity occasionally bordering upon skepticism. As so much of Colonel

Phipps's narrative deals with small and controversial points, the inability to follow his evidence is peculiarly disappointing.

Attention must also be called to the point of view of the author. With regard to the French Revolution he has certain prejudices not unexpected in an English officer, although, when upon his favorite topic, the future marshals of Napoleon, he controls this prejudice with a large measure of success. He writes more as a professional soldier than as a historian and devotes considerable attention to features of army life that mean little to the lay student. But this professional slant, if in some ways a shortcoming, does remind the reader of the fact that armies are made up of individuals whose prejudices, peculiarities, and professional ways of thinking and acting determine, as surely as terrain or material, the outcome of a campaign.

Swarthmore College.

TROYER S. ANDERSON.

History of Modern Europe: a Survey of the Evolution of European Society from the National Risings against Napoleon to the Present Day.

By CHESTER PENN HIGBY, Ph.D., Professor of History in the University of Wisconsin. [The Century Historical Series.] (New York: Century Company. 1932. Pp. xi, 569. \$3.50.)

THE history of Modern Europe has often been told, but there is always scope for another rendering of this fascinating subject. The thing can never be done once and for all; there can be no "definitive" history of Europe. The events and tendencies are so various and manifold that interpretation is necessary. Much new information has come forward since Fyffe wrote his remarkable *History of Europe* in 1880; besides, the perspective of teachers and writers is always changing and ought to change. The developments of the past have to be rejudged according to their effects and continuations in the ever-developing present.

Professor Higby's work as a compendious monograph amply justifies itself, though it goes over well-known ground. It is distinguished by admirable literary presentation, style that is clear and dignified, an absence of straining after effect, a power of judgment that is the result of full knowledge and serious thought. It assumes from the first, and rightly, that there is such a thing as European society, and that the nations of Europe are significant in history because they share in a common civilization rather than because of their individual achievement and value.

The volume begins with a short but illuminating and charmingly written description of western European society before the French Revolution, a society which aimed at "conformity and permanence", but had soon to submit to the great release of forces brought about by the upheaval in France. The period of the Napoleonic Wars is handled with sure touch and great power of compression. Room is found for comments on the characters of the lead-

ing statesmen; this feature, however, is less noticeable throughout the rest of the book, and readers would desire to see more of it. A welcome prominence is given to industrial development, and still more, perhaps, to agricultural. This is an interesting example of the change in perspective (the grand justification for a book like this) necessitated by the march of events; for agricultural development is seen to be now one of the dominating things in Europe's and the world's history, although the books in European history written down to the other day gave almost no attention to it.

The book has been very skillfully organized, compression being rigorously maintained in certain parts so that in others, for instance in regard to the revolutions of 1848, and the Italian and German unity movements, a surprising amount of space has been available. Even so, however, some more space might with advantage have been found for certain later parts of the book; for instance, readers may not feel quite satisfied with the treatment of the immediate causes of the World War; on this subject no explanation is likely to be convincing or informing, unless it is done with considerable fullness and with an extra amount of reference to dates and documents. The military operations in the World War are regarded almost wholly from a European point of view; the achievement of the United States army is scarcely noticed, and the enormous and in many respects decisive moral influence exercised on the European mind by Mr. Wilson in 1917-1918 is overlooked. The considerable amount of space (about seventy pages) devoted to international relations since 1918 is very welcome.

The University of Bristol.

R. B. MOWAT.

Sir George Otto Trevelyan: a Memoir. By his SON, GEORGE MACAULAY TREVELYAN. (London and New York: Longmans, Green and Company. 1932. Pp. x, 213. \$4.00.)

THIS volume of modest proportions is an admirable example of the fulfillment of a purpose. In a brief preface the author writes of his father: "Many years ago he told me that he did not wish his Life to be written. Later he said that I could do as I thought fit in the matter. In any case he disliked long biographies, and I have followed what I am sure was his desire in confining the record to a brief and personal memoir." The resulting book illustrates, finally, the distinction between a Memoir and a Life or Biography.

One point of the distinction is that so skillful a memoir as this leaves the reader wishing for more instead, as in the case of so many extended biographies, of wishing for less. The longer book, often owing much of its bulk to copious extracts from letters, is obviously the easier book to write. It calls for an editor's skill in dealing with a mass of material, by means of discrimination between what is of real importance and significance and what is not. The biographer-editor has no small responsibility resting on his

shoulders in this very process of selection. Through his distribution of emphasis, his choice of material on the alternative bases of printing what will throw light upon the personality with which he is concerned, and as he sees it, or what is of primary interest for its illumination of a period or a circle, he holds in his hands the power to make one thing or quite another of his book; and he must realize that from other hands, no less competent than his own, a record of considerable difference in flavor might proceed.

The writer of the briefer memoir has a still more difficult task. He must not only make a familiar acquaintance with all the material; he must even more thoroughly master and assimilate it, and carry the processes of selection and elimination yet further in order to present the essence of the whole matter in terms of his own apprehension.

This is precisely what Mr. Trevelyan has done, and in a manner worthy of all admiration. As the subject of a "full-length" biography, his father must have offered extraordinary temptations. The son's definition of him in the preface from which a quotation has already been made states the case so well that it would be an impertinence to attempt any restatement of it: "He [Sir George Otto Trevelyan] belonged to a type that flourished most in the reign of Queen Victoria, the literary man who was also a politician, the politician and literary man who was also an historian. As a bygone type he may interest those of a different day; as an individual he may interest them even more, for in him we see the classical and literary culture of that age, and the very strong influence of his uncle, working upon a strongly marked personal temperament that was quite his own."

The type has perhaps never been so fully exemplified as in the England of Sir George Otto Trevelyan's long life. The backgrounds of learning—the *dulce* charmingly blended with the *utile*—of society, of politics, of friendship and family life, are those of a ripe civilization, singularly restful and refreshing to contemplate in the strident period now upon us. It is the good fortune of this period, however, that it can claim so accomplished an historian who can prove himself besides so accomplished a biographer—what else is the writer of so revealing a memoir?—as the author of this book.

Boston.

M. A. DEWOLFE HOWE.

Die Letzten Jahrzehnte einer Grossmacht: Menschen, Völker, Probleme des Habsburger-Reichs. VON RUDOLF SIEGHART. (Berlin: Verlag Ullstein. 1932. Pp. 475. 10 M.)

LONG as Herr Sieghart's title is it fails to indicate two important factors: first of all that the book is a memoir, and secondly that it deals almost exclusively with the internal history of Austria. Questions of foreign policy and special Hungarian problems are referred to, but are never dealt with in any detail. While the first half of the book is autobiographical, family or personal

matters are not discussed. The pages are filled with descriptions of Austrian institutions, brilliant characterizations of leading personalities, inner side lights on the activity of Austrian politicians and statesmen.

Herr Sieghart's statements are often source material of the first order, since he was, throughout his political life, on the inside of affairs. In all, he served as adviser to five governmental chiefs, and in 1910 became governor of the important Boden-Credit-Anstalt. About the same time he was appointed to the Herrenhaus. His account of the formation of Koerber's cabinet, his too brief description of the Boden-Credit-Anstalt (which he promises to deal with later in greater detail); the narration of the attempts to settle the language difficulties in Bohemia might be especially singled out.

After the survey of his own career, Herr Sieghart devotes his attention to what he terms *Die Wirkenden Kräfte*. Here he has a favorable essay on Francis Joseph, unfavorable estimates of Francis Ferdinand and Karl I. The nobility, the mass of citizens, the bureaucracy, the Church, the army, and the various political parties are each briefly treated. In a third section he takes up the question of governmental organization, going as far back as the Kremsier Parliament of 1849. The language problem as it related to Bohemia very naturally occupies the center of attention. The long description of proposed settlements, although it shows that the government was attempting to deal with this thorny problem, obscures the situation as it actually existed. A summary of the laws in force in 1914 relating to the use of Czech and German would have been a welcome conclusion to this section.

A critic of Austrian policy in many instances, an opponent of the Ausgleich, Sieghart vehemently protests against the assertion that the Dual Monarchy in 1914 was a state about to fall apart from internal decay. Austria to the end remained a federation of crown lands, and not a federation of nationalities. That the basis of union should have been changed to one more nationalistic Sieghart admits, but points out the great difficulties of doing away with old historical units. After the Industrial Revolution, after the building of railways, after the erection of governmental buildings, it was much harder than in earlier centuries to rearrange governmental areas.

In working out a system for the participation of small racial groups in governmental affairs the Austrian statesmen were exploring a virgin field. By 1914 they had made real progress towards their goal of treating the racial groups not as minorities, but as integral parts of the general governing power. And as Sieghart surveys the policy of the post-war nations of Europe towards their minorities, he concludes that Old Austria would well stand comparison with those nations which have inherited, but have not solved the nationality complex of Central Europe. Yet Sieghart's method, which deals so largely with Austrian national questions as divorced from Hungary, gives a distorted view of the real situation in the Dual Monarchy.

Bowdoin College.

E. C. HELMREICH.

British Documents on the Origins of the War, 1898-1914. Edited by G. P. GOOCH, D. Litt., F. B. A., and HAROLD TEMPERLEY, Litt. D., F. B. A., with the Assistance of Lillian M. Penson, Ph. D. Volume VII, *The Agadir Crisis*. (London: H. M. Stationery Office. 1932. Pp. lxxii, 917. 17s. 6d.)

THIS volume opens with the negotiations which led to the Anglo-French-Spanish exchange of notes on May 16, 1907, for the preservation of the status quo in the Western Mediterranean. The accord was urged by the French, and aimed to prevent Germany from getting cable bases or coaling and naval stations on the Spanish or Moroccan coasts. It had also the further purpose of strengthening Spain in refusing possible German requests for concessions within Spanish territory, of attaching her more firmly to France and England, and of preventing her from seeking other alliances. To the English the agreement was welcome as safeguarding their dominant position at Gibraltar. But Germany took some umbrage at the fact that it had been negotiated without her being informed and because it looked like another step in "encirclement".

The French bombardment of Casablanca, the problem of giving recognition to Mulai Hafid, who had revolted against his brother, Sultan Abdul Aziz, and the complicated squabble over the German deserters at Casablanca, which offered "the sort of problem in international law which examiners would be happy to find to puzzle the candidates whom they were examining" (p. 110), and which was fortunately referred to arbitration, are covered in some eighty pages. The very interesting "Minutes" of Sir Edward Grey and his subordinates occasionally show some annoyance and criticism at French action in these matters; but the criticism is rather exceptional and is in contrast to the striking intimacy and cordiality with which the foreign office treated the Quai d'Orsay throughout the whole Moroccan situation, which reached its climax in the Agadir affair. One of England's chief efforts was directed toward calming down Spanish indignation toward France. The minutes also betray a persistent distrust of Germany, which was suspected of inciting Mulai Hafid against the French and of intriguing with Spain. The press of all countries unfortunately added fuel to the flame of national hatreds and suspicions. "One is inclined to wish that the English and French press would combine never to mention Germany, though I suppose she would then take offence at that and complain of being boycotted", wrote a British under-secretary. And Sir Edward Grey observed, with King Edward's approval, that "it was very dangerous to play with things of this kind in public, as it was easy for two countries to drift into a position from which neither of them could recede" (p. 119).

The Franco-German agreement of 1909, which virtually abandoned the Algeiras principle of economic equality for all the powers in Morocco, was

received by the British government with more equanimity than one would suppose. Grey noted: "Politically it is a great advantage that France and Germany should agree not to quarrel about Morocco. Commercially I fear other people must lose by an *entente* between them, though the open door must be preserved on paper" (p. 135; *cf.* however, pp. 179, 186). This equanimity, if as complete as these documents would lead one to believe, is doubtless to be explained by Grey's distrust of Germany's intentions and by his consequent solicitude for the Anglo-French Entente.

The French March to Fez in 1911 again aroused great indignation in Spain, and led, contrary to English advice, to the Spanish occupation of Larache and Alcazar. The English were convinced that the Germans had incited Spain to this action in order to make trouble between France and Spain and to give color to the new German thesis that the Act of Algeçiras had broken down, thus restoring to Germany her freedom of action and giving her a further excuse for sending the *Panther* to Agadir.

The protracted diplomatic crisis which resulted from this sudden German step fills nearly four hundred large pages. In a brief review it is impossible to give any summary of it. It may merely be noted that the French minister of foreign affairs, De Selves, kept the British cabinet very fully informed of every step in the Cambon-Kiderlen negotiations for "compensations". But there is almost nothing about the parallel negotiations which Caillaux, the French premier, carried on through Fondère with the German embassy in Paris without the full knowledge either of Cambon in Berlin or of De Selves in Paris, the discovery of which later led to Caillaux's downfall. There are hints, however, that Cambon wished to go much further in meeting German wishes than De Selves's instructions would permit. To Goschen, the British ambassador in Berlin, he complained that "he was hampered at every step. . . . They do not seem to realize in Paris the *enormous* advantage of a free hand in Morocco—nor the fact that in order to get what they want they must pay *handsomely* for it. . . . He considers it in fact idiotic to hesitate about making a really big sacrifice in the Congo in view of the paramount importance to France of 'une action directrice' in Morocco. 'In my own personal opinion', he added, 'that is worth the whole of the French Congo!' " (p. 499; *cf.* also pp. 532, 545, 563). Cambon even asked Goschen to get Grey to put pressure on De Selves to yield more to Germany. But Grey replied, "I daren't press the French more about the Congo. If I do so we may eventually get the odium in France for an unpopular concession and the whole Entente may go . . . though I agree with Jules Cambon that Morocco in fee simple would be worth all the French Congo" (p. 546).

The newspapers of France, Germany, and England greatly aggravated and envenomed the Agadir Crisis. Kiderlen had stipulated with Cambon at the beginning of the negotiations that they should be kept absolutely secret.

But to his indignation he found that some of his proposals to Cambon were reproduced at once almost word for word in Paris journals. These "leaks" excited the French chauvinists and German nationalists against each other and against their own governments, thus making it almost impossible to reach a satisfactory compromise agreement on French cessions of territory in the Congo in return for German abandonment of claims in Morocco. Kiderlen complained many times to Goschen and to Cambon of the embarrassment which these "leaks" caused him. He even threatened to break off the negotiations because of them. But Cambon was evidently not to blame, for Goschen reported that his French colleague "is furious with his Government for their indiscretions, which he considers have ruined all the chance he had of making an acceptable settlement. These indiscretions, he maintains, were not made by De Selves, but by one of his underlings who hates him [Cambon] and would stick at nothing to do him a bad turn" (p. 413).

Likewise, after Lloyd George's Mansion House speech, the French and British press played it up in such a way that Kiderlen found it impossible to make concessions to Cambon without seeming to back down before English threats and so suffer a loss of prestige. It was not so much what Lloyd George said as the way the newspapers commented on it that galled the German foreign office and caused the Agadir Crisis to arouse almost more bitterness between Germany and England than between Germany and France. Fortunately, Mr. Gooch and Professor Temperley have given, as in earlier volumes, generous extracts from dispatches commenting on or summarizing these baneful press feuds.

One piquant and little-known incident is Kiderlen's successful effort in preventing a meeting of the British and German navies in Norwegian waters during the height of the crisis just after Lloyd George's speech. "You know the Emperor pretty well", he said to Goschen, "and you can imagine how excited he will be at the sight of the two Squadrons. He will certainly want to make the most of the opportunity, and there is every chance that, as Admiral of both Navies, he will amuse Himself by putting Himself at the head of the combined Squadrons and going through a series of Naval Manoeuvres—ending in a great Banquet, Toasts and God knows what." So he begged Goschen to delay the British fleet by a timely fog, or shooting off some ammunition, or by some other means known to sailors. "Of course if it ever came out that he had acted as he was now doing he would be dismissed from his office at once" (pp. 622 ff.). Accordingly the British cancelled their cruise to Norway.

In contrast to the lack of harmony between Caillaux, De Selves, and Cambon, and to the differences between Kiderlen and the Kaiser, is the almost perfect accord between Sir Edward Grey and his officials in London and his ambassadors abroad. Bertie at Paris, Goschen at Berlin, and Bunsen

at Madrid all give the impression of doing exactly what Grey wanted and of acting with tact, firmness, and good sense—qualities however for which Sir Fairfax Cartwright at Vienna was not so distinguished.

Harvard University.

SIDNEY B. FAY.

The Origin and Development of the State Cult of Confucius: an Introductory Study. By JOHN K. SHRYOCK, Ph. D. [Published for the American Historical Association.] (New York: Century Company. 1932. Pp. xiii, 298. \$4.00.)

CONSIDERING the preponderating influence of Confucius in Chinese culture the appearance of such a study as this is long overdue. That the "uncrowned king" of China has for centuries been the recipient of state sacrifices and of progressively exalted titles is common knowledge. But here for the first time in a Western language is unrolled the story and significance of the whole procedure in a most readable volume. It is the more illuminating because Dr. Shryock seeks to place the cult in its total social setting and function. The method is admirable, considering the limitations under which Westerners must work in the field of Chinese history. His basic sources are Chinese—imperial edicts and scattered references to the cult in the long array of dynastic records. Around these with the aid of secondary sources he has reconstructed the successive historical situations in which cult developments and practices have gone on. The result is a clear indication that the worship of Confucius is a phenomenon of the emergence into state power of a particular social group. "He was the patron of scholars, and came to receive worship from the state because the state was interested in the creation and maintenance of the scholar class and because it used that class almost exclusively in its administrative system. . . . The close association of an educational system directed and fostered by the state with the actual administration of the government was the real cause of the growth of the cult" (p. 224). The religious character of the cult is found to arise in the Han dynasty when, no longer a simple case of ancestor worship within the family of Confucius, it became a "hero-worship deliberately adopted by the state at the instance of a social group, the scholars"—a worship which assimilates to itself features from the ancient cults of nature gods and ancestors. Thereafter the fortunes of the cult of Confucius vary with the fortunes and characteristics of the scholar class under successive dynasties.

In these pages an exacting task has been well discharged. Annotations at the end of chapters and the appended bibliographies of works in European and Far Eastern languages testify to a wide range of reading and familiarity with many debatable problems. Yet the text itself reads straight forward and the reader is not confused by the erudition which supports it. Special information concerning tablet inscriptions in Confucian temples and certain

Chinese texts on the beginnings of the cult are given in appendixes. The sketches of the dynastic periods contain many interesting details. Necessarily too brief to be regarded as complete characterizations of the several epochs, they are adequate for illuminating the cult and introducing the reader into the vast background of China's continuing culture.

Dr. Shryock recognizes that special students may wish to make some changes in particular statements within their fields. That may be done without altering the total impression which the material assembled is meant to convey. In particular the reviewer does not regard the reference on page 183 to "similarities" between Wang Shou-jen and Vasubandhu as altogether happy in connection with the question as to Buddhistic influence on the former. It is true that this Chinese Confucian and the Indian Buddhist philosopher happen both to be idealists, but that is about all we can say for resemblance. The elaboration of their systems is so diverse that comparison is of little worth. Buddhistic influence on Sung-Yüan-Ming Confucianism is an undoubted fact but its precise character remains yet to be discerned, as the author himself has observed on an earlier page (pp. 149 f.) in referring to the philosophers of the Sung dynasty. The point, however, is a minor one. The book as a whole is remarkably effective in ordering and condensing a very wide range of important material for our understanding of Confucianism.

Oberlin College.

CLARENCE H. HAMILTON.

BOOKS OF AMERICAN HISTORY

Dictionary of American Biography. Edited by DUMAS MALONE. Volume VIII., Grinnell-Hibbard; volume IX., Hibben-Jarvis. (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1932. Pp. ix, 612; x, 625. \$250 for the complete set.)

THE latest installments of the *Dictionary of American Biography* continue to add abundantly to our knowledge of the richness and variety of the human forces that have helped build American civilization. The 662 sketches of the eighth volume and the 674 of the ninth bring the grand total to 6122. If fame can be measured by the number of memoirs, the Halls rank first with 37, followed by the Jacksons, 32; the Harrises, 31; the Hills, 24; the Howes and Hunts, 21 each; and the Harrisons, 20. Yet many readers will find greater interest in the James brothers, whether Henry and William or Jesse and Frank, than in any of these. It is worth noting that the present volumes represent a higher degree of collaboration than any of the earlier ones, 324 individuals contributing to the eighth and 362 to the ninth.

From the banquet spread before the reader it is difficult to select the viands of particular succulence. The preferred list, however, would un-

doubtedly include A. C. Cole's "Marcus Alonzo Hanna", Allan Nevins's "Warren Gamaliel Harding"—singularly candid—R. E. Cushman's "John Marshall Harlan", Paul Shorey's "William Rainey Harper", E. S. Bates's "William Torrey Harris", Carl Van Doren's "Nathaniel Hawthorne" and "Henry James", M. A. DeW. Howe's "Oliver Wendell Holmes", Ferdinand Schevill's "Hermann Eduard von Holst", W. H. Hamilton's "Robert Franklin Hoxie", Stuart Daggett's "Collis Potter Huntington", C. L. Becker's "Thomas Hutchinson", W. H. Downes's "George Inness", and R. B. Perry's "William James". The brief memoirs of certain other figures suggest the crying need for extended treatments hitherto lacking. In this category fall John P. Hale, Wade Hampton (1818-1902), David B. Hill, Isaac Hill, Josiah G. Holland, Elias Howe, R. M. Hunt, John Ireland (1838-1918), and Helen Hunt Jackson. Doctoral candidates please take notice!

Among the sketches which were looked for in vain were those of John H. Griscom (1809-1874), physician and humanitarian; Francis J. Grund (d. 1863), author and publicist; Charles J. Guiteau (1842-1881), assassin of Garfield; Thomas B. Gunning (1814-1889), inventor of dental and surgical apparatus; George R. Halm (1850-1899), engraver and artist; Harlan P. Halsey (1837-1898), member of the New York City board of education and author of the "Old Sleuth" series of dime novels; John B. Hamilton (1847-1898), surgeon; Orlando Harley (1856-1901), grand-opera tenor; William H. Harnett (1850-1892), painter; Maud Haslam (Groome) (1869-1899), actress; Alice Hastings (1856-1888), actress; Horace L. Hastings (1831-1899), hymnologist and author of the *Anti-Infidel Library*; John H. W. Hawkins (1797-1858), temperance reformer; Edward S. Hayden (1852-1899), discoverer of the "Hayden process" in the working of precious metals; John W. Hendley (1827-1899), wax modeler; Holmes Hinkley (d. 1866), pioneer locomotive builder; Richard J. Hinton (1830-1901), Union spy and specialist in labor matters; Thomas M. Hogan (1842-1890), illustrator; James Holbrook (d. 1864), government detective; Martin L. Holbrook (1831-1902), hygienist; Albert Hopkins (1807-1872), astronomer; Eben N. Horsford (1818-1893), experimental chemist; Ellen C. Howarth (1827-1899), poet; Charles S. Hoyt (1822-1898), physician and philanthropist; Frederic Hudson (1819-1875), historian of American journalism; Thaddeus Hyatt (1816-1901), abolitionist and inventor; and Martin Irons (1832-1900), labor organizer. By some curious lapse, the career and achievements of Thomas Hicks, the portrait painter, are attributed to John Hicks (IX. 7).

For the most part, misstatements of fact are neither frequent nor important. It is erroneous, though commonly asserted, that President Harding's papers were destroyed (VIII. 257). "Cleveland's restoration of monarchy" in Hawaii (IX. 81) never got beyond the stage of recommendation. It is incorrect, or at least misleading, to assert that the Lyceum movement sur-

vived the Civil War (IX. 130). The value of sulphuric ether as an anæsthetic was discovered in Boston not by J. C. Warren (as stated in IX. 239), but by W. T. G. Morton (as stated in the same volume, page 539). Senator T. O. Howe voted for the conviction, not the "impeachment" (IX. 298), of President Johnson. The assertion that Helper's *Impending Crisis* created a sensation "far greater than *Uncle Tom's Cabin*" (VIII. 517) is dubious.

As for more general criticisms, the account of G. W. Guthrie's ambassadorship to Japan (IX. 60) is so highly generalized as to leave one nearly as much in the dark as before reading the memoir. The sketches of E. H. Harriman and H. O. Havemeyer are marred by too many reticences. The account of W. D. Howells is hardly more than an annotated bibliography. The man himself remains shadowy, his courageous stand at the time of the Haymarket riot goes unnoticed, and his importance as an encourager of younger writers is slighted. One wonders, too, at the unnecessary perpetuation of romantic notions of biological inheritance: "An English great-grandmother sobered the Welsh ferment; an Irish grandfather (mother's father) aerated the Teutonic phlegm", and more to the same effect (IX. 306). Of major political biographies, that of Andrew Jackson falls short of the average maintained by these and earlier volumes. Though this is largely a matter of the author's general conception of this stormy petrel of American politics, errors of fact also appear. It is more rhetorical than accurate to say that Jackson's victory at New Orleans "created a president" and "a party" (IX. 529). It belies the spirit of Jackson's own words in his first message to Congress to assert that his introduction of the spoils system was actuated by "no abstract principle of equal rights" (p. 532). It is equally contrary to the record to affirm that he did not base the Maysville Road veto "on strict-constructionist grounds" (p. 533). It is not true that the United States Bank was "dead" (p. 533) when the government deposits were withdrawn. And what would Calhoun, then coöperating with the Whigs, have said to the author's contention that that chaotic party was committed to "Clay's nationalist policy" (p. 534)?

Harvard University.

ARTHUR M. SCHLESINGER.

The Susquehannah Company Papers. Edited by JULIAN P. BOYD. Volume I., 1750-1755; volume II., 1756-1767; volume III., 1768-1769. [Sheldon Reynolds Memorial Publications.] (Wilkes-Barré: Wyoming Historical and Geological Society. 1930, 1931. Pp. xc, 363; xlii, 354; xxxiii, 354. \$5.00 each.)

THE Wyoming Historical and Geological Society is to be congratulated on the importance of the contribution it is making to the history of the American frontier in its present undertaking. For an examination of the first three volumes of *The Susquehannah Company Papers*, published under the editor-

ship of Dr. Boyd, indicates that these are much more comprehensive than the title of the series might suggest. They include not only the minutes and other official papers of the company down to the year 1770, but also numerous letters written by those not connected with its activities, extracts from newspapers, memorials, petitions, resolutions, legal opinions, depositions, proclamations, and warrants, all arranged chronologically, together with the most important pamphlet literature relating to the controversy that develops between the two groups of land claimants in northern Pennsylvania, rare maps, and other contemporary illustrative material. Further, the documents printed in each of the three volumes are preceded by illuminating introductions which serve to interpret the more significant aspects of this notable episode in our late colonial and early national history. The two colonies involved are held up for contrast to the disadvantage of Pennsylvania, at least with respect to such matters as homogeneity of population, orderly operation of government, progress in education, and preparation for defense. However, the statement that one of the chief explanations for the large-scale land speculations carried on by Pennsylvania capitalists was the restraining effect of the policy of Great Britain that "prevented them from investing their capital in manufacturing", may well be questioned in light of the fact that by 1750, the year of the Iron Act, Pennsylvania had established her leadership in American iron production and her wealthy ironmasters continued to develop this industry without giving much heed to imperial restrictions.

This conflict between the proprietors of Pennsylvania and the Susquehannah Company is well characterized as at basis a struggle between two systems of landholding, quitrent and allodial. But, in light of the bitter contest that took place along the New York-Massachusetts Bay border in the middle of the eighteenth century, involving the great Livingston Manor, one is hardly justified in calling the former the one outstanding conflict between the two systems, granted that it was by far the most important. Nor is it easy to accept the statement that in view of the general interest manifested at this critical period in westward expansion the members of the Susquehannah Company felt that in laying their plans to set up in northern Pennsylvania, by force if need be, a corporate colony patterned after Connecticut, in disregard of an express grant to William Penn and his successors hitherto not questioned by Connecticut authorities, "they were performing something that would meet with the approval of the Crown". The antagonistic attitude of the board of trade toward the charters of the surviving corporate establishments in America, not to take into account the favorable sentiments held by the royal authority toward the Pennsylvania proprietors at this juncture, could hardly have escaped any but these deluded and land-hungry men. However, the evasive attitude assumed by the Connecticut governors

in communicating with the Pennsylvania authorities, especially the amazing effrontery of Governor Fitch in disclaiming in a letter written in the latter part of 1754 any knowledge of the Susquehannah Company scheme or of the persons connected with it, in spite of the fact that its activities had been a chief topic of discussion in Connecticut for over a year and his own son was a leader in this organization, is well presented and does no injustice to the good governor.

The volumes under review are attractively printed and bound and evidence much painstaking in their preparation. Only a few errors have been noticed by the reviewer.

Lehigh University.

LAWRENCE H. GIPSON.

Gilbert Stuart. By WILLIAM T. WHITLEY. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1932. Pp. xiv, 240. \$5.00.)

HOUDON, the finest sculptor of his times, and Gilbert Stuart, in the first rank of American portrait painters, have depicted George Washington at once so truly and so nobly as to satisfy both artists and the general public during succeeding generations. How much Washington's fame is due to these two artists is an interesting subject of speculation.

William T. Whitley's *Gilbert Stuart* is much more than a treatise on an artist; it is a record of the part played by the fine arts as representative of the culture of earliest days of the republic. The first six Presidents, Washington, John and John Quincy Adams, Jefferson, Madison, and Monroe, as well as General Knox, John Jay, Daniel Webster, and a host of less enduring personages, found Stuart a true interpreter of their character as expressed in their features. The records of the circumstances attending the painting of the portraits are valuable footnotes to the history of the times.

Gilbert Stuart was born at Narragansett, Rhode Island, in a house recently restored as a memorial of him. His father came from Edinburgh to build and run a snuff mill. The enterprise having failed, the family removed to Newport, where Stuart attended the grammar school founded by Bishop Berkeley, the friend of Smibert, first trained painter in America. Stuart's first master was Cosino Hamilton, who took his young pupil with him to Edinburgh, where he won some recognition. After a brief visit to Newport, Stuart went, about 1775, to London, and a year or so later was assisted by his fellow countryman, Sir Benjamin West, then on the crest of the British art wave. By 1787 Stuart's popularity was greater than that of any London painter except Reynolds, Gainsborough, and Romney. For several years he had been making money very fast and spending it much faster on extravagant entertainment. At the height of his career, he disappeared from London and turned up in Dublin, where he repeated both his artistic success and his extravagance. In 1793 Stuart landed in New York, where he immediately

found sitters, Aaron Burr among them. His ambition and determination were to paint Washington; and this he did first in 1795, but was dissatisfied with the result and soon destroyed the canvas. The next year, Washington, weary to death of sitting to artists, reluctantly was persuaded by William Bingham, the richest man in Philadelphia, to sit to Stuart for a full-length portrait to be given by Bingham to Lord Lansdowne. Mrs. Stuart describes Washington on his first appearance at the studio as "the most superb person I had ever seen. He was dressed in black velvet with white lace ruffles, exactly as Stuart's picture represents him." After Lord Lansdowne's death in 1805, the portrait was sold at auction in London for about \$27,000 a higher price than ever was paid for a portrait by an English artist. From this original Stuart made several copies, one for Gardner Baker, who publicly exhibited it and then sold it to one Laing. Laing gave it to the White House and entrusted it to an artist named Winstanley to pack and ship to Washington. Winstanley made a copy of the portrait and disposed of the Stuart copy. The change was not discovered until Stuart, happening to be at the White House, saw what had been shown (and still is) as an example of his work. This is the portrait Dolly Madison saved in 1814.

The second original Stuart Washington is the one owned by the Boston Athenæum, which was officially used by the Bicentennial Commission. Mrs. Washington coaxed her husband to sit for the portrait for her own gratification; but Stuart never would finish the picture, because he desired to keep it to make the many copies which came from his brush. In 1831, the Athenæum bought from Stuart's daughter for \$1500 the portraits of General and Mrs. Washington. Stuart also painted two of Mrs. Washington's granddaughters, Eliza and Nelly Custis.

Stuart had the knack of interesting his sitters by his conversation so as to make them reveal themselves to his practiced eye. John Adams, painted at eighty-nine, said, "I should like to sit to Stuart from January first to December thirty-first, for he lets me do just what I please and keeps me constantly amused by his conversation". And yet, six years before, John Adams had expressed the hope that the age of painting and sculpture would not arrive in this country very soon, and had declared that he "would not give sixpence for a picture of Raphael or a statue of Phidias".

Mr. Whitley has supplemented the meager correspondence of Stuart with industriously gathered printed accounts of the painter's work in London, Dublin, New York, Philadelphia, Washington, and Boston, in which latter city he died in 1828. Also the author has gone through the great mass of biographical material, using the work of others and making many corrections as the result of his researches. All this he has done in the leisurely style characteristic of English historians, and also with their usual freedom from acrimony and their desire to state the truth so far as ascertained, with no pre-

conceived conclusions to maintain. He has made an interesting as well as a valuable book.

Washington, D. C.

CHARLES MOORE.

The Biography of a College, being the History of the First Century of the Life of Lafayette College. By DAVID BISHOP-SKILLMAN. Two volumes. (Easton: Lafayette College. 1932. Pp. xv, 401; x, 393. \$10.00.)

MANY excellencies of these two well-made volumes are evident. The work is properly named. It is a biography of the college: it is a biography of the college not only because of the fact itself but also because it is largely made up of biographies of its founders and supporters for the whole century period. Of course, its scholastic and somewhat unique records are presented—such as the early training for teachers, a systematic four-year course in the Bible, the teaching of English under the great March, and the combined curriculum in the classics and in the sciences. But the interpretations of these pioneering facts are made less significant than are the lives of the trustees, of the teachers, and of the graduates. Indeed, the author says: "In writing this life made up of many lives, the temptation and desire has been to tell much of the men who have had a part in making Lafayette, and also to tell of the notable services and achievements of the thousands of men who, for a portion of their lives, have been part and parcel of the college" (preface, p. vii). Though declaring that he has not gratified this desire, yet the author has yielded more fully to it than he thinks. He has thus in a sense continued the content of *The Men of Lafayette: Lafayette College, its History, its Men, their Record*, published in 1891.

Among the outstanding men whose lives have richly contributed to *The Biography of a College* are Francis A. March, sr., a scholar and a teacher, eminent in the whole world of scholarship, and, in the later period, three presidents—William C. Cattell, Ethelbert D. Warfield, and John Henry MacCracken. These presidencies have indeed been among the constructive presidencies of American colleges.

Rich, therefore, are the biographical details of this history. Yet it is defective in failing to present this historic college as an essential element of general educational history. For it does not interpret Lafayette as an integral part of the process and movement of the higher education. Pennsylvania is among the states well endowed with colleges and universities. Of them are found no less than thirty. Among them are historic universities and new colleges, diverse in origin, in environment, and in development. The University of Pennsylvania is easily the leader of all. Foundations laid by the Friends (of two faiths), by the Presbyterian, and the Reformed, by the Methodist, Baptist, and Lutheran churches, and by the Roman Catholic Church, in large cities

and in small villages, by Germans and by English, early and recent, in western Pennsylvania as well as in eastern, form a part of the history of higher education in Pennsylvania and in the United States. Of this general movement Lafayette was and is really an integral part. But Lafayette's share receives scant presentation and interpretation. These volumes are rich in their dealing with great personalities; they neglect to interpret educational and institutional relationships.

Western Reserve University.

CHARLES F. THWING.

The Mission to Spain of Pierre Soulé, 1853-1855: a Study in the Cuban Diplomacy of the United States. By AMOS ASCHBACH ETTINGER, Sometime Instructor in History, Yale University, Fellow of the Royal Historical Society, London. (New Haven: Yale University Press. 1932. Pp. xi, 559. \$4.00.)

THE Cuban diplomacy of the United States may be divided into two parts, that which preceded our Civil War, and that which has followed it. Such a division is by no means to be confined to our Cuban diplomacy; but this is a subject which limitations of space forbid me now to discuss, as it would involve a consideration of the associations, professions, and shibboleths by which certain underlying and persistent tendencies may at present be disguised. It is, however, a fact that, as regards our diplomacy prior to the Civil War, Soulé's brief diplomatic adventure at Madrid, although it has a strong personal flavor, most vividly illustrates certain pre-war trends of our diplomacy, and of contemporaneous European diplomacy as related to American diplomacy.

It is for this reason that the present work, which embraces the results of an intelligent, indefatigable, exhaustive examination of both European and American sources, official and unofficial, published and unpublished, has, as an illuminant, an importance wider than its titular description would convey. A Frenchman transplanted by chance to the United States by way of Haiti, where he was suddenly and radically converted to the view that the Negro race was outside the conception of human liberty which he had before so valiantly championed, Soulé found in Louisiana a congenial atmosphere and full opportunity for the display of his exceptional gifts. As an immigrant without pecuniary means, he naturally had at first a hard struggle; but he was one of those aggressive and restless personalities who, wherever they go, inevitably figure in sensations, gaining friends and making enemies, but on the whole winning popularity as one of the resounding players in the drama of the day. With these qualities he fought his way to the top; and in the space of eight years, from 1847 to 1855, was twice elected to the United States Senate, and achieved at Madrid, as minister and duelist, a career unexampled in the diplomacy of the United States.

Soulé's appointment to Madrid Dr. Ettinger correctly attributes, as I

think, to the expansionists who wanted Cuba, among whom Caleb Cushing influentially figured, and the "Young America" group, who demanded diplomatic appointments as a solace for the loss of cabinet positions. In reality, Dr. Ettinger, following Schouler, says "slave-holding" expansionists; but I cannot unreservedly accept this limitation. No slaveholder ever sang the beneficent effects of the expansion of the United States over "vast regions" to the south and the west, including the "purchased conquests", as the Supreme Court called them, of Mexican territory in 1848, with a sweeter or more sonorous eloquence than did the conservative Whig, Edward Everett, in declining in 1852 the invitation to the United States to sign the self-denying tripartite treaty. At an earlier day John Jay, an antislavery man, sang in similar strain the past performances and future prospects of "our western sons of liberty". Twenty years ago, in my *Four Phases of American Development*, I ventured (p. 174) the opinion that, but for the controversy concerning slavery, there would have been no appreciable opposition in the United States to the acquisition of Texas or of California and New Mexico, the general sentiment in favor of continental expansion being sufficient, as it was in the case of Louisiana, to overwhelm any local antagonism to the disturbance of the balance of power in the Union. The late Judge Gresham, antislavery man and Union soldier, who had a brother in the Mexican War, more than once remarked to me that the war spirit swept down the valley of the Ohio like a fire across the prairies. Lincoln suffered a political eclipse in Illinois because of his criticisms of the war, although he voted for the appropriations to carry it on. Von Holst has familiarized us with "slavocracy" and "slavocrats" as forces in our constitutional development; but, while they undoubtedly bore a definite relation to the Civil War, which hung on constitutional questions, they only shared, with some objective distortion, the expansionist spirit that accounts for modern as well as for ancient empires; the spirit that, for instance, impelled France, during the Civil War in the United States, to endeavor to subjugate Mexico. Perhaps one may, in the light of that significant episode, conjecture that the Monroe Doctrine, though now and then perverted, has tended to limit the disturbance of the peace of the western hemisphere.

Of the conduct of William L. Marcy, Pierce's Secretary of State, in the matter of the dismissal of Horatio J. Perry, secretary of the legation at Madrid, Dr. Ettinger takes a very unfavorable view, intimating, as I understand him, that Marcy's plea that the private exhibition of Perry's confidential letters was due to a "leak" elsewhere than in the Department of State was not well founded. But, even though my interpretation on this point may be wrong, I may say that there was such a "leak". On investigating this question forty years ago I learned from the late Dr. James C. Welling, the last editor of the *National Intelligencer*, and, at the time of the Soulé mission, assistant editor

of that journal, that the disclosure was made through Perry's personal friend, Severn Teackle Wallis, a member of the Baltimore bar and author of two works on Spain, published in 1850 and 1853, to whom Perry, apprehensive lest his letter to Pierce, which duly appeared in the *National Intelligencer*, might lead to his sudden dismissal, sent copies of the confidential papers to be used, publicly or privately, in his justification. It was done privately, but unsuccessfully. What Dr. Welling told me was afterwards confirmed by Mr. Wallis himself, who, indeed, gave me the papers!

On certain questions, including that of the extension of slavery, Marcy was more than suspected by dominant members of his party. Treading warily, he was sometimes obliged to subordinate strong personal sentiments to broad considerations of the general interest, as he did by remaining in office after Pierce, against his earnest remonstrance, recognized the Rivas-Walker government in Nicaragua. Cabinet members, as the final decision rests with the President, are peculiarly exposed to such a predicament. They must also consider the attitude of the Senate and of senators. Surveying Marcy's unusual record of varied and important achievements, we may feel thankful that, while quietly puncturing the Ostend Manifesto, peacefully adjusting disputes with Spain, and otherwise out-manoeuvring his enemies, he avoided a final breach with his chief.

New York.

JOHN BASSETT MOORE.

South Carolina during Reconstruction. By FRANCIS BUTLER SIMKINS, Ph.D., Associate Professor of History, State Teachers College, Farmville, Virginia, and ROBERT HILLIARD WOODY, Instructor in History, Duke University. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 1932. Pp. xiv, 610. \$8.00.)

WITH refreshing freedom from prejudice and special pleading, the authors picture honest, unselfish carpetbaggers, respectable, well-meaning scalawags, and Negroes with intelligence and political ability. They count as many white Democrats under Federal indictment for violence in elections as Republicans guilty of corruption. General Canby is here no military tyrant but a man "of enlarged liberality" solicitous of "the public welfare". Republican Governor Chamberlain is honest and courageous. On the other hand, the authors describe ex-slaveholders like Hampton willing to extend suffrage to intelligent Negroes, ex-Confederates coöperating cheerfully with Northern commanders, and ex-secessionists accepting the verdict of the War. In short, one finds honest, public-spirited men, and unscrupulous self-seekers in all groups. Slavery had left the Negro childlike and ignorant, the non-planter white uneducated and politically inexperienced, and the cultivated aristocracy adept at managing slaves and ruling commonwealths but unused to democracy and manual labor. Reconstruction tells the story of their mutual

efforts to adjust themselves to revolutionized conditions of life, to build new political institutions, a new economic system, and even a new social order. The problem was complicated by the influx of outsiders and the temporary domination of the unscrupulous of all groups which chaotic post-war conditions made possible.

Political narrative is only one phase of Reconstruction. The authors describe the manifold problems of transition from plantations to small farms, experiments with hired labor, tenant-farming, crop-sharing, efforts at diversification and scientific method in agriculture; the rebuilding of transportation facilities; attempts to develop manufactures; the revival of commerce; the restoration of towns; and the difficulties of financing this rehabilitation of the state. The struggle of aristocrats to retain privileges and maintain the forms of the old life amidst poverty and decay, the rise of poorer whites, the development of recently seceded religious denominations, the establishment of separate Negro churches, the development of Negro and white schools, interferences of Northerners in these matters—all are portrayed. The Negro is treated not only as a political problem, but as a social, economic, pedagogic, and religious factor. In conclusion the authors show the unfortunate influence of the ordeal of Reconstruction upon the Southern mind of to-day.

Despite remarkable objectivity, the book reveals an underlying philosophy of the propertied white. The authors seem to disapprove Tillman's suffrage reforms of 1895 as much because "the Negro had already learned of the inconveniences and dangers of politics" as because they were "subterfuges". Their proof of the "irresponsible character" of the 1868 convention because its members were not large property holders or taxpayers rests upon the assumption that wealth gives rights and good government. In declaring that white Radicals "deserve *more* condemnation than the Negroes" they imply culpability of Negroes for participating in government. They criticize "stinging declarations against slavery" as inconsiderate of "injured feelings" of whites without remarking Negro injuries under slavery. They believe, "The literary instruction imparted [apparently merely reading and writing] elevated the [Negro] race into an unreal world and left it less adequately equipped for the problem of living than did the industrial training given the plantation slave." Nowhere is the possibility of social equality for cultivated Negroes seriously considered. Historians usually do write from a particular point of view, but it should be avowed.

Other questions arise. One wonders if the killing of twenty-three per cent. of "the arms-bearing population" really explains "the lack of distinctive achievements of South Carolinians since the war". Figures that show South Carolina farms much more profitable than Illinois farms in 1873 and than the nation's average farm in 1880 are startling. Did declining prices in cotton really injure foreign competitors more than domestic producers? In

view of slaveholders' motives for encouraging Negro religion under white control and prohibiting it under Negro preachers, one questions the master class's "great solicitude" for the Negroes' "spiritual welfare". Use of authorities is sometimes uncritical. For instance, the assertion that "scheming state officials gave a star of the burlesque stage a percentage commission to induce the drunken governor to sign an issue of bonds" is based upon one man's memory of an anecdote told forty-five years before by a disreputable politician under circumstances where the telling might secure favor. Occasional contradictions occur: for example, in the 1868 convention "injured feelings of the . . . white minority were not considered" and one page later "there was even an inclination to respect the feelings of 'the brave men' who had been defeated"; again, "The assumption of the equality of all men before the law has usually been flaunted whenever the issue of white supremacy has been involved", and later, "The principle of the equality of all men before the law was . . . grafted into the judicial practice . . . and it has not since been extirpated". One would like some explanation of unwillingness to grant political, social, and cultural privileges to capable Negroes; more of the realities of decaying aristocracy and less of its romantic attempts to maintain ante bellum social customs; and, finally, light on the relative importance of Southern ante bellum policies, inevitable effects of war, and Northern interference, in creating the hardships of Reconstruction. Failure to consult a single manuscript is amazing. And the bibliography is completely uncritical.

On the whole, however, the book stands a model for rewriting Reconstruction history. It is fair; it is thorough. It is long, but—except for the chapter on railroads where one flounders in statistics not clearly set forth—interesting. The style is good. Constant quotation from contemporaries creates a vivid picture. Sympathetic understanding makes clear the manifold problems which each group faced. One closes the book with a new perception of the social, economic, and cultural factors which created the New South of to-day.

Washington, D. C.

HOWARD K. BEALE.

The Populist Revolt: a History of the Farmers' Alliance and the People's Party. By JOHN D. HICKS, Professor of American History and Dean of the College of Arts and Sciences, University of Nebraska. (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press. 1931. Pp. xiii, 473. \$4.00.)

IN the era when Mrs. Lease urged farmers "to raise less corn and more hell" the agrarian movement was enveloped in the smoke of battle and the mists of prejudice. Time has cleared the air, and Dr. Hicks is able not only to see outlines that were blurred to contemporary eyes, but also to view the scene with urbanity and impartiality. For more than a decade he has delved

in the contemporary records of the Farmers' Alliance and Populism, including the Donnelly, Weller, Allen, and Maxwell manuscripts. He has taken scholarly advantage of his academic peregrinations from Minnesota to North Carolina and to Nebraska, bringing out many preliminary studies dealing with segments of the movement; and he has mastered the abundant secondary literature that the field, much cultivated in recent years, has yielded. The time was ripe for a synthesis built up from the author's own research and from the numerous local and regional studies now available. Surveys of Populism, it is true, were included in Haynes's *Third Party Movements since the Civil War* (1916) and Buck's *Agrarian Crusade* (1920), but not since McVey's *Populist Movement* (1896) had there been a comprehensive treatment of the subject.

Dr. Hicks has performed a notable service to American historical scholarship in writing this interesting and valuable book. He opens with an analysis of the grievances that the farmers suffered, or "thought they suffered", from railroads, trusts, middlemen, money-lenders, and from a muddled currency, but he sees the larger background of the agrarian crusade in the turning of the frontier upon itself after the passing of free lands. The westward movement in its last period, under railway leadership, was a headlong rush, with population streaming in so rapidly that "thoughtful and deliberate readjustments" could not be made. Soon the safety valve of the frontier was gone; and when the boom collapsed, "the restless and discontented voiced their sentiments more and fled from them less". The agrarian movements were "but the inevitable attempts of a bewildered people to find relief from a state of economic distress made certain by the unprecedented size and suddenness of their assault upon the west and by the finality with which they had conquered it". In the South a complication of conditions prepared the rural whites for revolt, given "hard enough times and a sufficiently active group of agitators". Against such a background the author pictures the organization of the farmers after the period of the Grangers and describes the progress of the movement through the eighties and nineties. He traces carefully the rise of the Farmers' Alliance; portrays Alliance Activities in a chapter that might perhaps have devoted more space to coöperative enterprises; sketches the swing from a nonpartisan basis to political action; analyzes the subtreasury plan; describes the birth of the People's party; discusses the election of 1892; pictures the Populists on Trial in the West; gives an account of the rise of the silver issue; recounts the dramatic story of The Triumph of Fusion; then follows the Middle-of-the-Road Populists to the end of the trail; and finally assesses the Populist contribution.

The contribution of Populism, as Dr. Hicks views it, consisted largely in paving the way for reforms that, though rejected at the time, ultimately were achieved. These reforms, particularly in the fields of political democracy,

currency and credit, railroad and trust control, and conservation, the author discusses in some detail, pointing out that the Populist panaceas were based upon an individualistic philosophy and found general expression in the two-fold creed that government must restrain the selfish tendencies of the few who profit at the expense of the many, and that the people must control the government. It is somewhat curious to turn from Dr. Hicks's book, which proves that the farmers achieved the reforms they wanted, to to-day's newspapers, which reflect an agrarian discontent that seems as pervasive as that of a generation ago. The author does not permit himself to explore the larger agricultural problem here suggested, but he offers a clue to his view of it when he alludes (p. 237) to the farmer as waging "a long and perhaps a losing struggle—the struggle to save agricultural America from the devouring jaws of industrial America". That the Populist movement was significant in other respects than as paving the way for reforms is perhaps insufficiently recognized by the author. The revolt seems to have contributed something to the sweeping away of outworn issues, to a more realistic politics. In state and local fields the farmers won considerable redress of grievance at the time. Economically the movement gave them some experience in coöperation. The social aspects of the crusade would seem to merit considerable attention from the point of view of understanding the life of the American farmer in the last generation.

Dr. Hicks writes clearly and forcefully, often with distinction of style. His text is, on the whole, well organized, though in its weaving it has possibly suffered a trifle from the fact that so many of the chapters were originally prepared as articles. The author weighs his material with good judgment and with not a little insight into the queer complexities of human motives and acts. He uses his sources skillfully. He does not forget that he is dealing with "a pentecost of politics in which a tongue of flame sat upon every man", and he quotes liberally from the utterances that the farmers, their leaders, and their opponents gave forth—even songs and ballads. He has an eye for the extraordinarily colorful personalities in the farmers' crusade, and the reader will enjoy his vignettes of such figures as Mrs. Lease, "Sockless" Jerry Simpson, "Pitchfork" Ben Tillman, "Calamity" Weller, Ignatius Donnelly, and James B. Weaver.

Well chosen illustrations and maps add considerably to the interest of the narrative. An appendix supplies the texts of the platforms adopted by Farmers' Alliance and Populist conventions. A carefully organized critical bibliography evidences the thoroughness of the author's search for material and will prove a boon to students of the period. The index is slightly anæmic for so robust and admirable a book.

The University of Minnesota.

THEODORE C. BLEGEN.

Beveridge and the Progressive Era. By CLAUDE G. BOWERS. (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company. 1932. Pp. xxv, 610. \$5.00.)

SENATOR BEVERIDGE owed his first recognition to his eloquence; he won his enduring success by untiring industry, self-discipline, and a highly trained appreciation of the power of the word. He deliberately schooled himself to be an orator, passing from an imitation of early bad models to a position second to none of the best. In that progress he formed a method of preparation and a manner of expression that enabled him to write an American biography that stands easily among the first. His life was one of combat, for he had Scotch blood, and from the humblest beginnings he was to win the leading place as a campaigner in politics and an unquestioned recognition as an author. The same qualities stood him in stead in both occupations. In politics his honesty and integrity of purpose could not be questioned. Whatever subject he took up—imperialism, defense of the trusts, meat inspection, child labor, and abuses of the tariff—he sought to master the detail and attain a clarity of exposition that could not be misinterpreted. His political speeches were frankly partisan, crude and weak in argument in the early period, models of exposition and denunciation in the later; always powerfully influencing the hearers, even when allowance is made for the readiness of an already convinced audience to respond. He became the recognized spokesman of policy, making whirlwind journeys across the continent in the presidential campaigns, spending himself freely in the local contests and without reward, often to the sacrifice of his own interests. Rejected by his own party, he took enthusiastically to the Progressive party, but only on the assurance of its sincere purpose to carry on its protest against social ills due to partial laws, and when that party, deserted by its leader, disappeared he returned to the Republican party, somewhat disillusioned and thoroughly weary of the turmoil and low state of politics, yet again to serve in campaign work, and again without reward.

His career in the Senate had given him a standing beyond his years—he was thirty-six when he entered. Twelve years later he left that body with a wider outlook, an intimate knowledge of legislation, of administration, and of political methods, and a nearer approach to the people—the real workers—than he had on entering. He had fought major battles, had been betrayed by his pretended friends, and had seen his favorite measures go down in defeat, only to reappear later and be accepted. But he was the best of losers. His overconfidence in himself ripened into an optimism that, joined to his great enthusiasm and equally great vitality, made him an inspiration. It was not necessary to agree with him in opinion; he welcomed controversy; but he so positively expressed his views and convictions as to win respect and admiration. Defeated by enemies or deserted by friends, he did not harbor resentment or desire for revenge, but turned to the work

before him. He had an enthusiastic following in Indiana, one that demanded too much of him in later years, and his great capacity for making friends, for interesting them in what he had in hand, and for showing appreciation for aid and counsel, seemed to grow as he prepared for his great adventure. His whole life went into his *Marshall* and *Lincoln*. He carried into them a love of truth, a research, a wide experience of men, and a fully matured judgment that gave a merited success, more lasting than anything done for lawmaking or for advancing his political party. Few, if indeed any, could have predicted such a passage and outcome. All the greater was the deserved recognition that came to him in such volume.

His earliest thoughts were turned to oratory, because of the influence it exercised over others. He listened to the campaign speakers of the day, that pitiful "bloody shirt" period, and imitated them, from Logan to Ingersoll. He worked his way through college largely by winning prizes in speaking, and won the interstate oratorical contest. At twenty-four he spoke from the stump, attacking Cleveland for being what Beveridge himself later became, and he took up the study of law, a sobering influence. He soon saw that his expression needed reform and the schooling of self that followed was characteristic and taught him the virtues of drudgery in preparation. Not only did the substance of his speeches improve, but the manner of delivery also; yet even in this formative time he was acknowledged the first orator, the most effective speaker in Indiana, and thenceforward was in demand in every political contest. Not satisfied, he continued to study the art until it became natural to him, and he had few rivals at any period in the selection of words and framing of sentences so as to hold the attention and enforce his opinions. The war with Spain fired his imagination and political ambition. He was an imperialist, wanted the United States to take its place in world politics, asserted "there was no such thing as isolation in the world to-day", and, though not endorsed by the party leaders, made an independent campaign for the United States Senate and won. Visiting the Philippines before taking his seat, he made a deep impression by his first speech, a thoroughgoing appeal for an imperialist policy.

As a member of the Senate he was a regular in party allegiance, too exacting in his committee expectations, and unmindful of the traditions of that most conservative body. He gained the confidence of the leaders, sat with them in directing the course of legislation, and also exercised his independence of thought in such a manner as to raise antagonisms. He refused to be a silent and inactive member and turned to measures of social justice that threatened the well-entrenched interests of privilege. The need of government inspection of meat products, the evils of child labor, and the abuse of tariff legislation led him away from the dominant influences and into the strong—yet short-lived—insurgent movement of 1909, involving his de-

feat in Indiana and marking the end of his public service. His interest in public affairs was heightened and he wrote much on them in a popular form, a campaign of education for writer and readers. The outbreak of the World War opened to him the opportunity of sounding European opinion and he became an intense nationalist, a position that made him utterly opposed to a League of Nations, a World Court, or any alliance that could affect the independent action of America. Questions arising from the war took the place of those on abuses of capitalism or the trend of materialism. Believing that the Republican party alone contained what was safe and sound, he nevertheless threw himself into the Progressive party and lost by the selfish conduct of Roosevelt, whom he greatly admired. Disgusted with the course of politics he turned to realize an ambition he had long held, and in writing the career of John Marshall he found a fitting occupation for his abilities, new and responsive friends, and a triumph, as yet not fully realized, overshadowing in importance all that he had done in politics. His activity in behalf of the American Historical Association was a labor of love on his part, felt also as an obligation in return for his association with its members.

It was not an easy task to write the life of such a man, so as to preserve the contrasts, measure the steady development of character, and to be just to the ambitions and performance of such a public character. Mr. Bowers has produced a biography that is more than excellent and has put into it qualities of his own that enhance its great merits. He is himself of Indiana, familiar with the political history of the state and a warm admirer of Beveridge; he has himself engaged in practical politics and journalism, and he has steeped himself in the past history of parties, as a partisan, but leaning towards that wider sympathy that true historical study encourages. He writes forcibly and vividly, with the useful bias of an insider, and a sense of proportion. He has given in the volume much local and national history, basing the study on the abundant records freely placed at his disposal, and he has with skill and power placed Beveridge in the center of action. Of the opposition, his comments and reminders are helpful and to the purpose, and he has written a new chapter, that of the rise and fall of the Progressive party. In no sense a partisan biography, the book presents an excellent picture of the march of political conflict and is eminently fair in its account of men and measures. His character sketches—such as Quay and the progressive senators—cannot be bettered and, in full sympathy with his subject, Mr. Bowers tells a rapidly moving and absorbing story.

Paris.

WORTHINGTON C. FORD.

Newton D. Baker: America at War. By FREDERICK PALMER. Two volumes. (New York: Dodd, Mead and Company. 1931. Pp. xiv, 421; x, 451. \$7.50.)

Transporting the A. E. F. in Western Europe, 1917-1919. By WILLIAM

J. WILGUS, Member, Military Railway Commission to England and France, Director of Military Railways, A. E. F., Deputy Director General of Transportation, A. E. F. (New York: Columbia University Press. 1931. Pp. xxviii, 612. \$12.50.)

COLONEL PALMER's important contribution to the literature of the World War blends history, biography, and reminiscence. Rich as is its documentation, from the War Department correspondence, the personal files of Secretary Baker and General Bliss, and other sources, many of its affirmations rest on "statements to the author" by thirty-nine participants in the actions narrated. More than one-fifth of the footnotes refer to testimony of this sort, which is supplemented by liberal drafts on the author's own memories of men and events.

As a portrait of the war-time Secretary, these volumes are of highest interest. Mr. Baker's "power from the President" was as supreme as Pershing's from Baker. History holds no higher example of the one-two-three delegation of authority." Convinced by his study of history that civilian interference with commanders in the field was dangerous, the Secretary conceived his rôle simply. "Select a commander in whom you have confidence; give him power and responsibility, and then . . . work your own head off to get him everything he needs and support him in every decision he makes." Mr. Baker's steadfast loyalty, his determination to keep politics out of appointments, his patience under criticism and readiness to take responsibility are so justly stressed that some readers may doubt whether "inevitable fate . . . permits no Secretary of War to be a hero".

As a history of the actual achievement of the War Department Colonel Palmer's work is less satisfactory. The explanation of the failure to make better preparations before the declaration of war leaves much to be desired. In rebutting the criticisms of Theodore Roosevelt, Harvey, and Pershing, the author scores many points, such as his account of Pershing's two sets of instructions (I. 170-173). He seeks to throw much of the blame for delay in deliveries on changes in the requisitions from overseas. On the moot point of the "big divisions" his charge that our divisional organization was "wished on us" by the French staff is unsupported, and his statement that no European nation changed the size of its divisions during or after the war is incorrect. The extended discussion of the problem of venereal disease scarcely indicates the extent to which war-time control followed army regulations antedating Mr. Baker's advent to the War Department.

Colonel Palmer makes important contributions to the story of interallied coöperation, but leaves the early stages of our policy as to military participation still obscure. Significant portions of Mr. Baker's letter of May 8, 1917, to President Wilson, which appeared in the serialized version of the book, have been deleted (I. 167). New light is thrown on the origin of the plan to dispatch 150 battalions for service with the British (II. 108-117). Too

much stress is laid, however, on the Secretary's suggestion to General Pershing on December 25, 1917, that "places might be selected for your forces nearer the junction of the British and French lines which would enable you to throw your strength in whichever direction seemed most necessary". Even if Pershing had been willing to move his forces a hundred miles from their railheads under construction to a zone where French and American lines of communication would have been inextricably entangled, the French would not have consented to the shift.

Although Colonel Palmer expresses his conviction that "by the summer of 1918 the home effort was better organized than that in France", he succeeds better in depicting the magnitude of the problems raised than in analyzing the steps taken by the War Department to meet them. In sharp contrast Colonel Wilgus's monumental work keeps constantly before the reader the actual progress being made month by month in providing the tonnage and transport on which success depended. It is of capital importance not only for the student of military organization and logistics but for the diplomatic historian, for the Associated Powers naturally looked to our performance rather than to the programs we offered. Secretary Baker's reminiscent description of the transportation situation in March, 1918 (Frothingham, *American Reinforcement in the World War*, pp. 238-239), should be compared with the stark facts of Wilgus's narrative. "Over a year after we had entered the War, we had contributed not a single man toward the movement of our troops and supplies over the sorely tried French railroads, not a man toward their track maintenance, only 60 per cent. of the force required for the maintenance of equipment, and less than three-quarters of the men needed for discharging vessels." In the autumn of 1918 the situation was rapidly approaching a crisis, as the Americans faced, in military transportation, "by far the greatest task of its kind that the world had ever known". On the eve of the armistice the daily average tonnage discharged at the ports was "but 65 per cent of the needs of the hour", while the train mileage was but forty-one per cent. of the calculated requirements. Much of the difficulty was due to inadequate peace-time provision for a transportation service and to faulty staff organization. "Within a period of some sixteen months the duties of the Transportation Service, and its relation to higher authority, underwent eight radical changes." Thanks to Foch's insistence in April on shipment of American infantry and machine gun units at the expense of railway equipment, the cart was placed before the horse and vast numbers of men were sent to be transported from the base ports to the front in advance of the means of transport. That so much could be accomplished in the face of these and countless other difficulties is an everlasting tribute to the Transportation Corps, A. E. F.

Harvard University.

JAMES P. BAXTER, 3RD.

Problems of the Pacific, 1931. Proceedings of the Fourth Conference of the Institute of Pacific Relations, Hangchow and Shanghai, China, October 21 to November 2. Edited by BRUNO LASKER. Assisted by W. I. Holland, Acting Research Secretary. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1932. Pp. xi, 548. \$5.00.)

THIS volume is a record of the round-table discussions of the Fourth Conference of the Institute of Pacific Relations. It contains, in addition, extracts from the materials prepared for the conference and from addresses delivered at the general sessions. It will thus be obvious that the normal standards of reviewing are not applicable to it. Lacking in unity to a great extent, as a book of this character must necessarily be, it does contain within its covers a vast amount of information bearing upon the problems discussed. To this extent it is a useful addition to the volumes of similar nature which appeared following the Honolulu conference of 1927 and Kyoto conference of 1929.

The present work is organized in five parts dealing with (1) Economic Relations in the Pacific, (2) China's Economic Development, (3) Political Relations in the Pacific, (4) China's International Relations, and (5) Cultural Relations in the Pacific. One difficulty which the editors have in particular attempted to overcome is the unavoidable repetition of arguments at round-table discussions occasioned in part by the changing membership of the conferences. Their object as stated by them has been to "reproduce important new information and to indicate the trend of thinking on a given subject rather than to present a rounded statement of *all* significant facts and opinions". Judged in this light the volume fulfills in a clear and readable style its purpose.

Problems of the Pacific, 1931, it should further be noted, bears witness to one of the major accomplishments of the institute. It will be recalled that the Manchurian crisis broke forth just five weeks before the convening of the conference and the bitterness engendered might well have wrecked discussion in so far at least as Japanese and Chinese delegates were concerned. Nevertheless, Dr. Hu Shih, president of the conference, was able to say in his opening address:

This Conference has been made possible by a tardy realization on the part of its Japanese and Chinese members that, whatever calamities may have befallen their respective countries through the folly of their political leaders, some good may yet result from the coming together and the thinking together of the enlightened men and women of the various nations, and the application of scientific method both in research and discussion in international affairs.

In the main it may be said that this spirit is representative of the data papers and the summaries of discussions edited by Mr. Lasker.

The conference was, indeed, too close in point of time to events in Man-

churia for its discussions to have any great significance. Nevertheless its discussions on the inadequacy of the diplomatic machinery of the Pacific were not without value. The conference was led to the conclusion that the greatest defect in the diplomatic machinery was "its inability to do justice to the imponderable psychological factors in situations where the emotions are deeply stirred" (p. 222).

For the student of Far Eastern history perhaps the most useful section of the book is part II. dealing with China's economic development. To the general student it should convey some appreciation of the complexity of problems which the institute must face in future conferences.

The University of Kentucky.

PAUL HIBBERT CLYDE.

SHORTER NOTICES

Histoire Ancienne. Deuxième Partie, Histoire Grecque. Par Gustave Glotz, Membre de l'Institut, Professeur à la Sorbonne, avec la Collaboration de Robert Cohen, Professeur au Lycée Henri IV. Tome II., *La Grèce au V^e Siècle*. [Histoire Générale, publiée sous la Direction de Gustave Glotz.] (Paris, Presses Universitaires de France, 1931, pp. 800, 75 fr.) The work of Glotz and his collaborator is, aside from the *Cambridge Ancient History*, the most important history of Greece to appear since the first publication of the epoch-making works of Meyer, Busolt, and Beloch. It obviously is desirable to have an account that takes into consideration recent scholarship and that also possesses the unity that can come only from unity of authorship. Nevertheless, a volume on a subject discussed as frequently as fifth century Greece must be ready to pass a severe test. It should be accurate and sufficiently full in its technical aids, well written, and should have something constructive to contribute to the interpretation of the period. Measured by this standard, the study under consideration cannot claim perfection but ranks high enough to deserve a warm welcome.

The technical aids are good. It is true that every scholar will regret omissions in the longer bibliographical notes, and yet these furnish a useful guide to additional literature. Shorter notes cite the sources and occasionally secondary literature on specific points. These frequently call attention to divergent interpretations of controversial questions but sometimes fail to supply all that is needed. On page 52 there is nothing to indicate why the elder Alcibiades is included among the first statesmen to be ostracized at Athens, nor is there anything in connection with the statement made on page 151 that after the Battle of Tanagra Pericles secured the recall of Cimon, to warn the student that he is face to face with a controversial problem. There are also a few inaccuracies in the references to the sources. Thus note 101 on page 696 cites only Thuc. vii. 16-17 for the dispatch of Athenian and Pello-

ponnesian forces to Sicily and fails to include chapter 19 in which the greater part of the information concerning the Peloponnesian forces is given. At the end of the volume there is a twenty-two page index and a rather full table of contents.

The descriptive part of the volume is the most valuable. The account of social and economic conditions is sane and moderate. The accomplishment of the Athenians in industry and commerce is told with enthusiasm, but the reader is warned that Athenian industry never passed the embryonic stage. Under the circumstances it is a little surprising to find the Athenian citizen body estimated at 138,000; the metics, at 70,000; and the slaves, as high as 200,000 or 210,000. In the narrative parts, emphasis is placed on the influence of prominent men: Themistocles, Pericles, Alcibiades, Lysander, and others. Throughout the volume Athens is always to the fore. She is considered the real saviour of Greece in the Persian War and naturally is even more prominent in other sections. In those sections for which the sources are full, the authors are conservative in their criticism. Where the sources give only scattered details, they are not afraid of bold reconstructions.

The University of Chicago.

JAKOB A. O. LARSEN.

Römische Geschichte. Erste Hälfte, *Die Römische Republik.* Von Joseph Vogt, Professor an der Universität Würzburg. Zweite Hälfte, *Die Römische Kaiserzeit.* Von Dr. Julius Wolf, Professor am Bundesrealgymnasium in Mödling bei Wien. [Geschichte der Führenden Völker, herausgegeben von Heinrich Finke, Hermann Junker, Gustav Schnürer, Bänden VI., VII.] (Freiburg im Breisgau, Herder and Company, 1932, pp. 350; 286, \$3.15; \$2.50.) Vogt's volume is in the same historical series as the *Griechische Geschichte* of Berve, which was reviewed here last January. Intended for general readers, it has no burden of footnotes and argues no thesis. Vogt aims to be adequate within the prescribed limits, just in proportion and emphasis, honest and sane in interpretation, lucid and yet compact in presentation, and he succeeds admirably. He has employed the early archæological material with wisdom and restraint, he has the courage to omit much of the tralatitian hypothetical lumber about the early constitution, he reveals a complete grasp of source materials and of extensive publications, and, best of all, he has given a fresh explanation—not without political insight—of the confused cross currents of the late republic. The author has in fact caught something of Mommsen's spirit, which we have missed so painfully in the many immature and smart dissertations on Republican history of recent years. The reading of this volume repeatedly reminded me of what a Göttingen professor stated some twenty years ago: "Without some experience in democratic politics, we can hardly learn to comprehend the politics of Cicero's day." Vogt seems to me to understand.

One can, of course, find flaws in any book. In this one, cultural and economic history receive less attention than one could wish. Vogt is too certain that the Saguntine treaty was signed in 220; he yields hasty credence to the recent hypothesis that Roman agrarian interests destroyed Carthage and to the equally recent guess that the enemies of Scipio elected Flaminius. And there are other signs of haste. But the book as a whole is excellent and deserves success.

The volume on the Empire by Wolf, on the other hand, is a failure. Wolf apparently writes for *primaner*, neglects facts for platitudes, stresses the unimportant in cultural history, utters naïve solemnities about religion and politics, and betrays a surprising ignorance of the sources. A man who places Diodorus in Nero's reign and mentions him as a source for imperial history should hardly have undertaken this task.

The Johns Hopkins University.

TENNEY FRANK.

The Growth of Political Thought in the West, from the Greeks to the End of the Middle Ages. By Charles Howard McIlwain, Eaton Professor of the Science of Government in Harvard University. (New York, Macmillan Company, 1932, pp. vii, 417, \$3.50.) At a time when many of the political dogmas and axioms of the past century are being reëxamined, and when new governmental experiments are being tried, it is natural that there should be a revival of interest in the political theories of the past and of the methods that have been used to solve the perpetual problem of adjusting human relationships. In the volume under review, Professor McIlwain traces the development of political thought in the Western World from the Greek period to the close of the Middle Ages. The ideas of Plato and Aristotle have been so thoroughly analyzed by many able scholars that there is little that can be added; hence, in discussing the Greek period, the author follows well-established lines. In the chapter on Roman political thought the author makes a distinct contribution in his discussion of the influence of Stoic philosophy and the development of scientific jurisprudence.

The chapters on the medieval period are, perhaps, the most valuable portions of the book. Following Carlyle in the main, the author gives a clear and scholarly treatment of the controversy between ecclesiastical and secular authority, devoting especial attention to the development of the theory of law. His emphasis on the important changes which took place in political theory between the eleventh and fourteenth centuries is especially valuable. Among these the author mentions the revived study of Roman law, the contact of Western Europe with the ethical and political writings of Aristotle, the growth of the common law in England, and the development of the medieval system of representative institutions. Especial attention is given to the outburst of polemical writings that accompanied the struggle between popes and

emperors between 1085 and 1112, and to the theories of Egidius Romanus and of John of Salisbury in the later period of the controversy. The theory of the Conciliar Movement is treated rather sketchily, but due attention is given to the beginnings of theories of sovereignty, of legislation, and of royal supremacy that accompanied the rise of national states at the close of the medieval period.

If any criticism were to be made of this excellent volume, it would be that the author gives too much attention to the development of the theory of law, to the neglect of other aspects of political thought. On the other hand, this emphasis on the legalistic aspects of political thought gives a certain unity to the treatment that has decided value. Another strong feature of the work is the attention given by the author to the reasons why particular theories arose, and to the process of development by which the ideas of one period grew out of those that preceded them. It is to be hoped that Professor McIlwain will follow this volume by others that will deal with the political thought of modern times.

The University of California.

RAYMOND G. GETTELL.

Hellenistic Queens: a Study of Woman-Power in Macedonia, Seleucid Syria, and Ptolemaic Egypt. By Grace Harriet Macurdy, Professor of Greek in Vassar College. [The Johns Hopkins University Studies in Archaeology, edited by David M. Robinson, no. 14.] (Baltimore, Johns Hopkins Press, 1932, pp. xv, 250, \$4.00.) Professor Macurdy has gathered together the little that we know about the queens of Macedonia, Syria, and Egypt in a gallant determination to show that they ill deserve the general condemnation with which historians have dismissed them. Few were really bad and perhaps these were as much sinned against as sinning. Some were able and virtuous, many were the helpless victims of circumstances. There is a certain amount of special pleading in the book not always harmonious with the author's conscientious style. As a source book it is excellent; as a work of literature it suffers severely from the fragmentary and controversial nature of the sources themselves. One emerges with the feeling that, after all, the wickedest queens were the most interesting; Olympias, the terrible mother of Alexander the Great, Asinö II., of whom the author says, "I believe that no record of a single good deed on her part has been handed down to us", and the last and most famous of the Cleopatras.

Aside from the biographies there is a good discussion of the status of Hellenistic queens in which it is clearly shown that the basis of their power was personal and not constitutional.

The reader will be grateful for the portraits with which the book is illustrated. He would have been glad also of a few family trees to help him keep in mind the awful complexity of Hellenistic royal relationships.

Yale University.

ALFRED R. BELLINGER.

Kriegs- und Wanderzüge: Weltgeschichte als Völkerbewegung. Von Alexander und Eugen Kulischer. (Berlin, Walter de Gruyter, 1932, pp. viii, 230, 17 M.) The student of migrations will find in this work a much needed revaluation of the mechanics of this subject (ch. I., especially). Further, in revealing that much of the misery and war that has visited the human race was the result of the movements of peoples in search of food, the authors insist that the problem of the relation of population to subsistence area is a matter of international rather than national concern.

In evolving this generalization the authors have made an exhaustive study of migrations during three periods of history. The Arab advances provoked a series of related folk and war movements reaching, on the one side, from North Africa to the Dnieper and, on the other, from Mesopotamia through south Russia to the Balkans. The Norse exodus, for example, is one of the links in this chain of events.* During the period of absolutism (sixteenth to eighteenth centuries) the national army had become the reservoir for the surplus population. Agriculture and trade, however, were not equal to supporting this burden, which grew heavier as the population increased; in consequence, large elements moved from place to place occasionally finding refuge but more often causing further dislocation. During the nineteenth century the expansion of peoples was world-wide and population increased enormously. With the exhaustion of readily accessible subsistence lands the surplus masses turned to the industrial centers which could not support them. The "psychopathische Strategie" prevalent on the eve of the World War was engendered by the awesome spectacle of actual or imminent pressure for which no mechanism of control existed.

This brief description hardly does justice to the meticulous precision of the writing, the able analyses of cause and effect, or the high standard of documentation that support the thesis of the book. The statement that the Negroes recently emigrating from the South were replaced by Mexican laborers jars us slightly, but this and other aberrations may be passed over in a work of such broad scope.

Princeton University.

J. E. POMFRET.

The First Century of English Feudalism, 1066-1166. By F. M. Stenton, Fellow of the British Academy, Professor of History in the University of Reading. [The Ford Lectures, delivered in the University of Oxford in Hilary Term, 1929.] (Oxford, Clarendon Press; New York, Oxford University Press, 1932, pp. vii, 311, \$4.00.) Professor Stenton is a follower of Round, but he does more than "reap after". He has written a book which is both original and important. In his study of English feudalism he leaves the traditional standpoint of the king and his court and takes that of the knights and barons, their "social organization". He reverses Maitland's dic-

tum of the dark age "beyond" Domesday, believing that for feudalism at least the dark age is the century this side. The centralization of Glanville's time marked a new era about which we have known much, but more may be known by a better understanding of the century before. The author's English feudalism stands out sharply from both Anglo-Saxon and Continental feudalism, yet he takes the present orthodox view that it was institutionally derived from the latter and thinks Maitland overworked analogies between pre- and post-Conquest feudal England.

The sources used are largely private charters, enfeoffments of one sort or another—many new or but slightly used before, others used largely for genealogy. One is surprised at the amount of material now available in local collections, and much more still to be explored, in this period before the chancery enrollments.

Some leading themes: the non-Norman elements coming to England in the Conqueror's time or after, and affecting feudalism; feudal family settlements, autonomous nature of honors before *mort d'ancestor*, and honors as not necessarily the largest holdings, but those conferring distinction; a new study of the Conqueror's "scattering of the fiefs", and later scatterings; elaborate baronial households and developing household officials; "barons" as the greater vassals of lords and not solely royal tenants-in-chief—the Salisbury oath applying to the honorial baronage; numerous grants of higher criminal justice even by mesne lords; thegns and knights (the best discussion to be found); the personal side of knight service, the developing knight's fee, the strangely mixed content of early knight service, especially castle-guard, including much on early castles, "adulterine" and lawful; a fresh study of scutage; much on early earldoms and palatinates; and concluding with a view of Stephen's reign which presents the feudal baronage not so much getting out of hand under a weak king as all classes suffering from the civil war of a disputed succession. There is a hint of Henry II. as far more than the restorer and developer of what Henry I. had begun—a constructive governmental genius like the Conqueror. Henry II. is exalted, Henry I. diminished somewhat.

The University of Minnesota.

A. B. WHITE.

And so began the Irish Nation. By Seamus MacCall. (London and New York, Longmans, Green and Company, 1931, pp. xvii, 475, 12s. 6d.). The group of Irish writers of the ninth, tenth, and eleventh centuries to whom is due the long-accepted version of the pre-Christian history of Ireland has received from Dr. Eóin MacNeill the designation of "the synthetic historians". Their history "is partly fabricated, and partly made up of mythology, legend and epic narrative, arranged under an arbitrary chronology" adopted from Eusebius and St. Jerome. Should some MacNeill of a future age have occa-

sion to classify the present work, he will probably describe it as a synthetic history, in which myth, legend, and epic are fitted into a framework, not of Biblical chronology but of the results of modern archæological investigation. Mr. MacCall's archæology, in spite of the dogmatic treatment of many unsettled problems, is, in the main, well-founded; his amalgamation therewith of literary material, drawn from manuscripts of the eleventh century of our era and later, to produce "a coherent and comprehensive story of the origin and evolution of the Irish nation" during more than two millenia preceding the birth of Christ is, at the best, highly imprudent. Minor errors cannot here be enumerated: the early Christian poet Sedulius is "one of Ireland's earliest poets" and a disciple of Ailbe of Emlý; Tighernach is still "the first critical historian of Ireland"; the inscription which a Roman cavalry officer erected at Hexham in thanksgiving to the gods for victory over, it would seem, a band of Irish raiders is offered as evidence that St. Patrick was an Irishman. The numerous illustrations from the author's own drawings will be found valuable, but his references to authorities, described as 'rather an acknowledgment of debts', are, for the serious student, almost useless, and in some cases (*e.g.*, on pp. 30-31, 80, 123, 149, 244, 376-379) unintelligible.

J. F. K.

Die Fränkische Kultur und der Islam, mit Besonderer Berücksichtigung der Nordischen Entwicklung: eine Universalhistorische Studie. Von Dr. Erna Patzelt, Privatdozent an der Wiener Universität. (Vienna, Verlag Rudolf M. Rohrer, 1932, pp. 244, 15 M.) The matter at issue in this erudite disquisition is M. Henri Pirenne's ingenious thesis that it was the expansion of Islam rather than the Teutonic invasions, which gave Europe its properly medieval orientation. The author, a pupil of Professor Alfons Dopsch of Vienna, endeavors to show, first, that Pirenne's premise of a unified Mediterranean civilization surviving in its essential features down to the end of the Merovingian epoch, is an assumption without real warrant. She contends, in the next place, that Pirenne has undervalued the contribution made by the Teutons to early medieval civilization; and with the aim of providing the perspective which to her seems indispensable for a just estimate of the importance of this contribution, she presents a somewhat prolix exposition of the development of Teutonic *Eigenkultur* from neolithic times to the sixth century of our era. According to Dr. Patzelt, Pirenne has greatly exaggerated the results of the Muslim conquests and in particular their effects upon Europe. Available evidence, it is argued, does not bear out the alleged closure of the Mediterranean by the Muslims (pp. 210 ff., 233 f.). After the Hellenistic period (*cf.* pp. 23 ff.) the Mediterranean ceased to be the principal, all-important highway of commerce joining Occident with Levant; the Romans had a marked preference for land routes, and these, along with river

routes, eventually came to be utilized much more than the sea (pp. 160 ff.). Many facts are marshalled in support of the view that the decline of urban life in the West and the process by which the East became differentiated from the West were all but complete *before* the appearance of Islam (pp. 29-61, 156-157).

Rejecting the opposite interpretation of Pirenne, and relying in considerable measure on the researches of Dopsch, Vogel, A. Bugge, and J. W. Thompson, our author insists that during the Carolingian period commerce in the Frankish realm registered not shrinkage but expansion (pp. 230 ff.). In the judgment of the reviewer, Dr. Patzelt has demonstrated that Pirenne's thesis, far from being unassailable, does not, in several respects, rest upon firm ground. But it may hardly be declared utterly demolished.

The University of Chicago.

EINAR JORANSON.

Lodewijk van Velthem's Voortzetting van den Spiegel Historiae, 1248-1316. Opnieuw uitgegeven door Herman Vander Linden, Willem de Vreese, en Paul De Keyser. Tweede deel. [Académie Royale de Belgique, Commission Royale d'Histoire.] (Brussels, Lamertin, 1931, pp. viii, 440.) It is a pleasure to receive the second volume of this edition of Lodewijk van Velthem's chronicle. The Commission Royale d'Histoire published the first volume in 1906. Professor Vander Linden enjoyed the help of Professor De Vreese in this undertaking. The World War broke out in 1914 while the second volume was in press. Only 120 pages were printed. Dr. De Vreese discontinued his coöperation after the war because of the flamingant difficulties in which he had taken active interest. Lodewijk van Velthem's chronicle begins with 1248. Until 1300 it is drawn from sources which are for the most part known, but from that date onward the narrative is based upon the testimony of eyewitnesses. The author was a priest, lived in Antwerp, and was well acquainted with the duke of Brabant. The volume under review contains the third and fourth books of the chronicle, and deals with Emperors Adolph of Nassau and Albrecht of Austria, the war between Edward I. and Philip the Fair, and the complicated relations of the count of Flanders with the count of Hainault, Holland, and Zeeland. Especially interesting is the description of the Welsh (p. 229) who accompanied Edward to Flanders. The author's account of the Battle of Courtrai (1302) is a classic. Hitherto scholars have been dependent upon the scarce and defective edition provided by Isaac le Long (Amsterdam, 1727). It is to be hoped that writers in the English speaking world will no longer disregard this most important source for the affairs of Edward I. The chronicler's point of view is essentially Netherlandish. It well illustrates how a person living in the flourishing part of Antwerp at the opening of the fourteenth century viewed contemporary events.

The University of Washington.

HENRY S. LUCAS.

Histoire du Limousin et de la Marche. Par J. Nouillac. *Histoire du Comté de Nice.* Par Robert Latouche. *Histoire de Bretagne.* Par Auguste Dupouy. [Les Vieilles Provinces de France, three volumes.] (Paris, Boivin et Cie., 1931, 1932, 1932, pp. 275, 263, 424. 18 fr., 18 fr., 24 fr.) These volumes prove once more the value of the provincial approach to French history. They not only furnish a wealth of specific examples for all the major forces which have produced the French nation as we know it, but they demonstrate effectively both the continuity and the variety of these factors in widely-separated geographic areas. They contain a few statements of dubious accuracy and an occasional comment hardly defensible except frankly as a matter of opinion, yet they easily maintain the excellent reputation of the series of which they form a part. Provincial patriotism is not lacking, but it is not excessive. There is a pervasive atmosphere of scholarship, despite the lack of footnotes; the illustrations are numerous, well-chosen, and illuminating.

The volume on the Limousin is remarkably successful. The author has made the most of the position of his province on the borders of three sharply contrasting districts, the Capetian north, the Albigensian south, and (in the medieval period) the Plantagenet west. There are admirable chapters on the cultural history of the province at various epochs, on the Limousin papacy of the fourteenth century, and on the religious revival in the Limousin in the seventeenth. The pages dealing with the period since 1815, as might be expected, are the least impressive. The county of Nice, one of the smallest of the French provinces and not French at all during a large part of its existence, has played an extraordinary rôle in both French and European history, partly because of its access to the sea combined with protection on the north by a mountain wall against both men and weather, partly because Savoy, Italy, and France have necessarily faced each other across its boundaries. All this the author has brought out vividly. The chapters devoted to the Roman period are not inspired and the chapter on the medieval commune is not clear. The nineteenth century, however, usually so disappointing in these provincial histories, appears for once with a distinct interest of its own, thanks to the growing fortunes of Nice as a *ville de saison* and to the stirring events of Italian (and French) unification. Brittany would seem to have offered the best opportunity of the three subjects here considered; actually the author has been the least successful. He writes with authority and he has some good chapters, notably those devoted to the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. In general, however, there are too many facts and far too many names. The whole book could have been very profitably and very considerably condensed. The volume on Nice has a valuable bibliographical note, revealing among other things the special qualifications of the

author for his subject; the other volumes do not offer bibliographical information. None of these volumes possesses an index.

Smith College.

SIDNEY R. PACKARD.

Owen Glendower, Owen Glyn Dŵr. By J. E. Lloyd. (Oxford, Clarendon Press; New York, Oxford University Press, 1931, pp. xiv, 161, \$3.50.) This biography is an expansion of the lectures which the author, as Ford lecturer, delivered at Oxford in 1920. The picture he draws for us, which makes no startling departures from the traditional portrait, is of a cultured North Wales landowner, a descendant of the princes of Powys, suddenly in September, 1400, declaring himself Prince of Wales, burning Ruthin, the seat of his powerful neighbor, Lord Grey, and ravaging the English border. The immediate occasion for this outbreak was probably a quarrel over land but its real causes lie under an obscurity that even the author has not been able to pierce.

There followed ten years of continuous warfare, Glyn Dŵr striving to capture the English castles in Wales and to extend his rule over the South. One of the most interesting and significant aspects of the whole story is the bargain which Glyn Dŵr struck, when, as a result of the French alliance, he decided to recognize the Avignon pope; for he insisted that the Welsh Church was to be independent and provided with Welsh speaking clerics, and the country was to have two universities, one for the North and one for the South. Here, indeed, is more than the germ of the idea of nationality: it is the idea itself, fully developed.

Professor Lloyd's book is a real contribution to the literature of the history of Wales and one that inspires complete confidence in the soundness of his scholarship and the fairness of his conclusions. That it leaves the reviewer slightly discontented may partly be due to the scantiness of the material the author had to work with, but it may also be because, in his presentation of it, he has been content with a rather bald statement of the facts and has not given enough attention to such phases and factors, for instance, as the Scottish and French distractions and the emergence of the idea of nationality. On the whole, however, the book is a worthy biography of a man whom Mr. Trevelyan calls "an attractive and unique figure in a period of debased and selfish politics".

There is an appendix on the Welsh Sources for the History of the Glyn Dŵr Movement and an index.

The Library of Congress.

JOHN GRIFFITHS.

La Lega di Lepanto nel Carteggio Diplomatico Inedito di Don Luys de Torres, Nunzio Straordinario di S. Pio V. a Filippo II. Par A. Dragonetti de Torres. (Turin, Fratelli Bocca, 1931, pp. 270.) This work is primarily a

collection of seventy-three documents from the archives of the family of Dragonetti de Torres. A member of that house, Monsignore Luis de Torres, who was a native of Malaga, migrated to Italy, and rose in the Church to be bishop of Bologna and a highly-regarded papal diplomat. In 1570 Pius V. selected him to head a special mission as Extraordinary nuncio to the Spanish court to secure the adherence of Philip II. to the projected Holy League. The background for the mission lies in the Turkish descent on the Venetian stronghold of Cyprus and in the resulting scheme of Pius V. to form another alliance of the Christian maritime powers to check Ottoman naval aggression.

The writer, A. Dragonetti de Torres, was impelled to undertake this work partly by a statement in Pastor's *Geschichte der Päpste* (VIII. 552) that the embassy of Luis de Torres to Spain was of great importance and deserved special study. Pastor knew of the existence of the documents in the Dragonetti de Torres archive from incomplete copies he had found in the British Museum. But, as the editor of this correspondence points out, the British Museum copies omit a number of the documents relating to De Torres's mission which are fully reproduced in this work. Although some of this material has appeared in other collections, most of the correspondence is here printed in its entirety for the first time. The chief value of the book lies in the documents. To them the author has prefixed some sixty pages of explanatory matter; this is in the form of summary accounts of various topics or aspects of the situation, selected rather fortuitously. Some of these topics elucidate the diplomatic correspondence, notably in the biographical information given. Yet in some of the topical summaries the author raises controversial issues which he treats inadequately. His explanatory notes are, however, full, and they rest upon an extensive use of the printed sources for the period and of the best of the secondary works. The correspondence includes letters to and from the nuncio and dignitaries of the Spanish empire and the Roman Church, an exchange of communications between Philip II. and Pius V., a memorial from Luis de Torres to Philip, Venetian ambassadorial instructions, and reports from the nuncio to the papal secretary of state. Appended are a number of facsimile letters and autographs.

Amherst College.

E. DWIGHT SALMON.

Oliver Cromwell: ein Kampf um Freiheit und Diktatur. Von Dr. Heinrich Bauer. (Munich, Verlag von R. Oldenbourg, 1932, pp. ix, 408, 9.50 M.) From his previous studies in Cromwellian materials, from Ranke, Carlyle, Gardiner, Firth, Clarendon, Thurloe, Rushworth, Whitelocke, Schlezer, and a list of other works which includes such various titles as Neal's *History of the Puritans*, Sprigge's *Anglia Rediviva*, and Anderson's *Memorable Women of Puritan Times*, Dr. Bauer has written a lively and popular life of the great Protector. Though the author expresses his indebtedness to Ranke as

his chief inspiration, his work partakes rather more of the current vogue for "psychological" history and dramatic presentation than that master might have allowed himself. Dr. Bauer does not go so far in that direction as some of its most recent and most widely-read exemplars, but he goes, perhaps, far enough. His style is vigorous and clear, inclining to the romantic and the spectacular, and is eminently readable. If one cannot agree wholly with the somewhat iridescent description of the book given on the jacket, one may at least admit that this is the liveliest of German biographies of Cromwell.

W. C. A.

The Superlative Prodigall: a Life of Thomas Bushell. By J. W. Gough, M. A., Lecturer in History in the University of Bristol, Lecturer at Oriel College, Oxford. [University of Bristol Studies, no. I.] (Bristol, J. W. Arrowsmith, 1932, pp. viii, 172, 5s.) Thomas Bushell, the "superlative prodigall" of this sketch, was a courtier in the household of Francis Bacon, who forsook politics and society after Bacon's fall to devote himself to the development of deep mining in Wales and Mendip. The characterization is taken from the title-page of an autobiographical fragment written during a period of seclusion on the islet known as the Calf of Man. Bushell lived there for three years in "a delightful solitaire Cave, where no fraud, pride nor deceit inhabits". Meditating upon his sins, he formulated schemes for the development of mining. He declared that these projects were an outgrowth of the scientific work of Bacon, and his most substantial treatise on mining bears the title, *Mr. Bushell's Abridgement of the Lord Chancellor Bacon's Philosophical Theory in Mineral Productions*. The schemes were in reality mere applications of the German methods described in Agricola's *De Re Metallica*, known also to Bushell through his personal contacts with Joseph Hochstetter. The principal feature of the new technique was to drive drainage tunnels into the hills at low levels, so that the water in the working shafts might be carried away by gravity. Economies were also achieved by the use of a crude system of forced ventilation in place of the numerous ventilating shafts necessitated by old methods.

The first important work of Bushell was in the Welsh lead and silver mines at Cwmsymlog. The mines were successfully drained and work resumed with modest results (1637-1638). A mint was established at Aberystwyth castle to coin the silver from the mines of the district. During the period of the Civil War, this mint enabled Bushell to convert quickly into coin the silver plate contributed in the West to the royalist cause. After the war he was able to resume his work not only in Wales and Devonshire but also in Mendip.

From some points of view Bushell may seem to be hardly worth the careful study embodied in this volume, but there is so much danger of losing the

personal element in economic history that biographies are of real importance whenever sufficient material exists to make such a study possible. Bushell, too, presents many features of genuine interest and importance. He possessed the flair for promotion with all its incidental extravagances. Finance, in this early period, was a matter of real difficulty, and much ingenuity was required to keep out of the clutches of creditors. It is a significant chapter in the early history of technology and business enterprise.

Harvard University.

ABBOTT PAYSON USHER.

William Blathwayt, a Late Seventeenth Century English Administrator. By Gertrude Ann Jacobsen, Ph.D., Assistant Professor of History and the Social Sciences in Hunter College. [Yale Historical Publications, Miscellany, XXI.] (New Haven, Yale University Press, 1932, pp. xii, 508, \$4.00.) Miss Jacobsen has found in the official life of William Blathwayt an excellent subject for biography and has justified the claim set forth in the preface to this book that Blathwayt "was a late Stuart administrator whose activities represent one stage in the evolution of England's civil service and fit into a critical period in constitutional development". The period is, from Miss Jacobsen's point of view, a critical one because its chief problem "was not parliamentary but executive and administrative, the creation of a smooth working, well oiled, and financially solvent governmental machine".

Assuming the truth of this general assertion—and it is by assumption rather than argument that we are asked to take it—Blathwayt may be regarded as a prominent figure. He held public office from 1668 to 1717 with no more than a few months intermission; he had experience of many departments, including at one and the same time plantations, war, secretary of state, and privy council, and he was in all his official activities a painstaking, conforming servant.

Miss Jacobsen has set forth this career in such adequate detail as to show the working of individual departments of government, the conflicts and compromises of relations between departments, and the contact of Parliament and the executive. She has been attentive also to the personal standards and opinions of Blathwayt himself, among which it is interesting to notice his admiration for the executive system and colonial policy of France.

The book is well arranged and written in a clear and simple style. Of faults there are few; an occasional callow witticism, such as "historical anaemia" for lack of historical record, and the omission in an otherwise full bibliography of reference to E. R. Turner's work on the privy council and to E. R. Adair's *Sources for the History of the Council in the 16th and 17th Centuries*.

Cornell University.

FREDERICK GEORGE MARCHAM.

Om Umeå Lappmarks Svenska Kolonisation, från Mitten av 1500-Talet till Omkring, 1750. Akademisk Avhandling av Gustaf Göthe. (Uppsala, Almqvist and Wiksells Boktryckeri, 1929, pp. xviii, 484.) The story of a developing civilization in the inhospitable borderlands of northern Scandinavia is of absorbing interest. This interest, however, is here obscured by a presentation that carries one from document to document rather than from period to period. Nowhere does the author properly summarize or interpret the facts he has painstakingly unearthed from the rich archives of government and Church. The compilation of facts gives a fairly thorough picture of governmental policy in the Lapp borderlands, though no picture of the whole colonizing movement.

The book is concerned chiefly with Umeå Lappmark, the southern part of Lapland. International politics were of less concern here than in the more northern Torneå and Kemi, but they were present. Soon after Gustavus Vasa (early sixteenth century) had detached Sweden from the hegemony of Denmark he instituted a stricter control in those districts inhabited only by Lapps and scattered hunters and fishers. He and his immediate successors were interested in pushing to the White Sea a wedge of Swedish territory which would prevent Russia and Denmark from encircling Sweden. Therefore Gustavus Adolphus and all farsighted rulers of Sweden attempted to befriend and assimilate the Lapps, who migrated back and forth with their valuable herds of reindeer. The state and state Church also combined to Christianize these northern nomads and made futile efforts to get them to settle in permanent communities. The government even attempted to prevent the forced labor which at the Nasa silver mines had killed many Lapps and reindeer and driven thousands across to Norway.

More dependable for defense and more productive of revenue for the crown would have been Swedish colonies in the northern woodlands. But the Lapps were far too valuable to be treated as were the American Indians. Therefore, while the government urged and encouraged colonization after 1590 it had numerous problems of reconciliation of interests between settlers and Lapps. This reconciliation the government tried to obtain chiefly through tax adjustments. It is in the treatment of taxation and the activity of the Church that this book is most thorough and most useful.

Colonization proceeded slowly but quite steadily. By 1700 the fishing and hunting homesteaders had turned to herding and agriculture, and were demanding a change in taxes-in-kind from fish to butter and other products. Along the coast the timber industry had created towns and a burgher class. Occupations were becoming differentiated, and settlers were encroaching more than ever on the Lapp fishing regions. By 1750 a definite boundary was necessary between Lapland and the colonized area, and it is at this point that Dr. Göthe leaves the story.

State Teachers College, Superior, Wisconsin.

FRANKLIN D. SCOTT.

The Social and Political Ideas of Some Representative Thinkers of the Age of Reaction and Reconstruction, 1815-1865. Edited by F. J. C. Hearnshaw, M.A., LL.D., Fellow of King's College and Professor of Mediæval History in the University of London. [A Series of Lectures delivered at King's College, University of London, during the Session 1930-1931.] (London, George G. Harrap and Company, 1932, pp. 220, 8s. 6d.) This seventh volume in Professor Hearnshaw's series contains the following lectures: The Age of Reaction and Reconstruction, 1815-1865, by the Rev. Norman Sykes; Chateaubriand and the French Romantics, by Miss Maxwell; Hegel, the German Idealist, by A. D. Lindsay; Coleridge and the English Conservatives, by Keith Feiling; Robert Owen and the Early Socialists, by F. M. Page; John Stuart Mill and the Philosophic Radicals, by R. S. Dower; Auguste Comte and the Positivist Philosophers, by Theodora Bosanquet; John Austin and the Analytical Jurists, by the editor; and finally, Thomas Hodgskin and the Individualists, by C. H. Driver.

The currents of political and social thought in the first half of the nineteenth century have never been adequately studied from a European point of view. There was, in this period after Waterloo, a general European culture that cut across national frontiers, from Spain to Russia, marked by common conditions and by certain types of general ideology. There is thus a place for a work that relates the reactionaries, the liberals, and the radicals of the whole of Europe to each other. Dunning's attempt to do this in his *Political Theories from Rousseau to Spencer* is very disappointing because he handles the political thought of the period rather apart from the actual political and economic conditions of the time. Some of the histories of socialism and Ruggiero's *History of European Liberalism* are more successful though they deal only with limited schools of thought.

It was to be hoped that the work in hand would help to fill this gap. Instead, we find the currents of the time treated entirely in the terms of a few isolated "thinkers". Even the selection of these "thinkers" seems very arbitrary. Joseph de Maistre and Saint-Simon are not included, while Chateaubriand and Coleridge are. Throughout, the book is overbalanced on the English side. The best lectures are those on Owen, Austin, Hodgskin, and Mill, though they contain little that is not already easily available.

Oberlin College.

FREDERICK B. ARTZ.

Sept Ans à l'Élysée avec le Président Émile Loubet: de l'Affaire Dreyfus à la Conférence d'Algésiras, 1899-1906. Par Abel Combarieu, ancien Secrétaire Général de la Présidence de la République. (Paris, Librairie Hachette, 1932, pp. x, 337, 30 fr.) M. Combarieu, President Loubet's secretary during his entire presidency, kept a journal, a large portion of which is reproduced in this volume. Letters, both official and private, and reports of conversa-

tions with M. Loubet appear in the journal, as well as the writer's own running commentary on the happenings of a most interesting period in the life of the Third Republic. As is natural, M. Combarieu looks at the drama from the point of view of the Élysée. One stands behind the scenes with him as the Dreyfus case, the struggle against clericalism and the monarchists, the Dual Alliance on the way to become the Triple Entente, and particularly the "fourberies" of Kaiser Wilhelm from the Boer War to the Algeçiras Conference add difficulty to difficulty, pile problem on problem, testing President Loubet's calmness, good nature, and sound judgment to the utmost. Inevitably, Waldeck-Rousseau is contrasted favorably with Combes, his successor in the premiership, whose persistent attacks on the Church embarrassed the president of the republic for three years.

It is interesting that the "legend" that Prince von Donnersmarck was sent on a special mission to Paris by the German government to demand the resignation of Delcassé is recorded as a fact, not as an invention. M. Jean Dupuy, who had lunched on May 11, 1905, with the prince, M. Rouvier, and other political personages, told Combarieu on that day of this demand of the Kaiser, who asked also for a cordial personal reception in France like that given to other sovereigns and the grant of the Grand Cross of the Legion of Honor (p. 306).

Official visits to foreign sovereigns and visits by them to France play an important part in the narrative. As the companion of the president, M. Combarieu saw royalties at close hand and tells of their doings and their somewhat unexpected sayings. If one wishes to live again in those years of hate in France and diplomatic maneuvering in Europe, this entertaining journal may be recommended to the gossip lover—and also to the historian.

Princeton University.

HENRY R. SHIPMAN.

Germany's Road to Ruin: the Middle Years of the Reign of the Emperor William II. By Karl Friedrich Nowak. Translated by E. W. Dickes. (New York, Macmillan Company, 1932, pp. x, 382, \$5.00.) There could be no justification for an extended review of Nowak's second volume in a serious historical journal, for the book simply cannot be classed as "serious" history. The volume at hand, following upon the author's earlier *Kaiser and Chancellor*, carries the story from Bismarck's dismissal in 1890 to the end of the first Moroccan crisis. Once again the author assures us that he has made extensive use not only of published materials, but of information vouchsafed him by William II. and numerous German statesmen, to say nothing of the "eminent British statesman" who appears for the first time and plays a prominent rôle in the author's explanatory notes. It is quite clear, however, that the writer has used only such materials as may have suited him, that the "eminent British statesman" was weak in knowledge or in memory, and

that the backbone of the book is the account given by William II. of his stewardship. Those familiar with the former emperor's own memoirs will not derive much new information from Nowak. The account of the non-renewal of the Reinsurance Treaty, of the Kruger telegram, of the Moroccan crisis, is the emperor's account, warmed up and modified here and there to take note of unanswerable evidence that could not be evaded. In the author's first volume the Iron Chancellor was the scapegoat. In this new book the responsibility is divided between Baron von Holstein and Prince von Bülow. In either case the ruler was the person wronged. We are assured over and over again that his intentions were good and his instincts correct. His efforts to reach an agreement with England were systematically frustrated, and when finally he turned in despair to Russia and concluded the Björkö Treaty he was obliged once more to see his whole work undone. No one will deny that a case can be made for William II., especially so far as the Morocco affair is concerned, but this book is inaccurate, prejudiced, and in some instances venomous (see not only the unkind analysis of Bülow's character, but particularly the almost indecent and utterly misleading biographical sketch of Edward VII.). The book, like Bülow's memoirs, makes good light reading, but from the historian's standpoint it is well-nigh worthless.

W. L. L.

Regulating an Industry: the Rhenish-Westphalian Coal Syndicate, 1893-1929. By Archibald H. Stockder, Associate Professor of Business Administration, Columbia University. (New York, Columbia University Press, 1932, pp. xii, 159, \$2.50.) This is a good case study of a regulated industry. Although it deals with a German organization it is not without clinical hints for treating one of America's worst afflicted branches of production. Coal mining is suffering from a world blight for which there is no local cure. But thirty-six years experience of the Rhenish-Westphalian coal syndicate, studied and analyzed as thoroughly as it has been in Germany and presented in a compact and competent summary like the present volume, promises valuable guidance to those who eventually will have to bring order out of our own anarchic situation. The author records many failures in detail, but they are redeemed by sufficient success on the whole to explain why organized control has persisted in Germany's most important colliery region through the vicissitudes of war, revolution, foreign occupation, and the present world crisis. The devices and policies which he describes for controlling production, regulating distribution and prices, and administering labor, were developed by a process of trial and error. They have not resulted in monopoly, and they have not reached their final form. They represent an historical movement, sketched as such in an introductory chapter, which forms part

of the larger picture of Germany's evolution during a critical period of her existence.

The Library of Congress.

VICTOR S. CLARK.

Die Jugoslawische Frage und die Julikrise, 1914. Von Ernst Anrich. [Beiträge zur Geschichte der Nachbismarckischen Zeit und des Weltkrieges, herausgegeben von Professor Dr. Fritz Kern in Bonn, Heft 12.] (Stuttgart, W. Kohlhammer, 1931, pp. 166, 7.80 M.) The purpose of this little book is to describe the Balkan policies of the different European powers and show how they culminated in the conflict of 1914. The method used, parallel descriptions of these policies, points all the material toward the Balkans in 1914. To estimate the success of the author in applying such a method to this subject, as every intellectually honest reviewer must, is not difficult. The method is too elaborate for the amount of material; it exaggerates the importance of the Balkan question unduly by concentrating everything geometrically and by weight and volume. The account of Austrian policy is excellent, in that it explains the internal conditions which produced the "foreign" policy, albeit with a slight and unnecessary touch of apology. The style suffers from an excess of geo-political jargon leading the author in one place (p. 116) to criticize German diplomacy for its lack of "physical contact-feeling with the periphery"—meaning that Germany did not understand the internal-external problems of her ally. There is no index, the bibliography is incomplete, but the translations are accurate.

The University of Missouri.

M. H. COCHRAN.

The Partition of Turkey: a Diplomatic History, 1913-1923. By Harry N. Howard. (Norman, University of Oklahoma Press, 1931, pp. 486, \$5.00.) Dr. Howard attacks in this book a problem of great interest, which nevertheless must be handled with much care, on account of the multiplicity of the nationalistic forces involved, and the complexity of their interactions. Each important step in the dissolution of the Ottoman empire has been accompanied by a wide international upheaval, including one or more wars and vast nebulae of diplomatic negotiations. The latest crisis was by far the greatest of all. The records of five wars, one of them the climacteric in human history, and many thousand conversations and dispatches, with scores of projects, agreements, and treaties, fill archives to bursting and bring historians to exhaustion. Given a task whose perfection is perhaps impossible, Dr. Howard has labored at it mightily; witness his twenty-one pages of "Selected Bibliography", and his ninety-three pages of "Chapter Notes".

He narrates briefly the events of 1908-1913, which involved already no small amount of partition of Turkey. Early in 1915 came the demand of Russia to fulfill her age-long desire for Constantinople and the Straits. Then in 1916 England and France, admitting Russia and Italy, planned a

nearly complete partition of Arab- and Turkish-speaking lands, not without an eye upon Persia. After fierce debates at the Paris Peace Conference, a plan emerged in 1920 in the Treaty of Sèvres, which, while it fell short of the complete destruction contemplated before the Russian Revolution, nevertheless visaged a Turkey mutilated beyond hope and fettered irremediably by military and financial bonds. The false move of introducing Greek control, in Smyrna led to three years of war between Turkey and Greece, which ended in victory for Turkey. Thereafter shrewd diplomats fought out at Lausanne a settlement final until now, which drew boundaries in a viable and hopefully permanent form, thus bringing to an end the partition of Turkey in its latest phase.

Dr. Howard's style is direct and clear. A great number of significant details are involved, demanding at times close attention from the reader, who is always well repaid by the illuminating result. The many characters concerned—rulers, statesmen, generals, and diplomats—are well introduced and clearly discriminated as regards their aims and achievements. The maps are clear. The map of the Turkish Republic, however, is neither up-to-date nor quite accurate in its display of completed and projected railways.

The University of Illinois.

ALBERT HOWE LYBYER.

The Pilgrim Fathers from a Dutch Point of View. By D. Plooij, D.D., Professor in Amsterdam University. [Anson G. Phelps Lectureship on Early American History, New York University.] (New York, New York University Press, 1932, pp. xi, 154, \$3.50.) This small volume by a learned professor of Amsterdam University contains the Phelps Lectures delivered at New York University in 1931-1932 in commemoration of the tercentenary of the Dutch Reformed Church in America and is dedicated to Amsterdam University in honor of its own tercentenary. Dr. Plooij has discharged his duties gracefully and at the same time has seriously given a scholarly résumé of new documents which he fortunately discovered in Holland. In conjunction with J. R. Harris he had already published *Leyden Documents relating to the Pilgrim Fathers* (1920) and, with Mr. Harris and S. K. Jones, *The Pilgrim Press* (1922), and these new papers he has summarized in two of his chapters. The last three are devoted to a scholarly discussion of the newly discovered letters and papers of the Rev. Hugh Goodyear, minister of the English Reformed Church at Leiden, 1617-1661, found by Dr. Plooij in the archives at Leiden and now printed for the first time. Certainly, in total these are the most numerous and interesting additional documents upon the Pilgrims to come to light in a long time, and yet it must be added that they are interesting rather than important and serve to illustrate and expand what we already knew sufficiently well rather than to change any salient features of the narrative or our estimate of the Pilgrims. They prove a more

sustained interest of the Pilgrims and of the Boston Puritans in those still at Leiden after the death of Robinson and the final migration to Plymouth than had been hitherto possible to demonstrate. Dr. Plooijs is also convinced that the relations of the Pilgrim church at Leiden with the other English churches were always more cordial than has been thought. While mostly business documents concerned with property at Leiden owned by the Master-sons already at Plymouth, the papers do give a good deal of new information about the lesser known people at Plymouth, especially the Mastersons and the Rev. Ralph Smith. There also came to light a letter from Hugh Peters at Salem introducing to the Rev. Mr. Goodyear the first American student at Leiden, Francis Higginson, sent over in 1639.

Washington University.

ROLAND G. USHER.

Bibliotheca Americana: Catalogue of the John Carter Brown Library in Brown University, Providence, Rhode Island. Volume III: 1659-1674. (Providence, Published by the Library, 1931, pp. 310.) During the entire period to 1800 to be covered by the *Catalogue*, there are many irregularities in the make-up of books due to more or less primitive printing and publishing conditions. Aside from the incunabula period from the 1450s to 1500, the output of printed books and pamphlets has only been partially recorded in bibliographies and catalogues. The third volume of the *John Carter Brown Catalogue* is a substantial contribution towards the charting of bibliographical terra incognita. To this end, the titles and imprints are transcribed fully and carefully; physical make-up is indicated both by pages and by signature marks; and extended notes about contents and authorship, with references to bibliographical and critical literature, are frequent. Undoubtedly the larger and less detailed general catalogues of printed books for the British Museum and for the Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris are more widely known and used. Yet the *John Carter Brown Catalogue* covering books relating principally to the Americas and printed before 1800 seems much more useful within its limited field.

The Library of Congress.

J. B. CHILDS.

A Social History of the Sea Islands, with Special Reference to St. Helena Island, South Carolina. By Guion Griffis Johnson. (Chapel Hill, University of North Carolina Press, 1930, pp. vii, 245, \$3.00.) This is a rather pedestrian study of the sea-island economy and culture, from the period of English, French, and Spanish rivalry in the sixteenth century, to the 1880s, with some passing references to later events. In arrangement a combination of chronological and topical treatment, it suffers somewhat from having posed itself no questions to answer. No injustice is done the intrinsic interest of the subject, however, and the study was fully worth undertaking.

Probably the most interesting—because the most detailed—part of the book is the chapter devoted to the transition period of 1861–1866, the years during which various experiments for the rehabilitation of the slaves were undertaken by the War and Treasury departments and by philanthropic individuals. Like the larger endeavors of the Freedmen's Bureau, these experiments were a mixture of much genuine common sense, some rascality, and a dash of utopianism. They were hampered, as was the Freedmen's Bureau, by a cumbrous bureaucracy, a miscellaneous personnel, and—strange as it may sound—a fundamental conservatism in economic matters. Unlike the Freedmen's Bureau, they had an almost uniformly backward group of Negroes to deal with.

Various interesting conclusions emerge from the author's treatment of the ante bellum period. The sea-island slave economy was notably inefficient and speculative. The slave himself was less assimilated to white standards than his mainland brother because of the smallness of the white population to set him an example. On the other hand, certain features of slave social life that grew out of the "peculiar institution" itself, developed on the sea islands as elsewhere—e.g., the drawing of caste lines between the various grades of slaves, and the matriarchal tendency of the slave family. On the white side, the essentially frontier quality of sea-island life must strike the reader. The hunts, the clubs, the books, the hospitality of the plantation owner, his recourse to more or less distant centers for the recovery of his health, for social intercourse for his family, for education for his children—all this recalls, not the frontier of the American West, to be sure, but that of the Englishman in South Africa or India, where certain elements of "culture" are superimposed by a small ruling class upon life in an outpost of civilization. One wonders how far this was true of the Old South as a whole.

Washington, D. C.

PAUL LEWINSON.

Laboring and Dependent Classes in Colonial America, 1607–1783: Studies of the Economic, Educational, and Social Significance of Slaves, Servants, Apprentices, and Poor Folk. By Marcus Wilson Jernegan, Professor of American History, University of Chicago. [University of Chicago Social Service Monographs, no. 17.] (Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1931, pp. xiii, 256, \$3.00.) All of these thirteen studies have previously appeared in periodicals, two of them in this review. They are reprinted with few changes. Students of colonial society and of early American education would have welcomed from the author a further exercise of his meticulous method in the analysis of new materials, and in particular an extension of his studies from the New England and Southern colonies, here chiefly observed, to the middle group. But it is useful, meanwhile, to have gathered between two covers a group of related essays which represent at many points the fundamental investigations in their field.

Despite the elaborate title the scope of the volume calls for a clearer definition. The economic aspect of colonial labor comes into view only in relation to indenture and, especially, slavery. Conversely, it is the educational rather than the industrial character of apprenticeship which is emphasized in the group of essays which comprise the heart of the collection. Again, free laborers are excluded except as poverty threw such folk upon the public agencies for poor relief. Those agencies as they existed in New England and Virginia are exhibited in ample detail, against the background of the English poor law.

V. W. C.

William Byrd of Westover. By Richmond Croom Beatty. (Boston, Houghton Mifflin Company, 1932, pp. xxi, 233, \$3.00.) William Byrd's imagination, his keen though easily sated thirst for knowledge of the mysteries of Virginia and its environs, and the literary grace that made him preëminent among men of letters in colonial Virginia, are not reflected in this careful, unprejudiced, though less than complete biography. Most of the obvious sources have been used with fidelity but there are grave omissions. The *Calendar of State Papers, Colonial, 1654-1717*, is not cited, nor has the author used the mass of transcripts from British archives in the Division of Manuscripts of the Library of Congress. There is partial atonement in the use of the abstracts in the Virginia State Library. Other collections, such as the Byrd papers in the Huntington Library, have not been consulted. The *Neu-gefundenes Eden*, containing *Eine kurtze Beschreibung von Virginia* (von William Byrd; übersetzt von S. Jenner), is also omitted. A more detailed study of the character and interests of the elder William Byrd from available sources would lead to a better understanding of the background of the son.

More of Virginia history and less grasping in the realm of probability would give substance to this sketch of Byrd. His contemporaries, Sir John Randolph, John Custis, Micajah Ferry, his English friends, are mere names and their significant contacts do not help in giving life to his picture. The finality of some of the author's verdicts do not give the muse of history due merit as a whimsical mistress. Letters that are known to exist, though not yet in print, would indicate that Byrd was not completely forgotten by his friends, the Southwells, as is stated. In interpreting the joust for power between Byrd and Spotswood the writer is impartial and discerning. But, here, too, the spade must dig deeper before the tangle is fully uprooted. Several theories advanced to explain Byrd's reactions might be subjected to further examination. Is Byrd's restlessness in Virginia unduly stressed?

The biography under consideration avoids the temptation to picture this romantic figure as popular tradition has preserved him rather than as critically used sources reveal him. It does not meet the need for a more com-

plete study than that by the late Professor Bassett in his brief introduction to his edition of Byrd's *Writings*.

The University of Richmond.

MAUDE H. WOODFIN.

The Vestry Book of Stratton Major Parish, King and Queen County, Virginia, 1729-1783. Transcribed, annotated, and indexed by C. G. Chamberlayne. (Richmond, the Library Board, 1931, pp. xxi, 257, \$5.00.) This is the thirteenth parish record book of Virginia to be published of the forty-odd known to be extant. Commencing with the *Vestry Book of Henrico Parish, 1730-1773* (1874), the number of printed volumes has increased one each year since 1927, and it is hoped that the Library Board can carry out its plan, herewith begun, of making the rest of these priceless records accessible in printed form.

The matter-of-fact account of parish routine, much of which is taken for granted in the recording, reminds one that the clerk was not writing for an outside audience, nor presupposing that any later historian would wish for more detail. There are the periodic expense accounts of the parish, the annual levy, the processioning of land, the works of charity—all revealing directly or indirectly the social and economic life of the community. The erection of a new church during the decade preceding the Revolution indicates a period of growing prosperity. Most valuable in this connection are specifications for the building and a list of the allotment of pews to various families, the women being segregated. Like so many contemporary local records, this vestry book contains no mention of the American Revolution.

It should be noted that the original manuscript vestry book, in the Episcopal Seminary, Alexandria, Virginia, when the copy went to press, has since been transferred to the Virginia State Library where it is on deposit, along with other parish records from the seminary. The present printed record is well edited, with four facsimile pages and three indexes: by names of persons, geographic, and topical.

The University of Virginia.

LESTER J. CAPPON.

The George Washington Atlas. Edited by Lawrence Martin, Chief, Division of Maps, Library of Congress. [George Washington Bicentennial Commission.] (Washington, Government Printing Office, 1932, 50 plates, \$2.00.) Colonel Martin's handsome atlas enables one to trace George Washington's changing interests and activities. In youth he learned surveying, but where and from whom is still a mystery. Possibly his very busy father taught him, and, marking his aptitude, left George his own surveying instruments. Augustine Washington died in 1743, when George was eleven years old. The first survey in Colonel Martin's atlas, dated 1747, is tentatively located at Bridges Creek, Washington's birthplace. From George's copy-

books, dated by him in 1746, we know that at the age of fourteen he had learned geometry and had begun to make surveys for his cousins. He was sixteen when he laid out the town of Alexandria, two plats of which are given. He was then living at Mount Vernon, playing whist with his sister-in-law and loo with his brother, besides surveying the latter's turnip field. In March, 1748, under James Genn, he began surveying in the Blue Ridge for Lord Fairfax; and the next year was busily employed surveying lands in Augusta County for various settlers. From 1750 to 1752, he surveyed thirty-two tracts in Frederick County (now West Virginia), including two for his brother Lawrence, whose heir he became in 1752. In 1753, George Washington began his military career, and turned to drawing fortifications. His later surveying was done for himself on his own lands in Virginia and continued until the last months of his life. There are various maps relating to the Revolution, and to Washington's western lands, and his various journeyings are traced. By one of those errors Washington seldom makes, he called Dogue Creek, Pohick Creek, as one may see by the location of his mills, now being rebuilt. A considerable number of the maps came to Colonel Martin after the intention to publish the atlas was announced. It is to be hoped that many more will be called out of hiding by the publication, including the long lost plat of a town in Pennsylvania which disappeared about forty years ago.

As a Washington document, this atlas stands in the first rank.

Washington, D. C.

CHARLES MOORE.

Letters and Papers of Major-General John Sullivan, Continental Army. Edited by Otis G. Hammond, Director of the New Hampshire Historical Society. Volume II., 1778-1779. [Collections of the New Hampshire Historical Society, volume XIV.] (Concord, New Hampshire Historical Society, 1931, pp. xxvi, 577, \$10.00.) It has been aptly said of General Sullivan that he passed through "a cloud not of war only, but detractions rude". In an illuminating introduction, the editor shows how the present volume, like its predecessor, readily disposes of the aspersions cast upon the fair name of this son of New Hampshire by some of the early writers on the Revolution. The papers here collected relate chiefly to Sullivan's career in Rhode Island in 1778. The strategic and administrative problems which confronted him in that theater of operations were only surpassed in difficulty and complexity by those which he encountered in his campaign against the Tories and Indians in the following year. With but a small body of Continental troops to serve as a nucleus, he was obliged not only to raise an army but to provide for its provisioning, transportation, arming, and equipment. In doing this he had to deal with four separate groups of political authorities, those of Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, and New Hampshire. In short, he was obliged to do on a small scale what Washington was doing

on a large scale. How, out of these circumstances, he created and conducted a fighting force which, except for a combination of events beyond his control, bade fair to capture Newport, the *Papers* reveal with enlightening detail. They also tend to confirm the correctness of the estimate of Sullivan by the first serious student of his career, T. C. Amory, whose *Life of John Sullivan* appeared in 1868.

Wellesley College.

E. E. CURTIS.

A History of the Councils of Baltimore, 1791-1884. By Peter Guilday. (New York, Macmillan Company, 1932, pp. x, 291, \$3.00.) The twelve legislative assemblies convened by church authority at Baltimore have an importance all their own in reference to the history of Catholicism in the United States. These significant gatherings began with a synod convoked by him whom Cardinal Gibbons was wont to style the father of the American Church, Bishop John Carroll, in 1791. While taking their name from one see, Baltimore, not only the three plenary councils, but the other nine as well, affected the Church throughout the entire country, and herein lies their principal interest for the historian. Every one of them was national in its influence. At the date of the first synod (1791), the diocese of Baltimore was coterminous with the nation. The assembly of 1810 was made up of bishops who all belonged to one province, the only province in the United States, the province of Baltimore; and the province of Baltimore remained the sole archiepiscopal jurisdiction of the United States down to the holding of the seventh provincial council in 1849.

Under an incompetent hand the rich content of these councils might easily have been obscured, for an attempt at their history would have resulted in little more than a mere linking together of texts of law. Such a presentation would have hidden their real import. For in reality they are a series of reflectors and determinants of the life of a rapidly growing social organism. The prelates who participated in them had to deal with practical conditions and urgent problems, and the decrees of the councils and the pastoral letters which followed them give us, as nothing else can, a record of the life and growth of the Catholic Church.

The councils of Baltimore, then, viewed rightly, are our best source-text of American Catholic Church history, and, as was to be expected, their true character has been ably developed by Dr. Guilday. One finishes the reading of this volume with a sense of thankfulness that this much-needed work comes from the pen of one who, through training and through previous related studies, has so fine a control of the field of American Church history, and especially one who fulfills Ortolan's requirement that every historian should be a jurist and every jurist a historian. The result of this happy coincidence in the present instance has been to give us not only an excellent

history of the councils of Baltimore, but also, concomitantly, the best history of the Catholic Church in the United States that has yet appeared.

Brookline, Massachusetts.

JOHN T. CREAGH.

The Life and Times of Colonel Richard M. Johnson of Kentucky. By Leland Winfield Meyer, Ph. D. [Studies in History, Economics and Public Law, no. 359.] (New York, Columbia University Press, 1932, pp. 508, \$5.50.) In this volume Dr. Meyer has presented a painstaking account of the life of a rather interesting figure in Kentucky and national politics of the early nineteenth century. With the usual start as a lawyer, Colonel Johnson entered the Kentucky legislature, was representative in Congress from 1804 to 1819, served in the Senate from the latter date until 1837, and was Vice President in the Van Buren administration. In 1841 he retired to private life, and in 1850 he was elected again to the Kentucky legislature a few months before his death. In the course of this long public service, Colonel Johnson won a reputation as an indefatigable worker, and became a man of some importance, although he scarcely ranks among the really important statesmen of the period. At first in harmony with Clay, he became a strong supporter of Jackson, although he was always a nationalist in such issues as internal improvements and the tariff. His chief title to fame comes from his military record at the head of his mounted regiment in Harrison's campaign into Canada in the War of 1812. It was Johnson's bold attack upon the main body of the Indians which won the final victory at the battle of the Thames, and from the extensive material given in this volume, it would seem that Johnson himself was the author of this daring plan.

Certainly Dr. Meyer has made the most of his subject, taking up each episode in which Colonel Johnson had a part with great detail, although he does not present any startlingly new viewpoints. The two chapters that give really fresh material deal with Colonel Johnson's personal life as a popular Kentucky politician and planter. He aided in the establishment of Choctaw Academy for the education of Indian youths, as well as of two Baptist educational institutions, Columbian College in Washington and Georgetown College in Kentucky. Throughout this volume Dr. Meyer has preserved an impartial attitude, with no attempt to gloss over certain obvious failings of his subject. The style is rather choppy, and many facts are stated, with a noticeable lack of the analysis necessary to carry the story. The research has been particularly exhaustive, and there are a multitude of footnotes which support every important fact. Certainly it is scarcely conceivable that any further material of importance can be unearthed with regard to Colonel Richard M. Johnson. Whether he was a sufficiently notable personage to justify so extensive a work is questionable.

The University of Cincinnati.

BEVERLEY W. BOND, JR.

Herschel V. Johnson of Georgia, State Rights Unionist. By Percy Scott Flippin, Ph. D., Professor of History in Coker College. (Richmond, Dietz Printing Company, 1931, pp. xv, 336, \$5.00.) Herschel V. Johnson prepared carefully for his future biographer. He wrote an autobiography, kept copies of many of his letters, collected such others as his friends had saved, and preserved numerous newspaper clippings and letters received. Some of these literary remains were destroyed during the Civil War, but the larger part have survived. A few years ago Professor Flippin was given access to this wealth of material and it has formed the chief source for this book.

In the crisis of 1860-1861 Johnson took a course which gained him the wholesale enmity of Southern Democrats and in preparing for his biographer he was interested principally in proving himself consistent in his political actions. Professor Flippin has followed his lead and has confined himself to the narrow limits of tracing the evolution of Johnson's political ideas. Taking the autobiography as his principal source he has printed large excerpts from it, has interspersed these selections with long quotations from Johnson's speeches and letters, and has bound them together with his own comments. From his footnotes it would appear that he has consulted little beyond the Johnson collection.

Johnson started life as a state rights Democrat who gave his allegiance to Calhoun in the struggle over the compromise of 1850. In 1860-1861 he consented to run for Vice President on the ticket with Douglas. The reason for his action in both cases was his belief in non-intervention. Neither the North, nor the South, he held, had any right to demand that the Federal government interfere in the territories in the matter of slavery either to prohibit it or even to protect it. The election of Lincoln, he maintained, was no just cause for the secession of Georgia and he joined his friend Alexander H. Stephens in opposing it. During the Civil War, he was a Confederate senator who, though he did not believe the South would win, tried to support Davis. Nevertheless the Confederate president and he seldom agreed, least of all on financial matters, for Johnson opposed the policy of inflation which proved so disastrous. He confined his opposition to Davis, however, to voting against him without denouncing him; he was not in a class with Brown and Vance. During Reconstruction he did his share in the battle against the carpetbagger and when white supremacy was restored, became a judge and labored to straighten out the legal tangles arising in the previous decade of confusion.

Within the narrow limits which the author has set for himself, the book is an informative contribution. But there is no effort toward setting forth the reasons for Johnson's influence or the nature of his constituency. His political life is described rather than explained.

The University of Pennsylvania.

ROY F. NICHOLS.

The Cradle of the Queen City: a History of Buffalo to the Incorporation of the City. By Robert W. Bingham, Director of Museum, Buffalo Historical Society. [Publications of the Buffalo Historical Society, Volume XXXI.] (Buffalo, the Society, 1931, pp. 504, \$5.00.) Mr. Bingham's attractively printed and beautifully illustrated volume is an effort to treat the history of Buffalo from its settlement to 1832 from the point of view of the historian rather than of the antiquary. Canadian and American manuscript collections and the extensive monographic studies of the Niagara frontier have been laid under contribution for this purpose. The chapters on the occupation of Fort Niagara and the attempt to control the Iroquois by the British, following the Treaty of Paris, yield new material of value drawn from the Haldimand Papers. In his account of the struggles between Buffalo and Black Rock for the western terminus of "Clinton's Ditch" the author gives us a vivid picture of the New York frontier in the 1820s. Full use is made of contemporary newspapers in the chapter on Taverns and Stage Lines, and considerable light is shed upon the modes of travel during the period.

Much in the book, however, is disappointing. The early chapters on the French and Indians are disconnected and episodic. In proportion the book seems, to the reviewer, to be unbalanced. Insignificant events are treated at great length, probably because the author was embarrassed by the richness of his new material; but one is hardly justified in quoting the twenty-four toasts offered at the celebration of the opening of the Erie Canal (pp. 439-441). The reader, upon closing the book, is left with a confused impression of the early history of the "Queen City", and will wish to go elsewhere for information about the everyday life of the village and for some account of its religious activities in connection with the eccentricities of the "burned-over district". A fondness for purple passages and clumsy circumlocution mars the directness of the narrative; and it were better to give no references at all, than to cite authorities merely by name. Notwithstanding these defects, Mr. Bingham's book is a contribution to a *genre* of historical writing which deserves the attention of scholars.

Massachusetts Institute of Technology.

CARL BRIDENBAUGH.

American Opinion on the Unification of Italy, 1846-1861. By Howard R. Marraro. (New York, Columbia University Press, 1932, pp. xii, 345, \$3.50.) Dr. Marraro has taken an excellent subject. The reaction of public opinion in the United States to the events of the Risorgimento produced no serious diplomatic effect, and, as Dr. Marraro shows, had no influence on the course of those events beyond producing the dispatch of resolutions and some voluntary contributions of money and arms, in behalf both of the patriotic cause and of the embattled Church. But it affords the opportunity for a most interesting contribution to the study of the ways in which one

nation forms its picture of another, and of the forces in this country active between 1846 and 1861 in coloring the American picture of Italy.

If the present study is disappointing, this result would seem to be due at bottom to the author's failure to keep his mind focused on such an objective and to appreciate the difficulties that beset his undertaking. Relying chiefly on papers published in New York, as he was justified in doing, Dr. Marraro has resorted to the method of sampling, and has made a compilation of news and editorials covering events in Italy from these and a few other widely scattered journals. But his analysis of this material leaves everything to be desired. He makes no attempt to qualify his journalistic witnesses—a measure of particular importance in the circumstances of that period of turbulent, competitive, and intensely personal pioneering in the American newspaper world. Furthermore, his selection of "sample" papers awakens a doubt if the author appreciated the fundamental divisions of American opinion in his period, for, excepting the New Orleans *Daily Picayune*, which reflected the opinions of a commercial center, and the Richmond *Daily Examiner* for a single year (1861), the then dominant South, whose reactions might have been found in the Richmond *Enquirer*, the Charleston *Mercury*, or De Bow's *Review*, is entirely neglected.

Besides newspapers the author uses the letters and other writings of American observers in Italy. But his use of them again raises the question whether he has clearly defined his problem. Is it their contents that is important, as characteristic of an American reaction, or their influence? If the latter, the author is hardly justified—to take a single example—in quoting for events at Naples in 1851 letters of G. P. Marsh which were not published in the United States until 1888. If the former, we want to know more about the witness. Against errors in the American version of the Risorgimento Dr. Marraro makes no effort to warn the reader unfamiliar with the Italian movement. To take only one example from many, the New York *Herald's* report of Cavour's address to the Congress of Paris is given (p. 199) as if it represented Cavour's actual words.

It should be added, however, that Dr. Marraro writes vigorously and well, and has brought together material that will be valuable for further studies of American public opinion.

The John Hopkins University.

KENT ROBERTS GREENFIELD.

Mrs. Abraham Lincoln: a Study of her Personality and her Influence on Lincoln. By W. A. Evans, M.S., M.D. (New York, Alfred A. Knopf, 1932, pp. viii, 364, xiii, \$4.00.) For anyone who wishes to review the evidence that Mrs. Lincoln was an abnormal person predisposed to insanity, this book will form interesting, if somewhat dreary, reading. Dr. Evans seems to have no thesis but a professional one. He is annoyed by the popular stories about Mrs. Lincoln; he regards her as an unfortunate and, at least in

her late years, an irresponsible woman; he has set out to tell her story as a medical case, to tell it with all the exactness and fullness which the documents permit. The layman can hardly see what is left to say.

N. W. S.

The United States since 1865. By Louis M. Hacker, Encyclopaedia of the Social Sciences, and Benjamin B. Kendrick, Women's College of the University of North Carolina. [Crofts American History Series, Dixon Ryan Fox, General Editor.] (New York, F. S. Crofts and Company, 1932, pp. xx, 775, \$5.00.) To the rapidly growing number of textbooks on the recent period of American history may be added this extensive treatise—a contribution featuring a comprehensive analysis of American civilization, recommended to the public as well as to the understanding student; a product with an attractive style—forceful, vigorous, and at times critically ironic. The work is largely that of Mr. Hacker, “a journalist and working economist”, with Professor Kendrick having written the chapter on the Civil War and its immediate aftermath, and counseled revisions throughout the rest of the book.

Two major themes constitute the framework: “The Humbling of the Farmers” and “The Emergence of Imperial America”. One is impressed with the organizing skill of the authors; the scheme of chapters makes the volume one of ready reference to almost any subject. There are many citations in the narrative to recent authorities, their specific contributions, and interpretations. The fact that many of the chapters fairly bristle with details will cause many teachers to feel that the work is a compendium of facts and hence unsuitable for textbook purposes.

The authors present the best account of the 1920s yet available, concluding with a discussion of the present depression and a suggestive program for the future. A severe indictment of Harding's administration (p. 548), as well as uncomplimentary remarks on Coolidge, Hoover, and Mellon open the work to the charge that there are too many opinionated statements and thus not sufficient judicial impartiality. At times too much attention is devoted to the economics of particular problems and to legislation never passed by Congress.

The value of the book is greatly enhanced by a number of useful maps and tables, a serviceable index, and an extensive up-to-date bibliography arranged according to chapters. The numerous short biographical sketches are highly commendable. There are very few errors of fact. One may conclude that the volume is a valuable interpretation of recent American history.

Western Reserve University.

ROY MARVIN ROBBINS.

The Religious Aspects of Swedish Immigration: a Study of Immigrant Churches. By George M. Stephenson, Associate Professor of History, Uni-

versity of Minnesota. (Minneapolis, University of Minnesota Press, 1932, pp. viii, 542, \$4.50.) The religious experience of the Swedes in America is centered about the Augustana Synod. More than among other Protestant immigrant groups unity has been preserved in religious organization. It is a natural tendency for migrating churches to be afflicted with heresies and torn by schisms. The story of the migration of the Swedish religious institutions and their development in the American environment is the theme of Professor Stephenson's study.

The seeds of nonconformity had been sown in Sweden. Within the established Church the Läsare movement produced many lay ministers; "Eric Jansonism" aroused interest in the religious freedom prevailing across the Atlantic; Baptists, Methodists, Mission Friends, and Mormons organized congregations. When the immigrants arrived in America, although the great majority of them had previously maintained a nominal connection with the Swedish State Church, the inherent centrifugal tendencies and the active proselyting of American Home Mission boards led to the formation of numerous synods of the Lutheran faith and conferences of other denominations. But the early Swedish Lutheran Church in America possessed leaders of strong personality such as T. N. Hasselquist, and O. Olsson, and their efforts and influence held the majority together.

"The political sagacity of the devil is seen at its best, or worst, in controversies between religious organizations", writes Professor Stephenson. Fortunately he deals with these controversies only in so far as is necessary for an understanding of the religious trends, and when it is advisable to sit in judgment the opinion is expressed with fairness and good humor. The book is more than the title suggests. Not only religious policy, but all the conditions that shaped that policy are described. There are admirable discussions of the cause and course of Swedish migration, of the community life in the Swedish settlements, and of the educational institutions and journalistic ventures that the Augustana Synod and other ecclesiastical organizations founded. The last chapters are concerned with the process of Americanization, the relations with the established Church of Sweden and the thorny "language problem".

This volume can be read with profit by many whose primary interest is not in Swedish-American affairs. The historian sees lived over again episodes which are usually considered peculiar to the religious life of the colonial period. When a dozen similar investigations have been made, some general principles will be revealed and, then, what was happening in seventeenth century New England will be viewed in a more historical perspective, as the normal experience of an ecclesiastical establishment planted in the New World.

The extensive bibliography calls for special commendation.

The University of Illinois.

MARCUS L. HANSEN.

History of the United States. By Asa Earl Martin, Ph.D., Professor of American History in the Pennsylvania State College. Volume II., 1865-1931. (Boston, Ginn and Company, 1931, pp. xiii, 811, \$3.80.) In this second volume of his *History of the United States*, which is a textbook designed for college use, Professor Martin follows the plan of organization which he adopted in the first part of his work. Although the chronological arrangement of material forms the basis of his narrative, he does not hesitate to depart from it when some topic requires special emphasis. In apportioning space he has selected the beginning of Theodore Roosevelt's administration as the halfway point in American development since the Civil War. There are few instances of misplaced emphasis, but the eighty pages devoted to the political aspects of the Reconstruction era might well have been abbreviated.

Professor Martin has obviously followed the best secondary works available and his interpretations and judgments are consequently seldom open to serious challenge. Occasionally, however, he fails to make his point clear. For example, the decision of the Supreme Court in the case of the *Wabash Railroad v. Illinois* (1886) was important not because "the power of Congress to regulate interstate commerce was definitely recognized", but rather because the power of the states to regulate interstate commerce was specifically denied and their jurisdiction was limited to intra-state commerce (p. 141). Or again, the implications of "government by injunction" are not well presented in the discussion of the Pullman strike of 1894 (p. 321). Nor does the explanation of our recent Caribbean policy contain a clear picture of the less heroic side of our intervention in Haiti, Santo Domingo, and Nicaragua (pp. 548-554).

The most satisfactory sections in the volume are those dealing with the period following the inauguration of Woodrow Wilson. Here the author is happy in his selection of material and convincing in his arrangement and presentation of it. Personal observation has not been for him "a treacherous chart" of the important events of his own day. Especially worthy of praise are the paragraphs which contain an appraisal of the effect of the World War upon the movement for international peace and an analysis of the progress which the nations have made during the last decade toward a new order based upon a community of economic interest.

Columbia University.

JOHN A. KROUT.

Race, Class, and Party: a History of Negro Suffrage and White Politics in the South. By Paul Lewinson. (New York, Oxford University Press, 1932, pp. x, 302, \$3.75.) Four years ago an article in this *Review* (XXXIV. 31) expounded the thesis that the central theme in the history of the South is that that region "shall be and remain a white man's country". The present volume deals with the functioning of this Southern determina-

tion by considering to what extent the Negro has at different times voted, and how white politics has been influenced by the persistent attempt to exclude the Negro from the polls.

The book is evenly divided into three parts. In the first, a summary of the period ending with the disfranchising constitutions of 1890-1910, the student of American history will find little new material. There is, however, some departure from the usual viewpoint, for attention is focused upon the Negro and his influence in politics.

The second and more valuable part of the book brings the story to 1930. Using newspaper accounts, interviews, questionnaires, and other sources, estimates are cautiously made of the slight extent to which Negroes now vote in Southern primaries and elections, and suggestions are ventured as to the results of this condition on the Negroes' economic and social status. We are also reminded that the white man's struggle to maintain control in the South has had marked effects on white politics. In the future these may become more pronounced. For instance, it is entirely possible that the electoral restrictions now used by white man against black may be used, when the occasion seems to demand it, by white man against white man. As to the future of Negro suffrage, the author wisely refrains from prophecy, but he points out the roads along which changes, if any, are most likely to come. In this connection it is significant that in several of the instances where the Negro vote counts in the South—even in a Democratic primary—the door has been opened, not by "black Republicans", but by Southern white men who prefer to have a few Negroes vote than to lose a bitterly fought election.

The last third of the book contains an exposition of the questionnaire used, registration statistics, and election laws, together with citations, the bibliography, and the index. In the summary of the election laws there is no mention of the "electoral votes" device of Mississippi (Constitution of 1890, sections 140, 143), which is an important guarantee of white political supremacy in that state.

The University of Mississippi.

CHARLES S. SYDNOR.

Bryan and World Peace. By Merle Eugene Curti. [Smith College. Studies in History, volume XVI., nos. 3-4.] (Northampton, pp. 113-260, \$1.50.) An important contribution is made by this study to a full-length portrait of William Jennings Bryan, as well as to the literature of pacifism. The idealist here valiantly confronts a world that scorns his patterns, in a conflict wherein evolution is apparent. In the Spanish War, the subject's inconsistencies are glaring; in the World War, he is a more attractive figure, sacrificing place and power for principle. While between these heroic episodes, he renders his most enduring service to world peace, the so-called

thirty treaties of arbitration. Had there been a thirty-first, with Germany, what might the world have been?

The author preserves throughout a well sustained detachment. Frankly pacific, he finds much to praise and much to blame in Bryan, but concludes that Bryan's failure was inseparable from divided loyalties—to nationalism, to private property, even to imperialism at times, to Woodrow Wilson personally—some or all of which were incompatible with a love for peace.

The theme is so profound, the character so interesting, the author so competent to his task, that the reader cannot fail of being stimulated. He will discover unsuspected depths in Bryan, unimagined possibilities of pacifism, and a fresh avenue of approach to the most recent "tragic era".

Purdue University.

LOUIS MARTIN SEARS.

HISTORICAL NEWS

AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

The Presidential Address delivered on December 28 at the annual meeting of the Association in Toronto will be printed in the April number of the *Review*.

The twenty-eighth annual meeting of the Pacific Coast Branch was held at Occidental College, Los Angeles, on December 29 and 30. The program included sessions on European history, on the Indians of the American Southwest, the Pacific Area, and a session on the George Washington Bicentennial when Mr. Rupert Hughes read a paper on Pitfalls of a Biographer. Dr. Max Farrand addressed the luncheon session on December 29, and Professor Edward M. Hulme gave the presidential address on that evening.

The second volume of the Report of the Commission on the Social Studies is *An Introduction to the History of the Social Sciences in Schools*, by Professor Henry Johnson, of Teachers College, Columbia University (Scribner's, pp. vi, 145).¹

Volume II., number 1, and the first two volumes of cumulative indexes of this journal are in demand, and persons with copies for sale are requested to communicate with the office of the Association.

PERSONAL

John Merlin Powis Smith, professor of Semitic languages and literature at the University of Chicago, died on September 26 at the age of 65. He was noted as an Old Testament scholar and was interested in Oriental research. He was born in England, but was educated in this country, receiving his doctorate at the University of Chicago in 1899. In that year his teaching service at the university began. His professorship dated from 1915.

William Templeton Waugh, professor of history at McGill University, died on October 17 at the age of 48. Professor Waugh was born in Manchester, England, and received the master of arts degree at the University of Manchester. In that university he began his work as a teacher. From 1915 to 1918 he was acting professor of history at Queen's University, Belfast, returning in 1919 to Manchester as reader in history. In 1922 he was appointed associate professor at McGill University, becoming Kingsford Professor of History three years later. His best known work was *James Wolfe, Man and*

¹ Books and articles mentioned in this and the following sections appeared in 1932 unless a date is given.

Soldier (Montreal, 1928; reviewed here, XXXVI. 578). He also completed vol. III. of James Hamilton Wylie's *The Reign of Henry the Fifth* (1929; reviewed here, XXXV. 653) from manuscript material left at the death of the author. He wrote two of the best chapters in the latest volume of the *Cambridge Medieval History*.

Clarence Monroe Burton of Detroit died on October 23 at the age of 79. After having been graduated from the Law School of the University of Michigan in 1874, he became a clerk in a Detroit law firm. Here his attention became diverted to real estate and the drawing of abstracts with which his later career became identified. He early achieved substantial success in his calling, and for almost half a century was accounted a foremost citizen of Detroit and Michigan. He made the pursuit of history his life-time avocation, and in this connection became one of America's notable collectors. The zeal he displayed as a collector was fairly matched by his generosity in sharing his treasures with others. The logical climax of this altruism was the gift, in 1914, of his entire library of Americana to the Detroit Public Library, which was organized as the Burton Historical Collection. Based on Detroit as its center, the collection deals with the Northwest and with Canada and the states of the older East, from which the Northwest has evolved. It numbers some 65,000 catalogued books and pamphlets, several hundred bound volumes of newspapers, hundreds of scrapbooks, 3000 maps, and 9000 prints. It includes one of the largest genealogical libraries in the country, and scores of thousands of manuscripts. For the study of Michigan history it is indispensable, for the wider area to which Michigan belongs, it constitutes a useful, and frequently invaluable historical laboratory. As a department of the Public Library, its individual resources are supplemented by the more general, and far more extensive, resources of that institution. One of the outstanding historical workshops of the interior of the country, the collection is but the lengthened shadow of its creator.

M. M. Q.

Edvard Bull, professor of history at the University of Oslo, died on August 26, at the age of 51. His special field was the medieval period in Norse history, but he took an active part in contemporary politics as a leader of the Norwegian Labor party. Aside from numerous shorter studies and articles, he edited the new coöperative history of Norway (*Det Norske Folks Liv og Historie*) which is now appearing. A follower of Karl Marx, to whom he devoted a small volume, one met in him on every hand—to quote the comment of his colleague, Professor Halvdan Koht—clear thought combined with a severe critique of the sources for his works.

H. L.

Ernst Mayer, professor of the history of law in the University of Würzburg, died at the close of summer at the age of 70. Among his published works are *Deutsche und Französische Verfassungsgeschichte vom 9. zum 14. Jahrhundert*, 2 vols. (1899), and *Italienische Verfassungsgeschichte von der Gothenzeit zur Zunft Herrschaft*, 2 vols. (1909).

Solomon Reinach, the eminent archæologist and director of the National Museum of Antiquities at St. Germain-en-Laye, died on November 4 at the age of 74. As a brilliant and productive scholar his achievements were astonishing in quality and compass. His published volumes number more than seventy. The most notable were: *Répertoire de la Statuaire Grecque et Romaine*, 4 vols. (1897-1910); *Répertoire de Vases Grecs et Étrusques*, 2 vols. (1899-1900); and *Répertoire de Peinture du Moyen Age et de la Renaissance, 1280-1580*, 5 vols. (1905-1922).

At a meeting of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, held on November 14, Dr. Ellis Paxson Oberholtzer delivered an address on the late John Bach McMaster. It will be published in the *Proceedings* of the society.

A sketch of the late Carl Russell Fish, by Dr. Joseph Schafer, appears in the September number of the *Wisconsin Magazine of History*.

Dr. Louise P. Kellogg gives an illuminating interpretation of the late Professor Turner's work as a teacher in an article in the *Historical Outlook* for October, entitled The Passing of a Great Teacher: Frederick Jackson Turner. It is an account of personal experience as a graduate student at the University of Wisconsin.

The late Albert Mathiez is the subject of an appreciative article by the Rev. J. M. Thompson in the October number of the *English Historical Review*. A bibliography of his writings, listing 600 items, appeared in the January issue of the *Boletín del Instituto de Investigaciones Históricas*. It was prepared by Sr. Ricardo R. Caillet-Bois, secretary of the institute, which is in Buenos Aires. It will be recalled that Professor Mathiez visited the Argentine a few years ago, delivering a course of lectures.

An account of the life and work of the late Professor M. N. Pokrovsky, the leading historian of Soviet Russia, is given by Professor Otto Hoetzsch in the *Zeitschrift für Osteuropäische Geschichte* (1932, Heft 4).

Edward Léon Harvey, recently of the California Institute of Technology and visiting scholar at the Henry E. Huntington Library, is acting as professorial lecturer at Western Reserve University during the absence of Robert C. Binkley, who is on leave at Harvard University.

Philip Ainsworth Means, whose *Fall of the Inca Empire* has recently appeared, is in Europe collecting material for a work on Civilizations of Northern, Eastern, and Southern South America.

Dr. James F. Kenney, of the public archives of Canada, has received from the Aonach Tailteann [Irish Olympic Games] of 1932 an award recognizing his work entitled *The Sources of Early Irish History* as the "most important contribution to scholarship on the part of one of Irish descent in the period 1926-1931".

The *Historische Zeitschrift* issued on October 26 (vol. CXLVII., Heft 1) is especially dedicated to Friedrich Meinecke in honor of his seventieth birthday. Albert Brackmann, his colleague as editor of that journal, calls attention to Professor Meinecke's service as editor since 1896. The essays are contributed by his students now occupying positions of importance in Germany's institutions of higher learning.

GENERAL

General review: A. F. Hattersley, *Recent Books on World History* (History, July).

The American Council of Learned Societies has recently issued a *Union List of Selected Chinese Books in American Libraries*, compiled by Charles S. Gardner. It is a companion volume to the *Union List of Selected Western Books on Chinese in American Libraries*, published earlier in 1932.

Bulletin no. 16 (Sept.) of the International Committee of Historical Sciences presents a full report of the meetings of the committee at Budapest in 1931, with a brief report in an appendix of the meeting at The Hague last July. Included in the volume are also reports of the various commissions, especially those on iconography. There is an essay of much interest on the authentic portraits of Maria Theresa, with the reproduction of one formerly attributed to P. Goya but which probably was painted by Anton von Maron.

A sixth volume has appeared in the series of *Manuels de Bibliographie Historique*, in the section with the general title of *Les Sources de l'Histoire de France, XVII^e Siècle, 1610-1715*. It is *Histoire Maritime et Coloniale, Histoire Religieuse* (Paris, Picard, pp. xii, 472, 35 fr.) The editor is Professor Louis André.

A comparison of the treatment of science in *Chambers' Cyclopaedia* (London, 1728), and *Zedler's Universal Lexicon* (Leipzig, 1732-1750), has been made by Philip Shorr, Ph.D., and is published under the title *Science and Superstition in the Eighteenth Century* (Columbia University Press, pp. 82, \$1.50). It belongs to the series of studies in History, Economics, and Public Law. Two other publications of the same series are *The Grand Social Enterprise: a Study of Jeremy Bentham in his Relation to Liberal Nationalism*, by Elmer Louis Kayser, Ph.D., associate professor of history in George Washington University (pp. 109, \$2.00), and *The French Race: Theories of its Origins, and their Social and Political Implications*, by Jacques Barzun, Ph.D. (pp. 275, \$4.25).

Professor Sée's essay on *Science et Philosophie d'après la Doctrine de M. Émile Meyerson* (Paris, Alcan, pp. 203, 15 fr.) contains three chapters of special interest to students of history. They deal with the applications of the doctrine of M. Meyerson to historical research, the idea of law, and the concept of causality.

In *Spiritualisme Historique: Étude Critique sur l'Idée de Progrès* (Paris, Marcel Rivière, pp. 250, 20 fr.), M. Louis Hoyack presents a philosophy of history contrary to the current materialistic conception of progress. There are chapters on Le Message de l'Islam, La Renaissance et la Réforme, and La Civilisation Moderne.

A posthumous volume of essays by Mr. Gamaliel Bradford includes one which gives the book its title, *Biography and the Human Heart* (Houghton Mifflin, pp. 283, \$3.50). The author here expresses his *credo* in regard to the style of writing in which he excelled; and in another essay, *Biography by Mirror*, he examines the subject of autobiographical writing. Of the seven biographical sketches in the volume, two are of perhaps lesser-known Americans—John Beauchamp Jones, the Confederate diarist, and Jones Very, poet and Shakespearean critic.

An *Atlas of Medieval and Modern History* (Henry Holt, \$3.00), has been prepared by Professor William R. Shepherd, based on his *Historical Atlas*. This new, brief, edition is designed to meet the needs of survey courses in European history. It contains 80 maps covering the period from Migrations and Conquests, 150–1066, to the World, 1929. No maps of the New World are included except as part of maps of the World, but maps are given of the Growth of European and Japanese Dominion in Asia, and of the Partition of Africa. The maps used are identical with those of the larger atlas.

The Director of the Nobel Institute, R. Moe, has prepared a volume with the title of *Le Prix Nobel de la Paix et l'Institut Nobel Norvégien; Rapport Historique et Descriptif*, tome I. (Oslo, H. Aschehoug, pp. xi, 301). Half of the volume is devoted to a history of the effort for peace from 1896 to 1930, the account in this volume reaching 1914. The Taft and Bryan arbitration treaties receive considerable emphasis.

Mr. Warrington Dawson, formerly attaché of the American legation in Paris, a well-known journalist and author, is engaged in compiling a complete list of the French officers, soldiers, and sailors who died on American soil or in American waters between 1777 and 1783 for the cause of the independence of the United States. The French authorities propose to inscribe the entire roster on tablets to be placed on the walls of a special room in the palace of Versailles. Mr. Dawson desires the coöperation of interested persons in completing the list, for the records in the French archives are not free from gaps. He may be addressed at 19, rue du Maréchal Joffre, Versailles, France.

The *Canadian Historical Review* for September presents what amounts to a symposium on Local Historical Societies. It is opened by an article on The Importance of Local History in the Writing of General History, by D. C. Harvey. Louis Blake Duff discusses The Problems and Opportunities of

Canadian Historical Societies. Then follow English Local Historical Societies by F. M. Powicke, and Local Historical Societies in the United States, by Dixon Ryan Fox.

We record with regret the discontinuance of *Social Science Abstracts* with the publication of the December number. The index to volume IV. (1932) will be distributed to subscribers during the coming spring.

Article: Henri Sée, *La Philosophie de l'Histoire d'Ernest Renan* (Rev. Hist., July).

ANCIENT HISTORY

General review: Maurice Besnier, *Chronique d'Histoire Romaine, l'Année 1931* (Rev. des Ques. Hist., July); Cloché, *Histoire Grecque* [1929-1931] (Rev. Hist., Sept.).

Articles in the field of ancient law include those of P. Koschaker, Über einige Griechische Rechtsurkunden aus dem Oestlichen Randgebieten des Hellenismus *Abh. Sächs. Akad.*, 42, 1); R. Taubenschlag, *Ennomos Helikia* nel Diritto dei Papiri (*Aegyptus*, July); G. Beseler, Zu dem Briefe Hadrians an Plotina vom J. 121 (*Zeitschr. der Sav.-stiftung für Rechtsgesch.*, Röm. Abt., LII.).

The following reports and articles on excavations have been made: J. Jordan, third preliminary report of the excavations at Uruk (*Abh. Berl. Akad.*, 1932, 2); H. Field, on human remains from Jemdet Nasr (*Jour. Royal Asiatic Soc.*, Oct.); F. Petrie and N. P. Clarke, on finds at Gaza (*Anc. Egypt*, 1932, 1-2); H. E. Winlock, excavations at the Temple of Deir el Bahri, 1921-1931 (*Proc. Amer. Philos. Soc.*, 1932, 6); R. Dussaud, the sanctuary and the Phoenician gods of Ras Shamra (*Rev. de l'Hist. des Religions*, June); J. Garstang, on the third season at Jericho (*Jour. of the Pales. Explora. Fund.*, July); G. M. Fitzgerald, on the excavations at Beth Shan in 1931, and J. W. Crowfoot, on the recent discoveries of the joint expedition to Samaria (*ibid.*); A. E. Mader, excavations at the Sea of Genesareth (*Biblica*, XIII. 3); and E. P. Blegen, New Items from Athens (*Amer. Jour. Arch.*, Sept.) containing a report of the progress of excavations at Troy. G. Calza describes recent discoveries on the Isola Sacra, and A. Maiuri, those at Pompeii (*Notizie degli Scavi*, ser. sesta, VII. 10-12). There is a description of a Roman road running from near Croyden to Malling Down near Lewes, traced by air photography (*Antiquity*, Sept.); and a restudy by R. G. Collingwood of the Sicilian fortresses of Euryalus near Syracuse, and of Selinus (*ibid.*).

The *Illustrated London News* in its recent issues pictures many interesting and important discoveries, among which may be mentioned: (Sept. 17) prehistoric cave drawings in a grotto near Labastide; (Oct. 1) finds proving and dating early contacts of Sumeria with India; (Oct. 8) a Sumerian temple and statuary at Khafaje, with reliefs which prove the presence of the horse in

Mesopotamia long before Cassite times; (Oct. 22) bronzes, pottery, and glassware showing Chinese affinities recently excavated at Luristan in Persia.

The abiding interest of the French in Egypt is illustrated in the monumental work in course of publication under the direction of M. Gabriel Hano-
taux entitled *Histoire de la Nation Égyptienne*. The second volume has recently appeared with the title of *L'Égypte Pharaonique*, by Alexander Moret, professor at the Collège de France (Paris, Plon, pp. 635, 12 plates, many illustrations, 150 fr.). Vol. I., published earlier, including an Introduction Générale, was devoted to the *Géographie de l'Égypte à travers les Ages*. The author was M. Charles de la Roncière.

The subtitle, *A Descriptive Handbook*, of the late James Baikie's *Egyptian Antiquities in the Nile Valley* (Macmillan, pp. xxvi, 874, \$4.50), indicates the nature of the book. The author confined his study to pre-Roman Egypt and to the antiquities now remaining in Egypt and Nubia, but within those limits he gives brief descriptions of the more important tombs, temples, and sculptural remains to be found by the traveler, and devotes, also, two chapters to the Museum at Cairo.

An eighth edition has appeared of the late H. R. Hall's *Ancient History of the Near East: from the Earliest Times to the Battle of Salamis* (London, Methuen; New York, Macmillan, pp. xxxiv, 620, \$5.50). Certain revisions, based on recent discoveries in early Babylonian history, have been made by C. J. Gadd, Dr. Hall's colleague at the British Museum. The original edition was reviewed in this journal (XIX. 582) by Professor J. H. Breasted.

In *Greek Byways*, T. R. Glover (Cambridge University Press; New York, Macmillan) treats of the interest in the sea felt by the Greeks, of their unexpected knowledge and fantastic ignorance in regard to animals, of the ancient theories and practices of education, of diet and metals as they have affected history, of the manners of a gentleman as understood by the Greeks and Romans of classical and early Christian times, and of other subjects to which the average reader of the classics pays scant attention. Each subject is treated by itself, and items of information scattered through the works of ancient writers are brought together and made duly impressive. All this material is presented in a charming, easy, leisurely style, with genial humor and with frequent reference to modern conditions. H. N. F.

The Large Estates of Byzantine Egypt (Columbia University Press, 1931, pp. 162, \$3.00), by Edward Rochie Hardy, jr., is an interesting study of the extensive, partially independent estates in sixth century Egypt. A series of chapters upon the Apion family, other proprietors, feudalism and serfdom, and estate management, lead up to a discussion of the place of the estates in the social and economic life of Egypt as a whole. The author tries to keep a proper balance between a due recognition of the many medieval features

which had developed, notably in the serfdom of the coloni, use of the estate mill and bakery, the estate oilpress, and the estate prison, and of other features which had developed or remained. The encroachments of the large estates upon the villages, and the relations of the estate system to independent craftsmen and to the Church are also considered. The author concludes that although the large estates in Egypt touched upon all sides of Egyptian life they never were in any sense economically self-sufficient units. The work ends with a query: What would the estate system have developed into had it not been changed by the Arabic conquest?

Articles: J. Siegel, *The Date and the Historical Background of the Sinaitic Inscriptions* (Jour. Sem. Lang. and Lit., Oct.); M. J. Lagrange, *Le Site de Sodome d'après les Textes* (Rev. Bibl., Oct.); B. Meissner, *Neue Nachrichten über die Ermordung Sanheribs und die Nachfolge Asarhaddons* (Sitzber. Berl. Akad., 1932, 12); A. Momigliano, *Sparte e Lacedemone e una Ipotesi sull' Origine della Diarchia Spartana* (Atene e Roma, XIII. 1-2); F. B. Marsh, *Alcibiades and the Persian Alliance* (Class. Jour., Oct.); F. Cumont, *À propos d'un Décret d'Anisa en Cappadoce* (Rev. Études Anc., June); P. Kretschmer, *Die Herkunft der Umbrier* (Glotta, 21, 1-2); J. Whatmough, *The Calendar in Ancient Italy outside Rome* (Harvard Studies, 1931); André Oltramare, *Spurius Cassius et les Origines de la Démocratie Romaine* (Bull. Soc. d'Hist. et Arch. de Genève, V. 4); F. Oertel, *Der Ebrovertrag und der Ausbruch des Zweiten Punischen Krieges* (Rhein. Mus., 81, 3); E. Bickermann, *Rom und Lampsacus* (Philologus, 87, 3); A. Gitti, *Sul Rescritto Tolemaico di Cirene* (Aegyptus, July); A. Passerini, *La Pace con Filippo e le Relazioni con Antioco* (Athenaeum, X. 2); P. Treves, *Sertorio* (ibid.); A. Oltramare, *La Réaction Ciceronienne et les Débuts du Principat* (Rev. Études Latines, X. 1); U. Wilcken, *Zur Genesis der Res Gestae Divi Augusti* (Sitzber. Berl. Akad., 1932, 11); R. Laqueur, *Kaiser Augustus und der Delator* (Hermes, 67, 2); H. I. Bell, *The Problem of the Alexandrian Senate* (Aegyptus, July); G. A. Harrer, *Inscriptions of Legates in Syria* (Amer. Jour. Arch., Sept.); R. S. Rogers, *Fulvia Paulina C. Sentii Saturnini* (Amer. Jour. Philol., Sept.); A. von Premerstein, *Das Datum des Prozesses des Isidorus in den Sogenannten Heidnischen Martyrerakten* (Hermes, 67, 2).

T. R. S. B.

MEDIEVAL HISTORY

General review: Giuseppe Castellani, *Storia Ecclesiastica* [medieval and early modern] (N. Antol., Sept.).

Those who are using the revised edition of L. J. Paetow's *Guide to the Study of Medieval History* (Crofts, 1931), will find pertinent corrections, additions, and suggestions in the following reviews: *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Sciences*, July, 1931 (A. C. Baugh); *The Historical Outlook*, Oct., 1931 (J. L. La Monte); *Revue Historique*, Sept.,

1931; The London *Times Literary Supplement*, Oct. 1, 1931; *Historische Zeitschrift*, CXLV. 2 (W. Kienast); *Catholic Historical Review*, Jan., 1932 (M. R. P. McGuire); *History*, April, 1932 (F. M. Powicke); *Revue Belge de Philologie et d'Histoire*, XI. 1-2 (H. Pirenne); *Le Moyen Age*, Jan., 1932 (L. Levillain).

The Society for the Study of Mediaeval Languages and Literature issued in May, 1932, the first number of its new journal *Medium Aevum* which supersedes its organ *Arthuriana*. It is planned to issue three numbers of the new periodical yearly. Of the five articles in the first number, historians will be especially interested in B. H. Sumner's Dante and the *Regnum Italicum*, and F. S. Shears's The Language of the First and Third Versions of Froissart's Chronicles.

A new French edition of R. Dozy's *Histoire des Musulmans d'Espagne, 711-1110*, revised by E. Lévi-Provençal, has been published by E. J. Brill, Leiden.

A History of the Work of the Cistercians in Yorkshire (1131-1300) is the subject of a dissertation presented by Francis Anthony Mullin to the Graduate School of the Catholic University of America (Washington, pp. xi, 129).

Professor J. P. Whitney, of the University of Cambridge, with a rare knowledge of the literature of his subject, has investigated a large number of neglected, obscure, and controversial points in the ecclesiastical history of the Hildebrandine period (*Hildebrandine Essays*, Cambridge, University Press; New York, Macmillan, pp. xx, 184, \$2.80). Each discussion is accompanied by extremely full critical, bibliographical notes. In his treatment of the wider phases of his subject the author is hampered by his complete absorption in ecclesiastical history. He is aware of the social, economic, and political elements which entered into the investiture struggle, but he gives them little or no weight. He ignores completely the effect of the immense temporal power and wealth of the Church. Hence his entire discussion of the Church and state is necessarily incomplete.

S. P.

Articles: René Aigrain, *Comment utiliser les Inscriptions Chrétiennes* (Rev. d'Hist. de l'Église de France, July); J. H. Finley, jr., *Corinth in the Middle Ages* (Speculum, Oct.); H. H. Schaefer, *Bardesanes* [criticism of sources for a projected work on the origins of Manichæism] (Zeitschr. für Kirchengesch., 1932, Heft 1-2); J. P. Whitney, *The Growth of Papal Jurisdiction and Leo the Great* (Cam. Hist. Jour., IV. 1); Alfons Dopsch, *Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft im frühen Mittelalter* (Tijdschr. voor Rechtsgesch., XI. 4); A. Dondeyne, *La Discipline des Scrutins dans l'Église Latine avant Charlemagne* [concluded] (Rev. d'Hist. Ecclés., Oct.); E. Delaruelle, *Charlemagne, Carloman, Didier et la Politique du Mariage Franco-Lombard, 770-771* (Rev. Hist., Sept.); A. Brackmann, *Der Römische Erneuerungsgedanke und*

seine Bedeutung für die Reichspolitik der Deutschen Kaiserzeit (Sitzber. der Preus. Akad. der Wissenschaften, Philos.-Hist. Klasse, 1932, XVII.); C. Erdmann, *Der Heidenkrieg in der Liturgie und die Kaiserkrönung Ottos I.* (Mitteil. des Oesterr. Inst. für Geschichtsfor., XLVI. 2.); Paul Kirn, *Die Mittelalterliche Staatsverwaltung als Geistesgeschichtliches Problem* (Hist. Vierteljahr., Oct.); Adolf Hofmeister, *Der Übersetzer Johannes und das Geschlecht Comitibus Mauronis in Amalfi: ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Byzantinisch-abendländischen Beziehungen besonders im XI. Jahrhundert* (*ibid.*, July); U. Berlière, *L'Étude des Réformes Monastiques des X^e et XI^e Siècles* (Acad. Royale de Belg., Bull. de la Classe des Lettres et des Sciences, 1932, fasc. 3-5); J. Cottiaux, *La Conception de la Théologie chez Abélard* [concluded] (Rev. d'Hist. Ecclés., Oct.); J. de Ghellinck, *Les "Opera Dubia vel Spuria" attribués à Pierre Lombard* (*ibid.*); Hans van Werveke, *Monnaie, Lingots ou Marchandises? Les Instruments d'Échange aux XI^e et XII^e Siècles* (An. d'Hist. Éc. et Soc., Sept.); H. Weisweiler, *L'École d'Anselme de Laon et de Guillaume de Champeaux: Nouveaux Documents* (Recherches de Théol. Anc. et Méd., July); J. C. Russell, *Hereford and Arabic Science in England about 1175-1200* (Isis, July); E. Gomez, *Saint Albertus Magnus and his Works in Oxford University* (New Scholasticism, Oct.); K. Hampe, *Das Neueste Lebensbild Kaiser Friedrichs II.* [apropos of *Kaiser Friedrich der Zweite*, by Ernst Kantorowicz; see *Am. Hist. Rev.*, XXXVII. 533] (Hist. Zeitschr., Aug.); M. C. Welborn, *The Errors of the Doctors according to Friar Roger Bacon of the Minor Order* (Isis, July); Lynn Thorndike, *Rufinus: a Forgotten Botanist of the Thirteenth Century* (*ibid.*); A. G. Little, *Chronological Notes on the Life of Duns Scotus* (Eng. Hist. Rev., Oct.); S. d'Irsay, *L'Opinion Publique dans les Universités Médiévales* (Rev. des Études Hist., July); Georges de Lagarde, *Marsile de Padoue et Guillaume de Nogaret* (Rev. Hist. de Droit, July-Sept.); T. P. Oakley, *The Coöperation of Mediaeval Penance and Secular Law* (Speculum, Oct.); J. F. Willard, *The Use of Carts in the Fourteenth Century* (History, Oct.); Heinrich Finke, *Ueber Schisma-Publikationen: ein Vergiftungsversuch gegen Urban VI.* (Hist. Jahrb., vol. LII., Heft 3); B. Bughetti, *Statutum Concordiae inter Quatuor Ordines Mendicantes, Annis 1435, 1458 et 1475 Sancitum* (Arch. Franciscanum Hist., Apr.); H. G. Keller, *Die Erbauung der Burg und die Entstehung der Stadt Thun: eine Burgen- und Stadtgeschichtliche Untersuchung* (Zeitschr. für Schweizer. Gesch., XII. 3).

G. C. B.

MODERN EUROPEAN HISTORY

General review: Gustav Krüger, *Zur Literatur über die Rosenkreuzer* (Hist. Zeitschr., Aug.); Martin Gerhardt, *Innere Mission und Christlich-Sociale Bewegung* (Zeitschr. für Kirchengesch., 1932, Heft 1-2).

The much-discussed question of the influence of Calvinism upon the de-

velopment of capitalism and of political theory is the subject of two reviews by Heinrich Bornkamm in the *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte*, 1932, Heft 1-2. The books are Ernest Beins's *Die Wirtschaftsethik der Calvinischen Kirche der Niederlande, 1565-1650* (1931), and Otto Hintze's *Calvinismus und Staatsräson im Brandenburg zu Beginn des 17. Jahrhundert* (1930).

Calvinism and the Religious Wars, by Franklin Charles Palm (Holt, pp. ix, 117, \$1.00) belongs to the useful series of Berkshire Studies in European History. The treatment deals first with Calvin's development and his influence in Geneva. Calvinism and the Religious Wars in France is the subject of the second of the three chapters. The third presents brief sketches of the spread of Calvinism into many European countries and across the sea to America. The problem of selection here is extremely difficult and delicate. Perhaps some of the Mayflower descendants will be surprised to learn that in Plymouth colony there "was no occupation which the community enjoyed more than spying, and no duty apparently gave them more pleasure than that of complaining of the conduct of some individual". Probably remarks of this type, together with the long quotation from Hudibras about the Puritans, are sops thrown to Cerberus, for the general attitude of the author is entirely fair.

Léon Cahen, who is professor of primary education at the École Normale Supérieure, in *Les Débuts du Monde Contemporain, 1789-1848* (Paris, Alcan, pp. viii, 460, 20 fr.) has written what he calls in his subtitle an *Esquisse d'un Demi-Siècle d'Histoire*. In that half-century, he declares in his introduction, were developed those tendencies which characterize the modern world, the organization of democracy, the safeguarding of nationalities, and a harmony of economic functions. Perhaps the special utility of such a volume is to be found in its embodiment, in brief form, of the results of recent scholarly investigation within the field covered.

Demokratie und Partei, edited by Peter Richard Rohden (Vienna, L. W. Seidel, pp. 364, \$2.40), is a brief review and discussion of the characteristics of democratic and party government in England, the United States, France, Germany, Russia, and Italy. There is also an essay on the position of Catholicism in relation to democracy. The contributors are Kingsley B. Smellie, of the London School of Economics, Adolf Rein, of the University of Hamburg, Edmond Vermeil, of the University of Strasbourg, D. S. Mirsky, Wolfgang Ludovico Stein, Alois Dempf, of the University of Bonn, and the editor. Professor Rein writes on the United States. His treatment is mainly historical. His conclusions are not flattering, emphasizing a two party system in which the differences of aim are negligible, and in which also the professional politician, who is not a responsible official, has become master of the machine. The saving element in the situation Professor Rein finds in the craving of the democratic masses for leadership in the President.

The vicissitudes of the naval armament question is the subject of *Lord*

Haldane's Zending naar Berlijn in 1912: de Duitsch-Engelsche Onderhandelingen over de Vlootquaestie, 1905-1912, a doctoral dissertation by Bernhard Daniel Ernest Kraft (Utrecht, Kemink and Son, pp. 367). It is based upon a thorough study of the mass of documents now available, especially of vol. VI. of the British series.

The most recent volumes of the French official history of the World War are: tome VI., vol. I., *La Préparation de la Campagne 1918: l'Offensive Allemande de l'Oise à la Mer du Nord*, Nov. 1, 1917-Apr. 30, 1918, with three volumes of annexes and a case of maps; tome IX., vol. II., *Les Campagnes Coloniales: Togo, Cameroun*, with four volumes of annexes and a case of maps (Imprimerie Nationale, 500 and 790 fr.)

A new contribution to the history of the World War is made by General Mario Caracciolo in his *L'Italia ed i suoi Alleati nella Grande Guerra* (Milan, Mondadori).

With positions strangely reversed, the Germans are now contending, like Poincaré in 1923, that Article 231 of the Treaty of Versailles constitutes an admission of German guilt. Hajo Holborn in *Kriegsschuld und Reparationen auf der Pariser Friedenskonferenz von 1919* (Leipzig, Grundfragen der Internationalen Politik, Heft 3), sums up the evidence against those writers (Halperin, Binkley, Bloch, Renouvin) who have argued that this article is merely an acknowledgment of civil liability. He concludes that the economic and moral liquidation of the war requires a common consciousness of responsibility and a general recognition of non-partisanship. R. C. B.

As the attitude of competent observers toward the changing complex of events since the World War is so important to the historian, the volume of selections from the writings of the late Jacques Seydoux entitled *De Versailles au Young Plan* (Paris, Plon, pp. xxi, 333, 36 fr.) is especially notable. M. Seydoux's life was spent in the diplomatic service, either in French embassies or at the Quai d'Orsay. He was a leading figure in all the post-war conferences because of his eminence as a commercial and financial expert. This volume is made up of articles which he published from time to time in journals like the *Revue d'Économie Politique* and *L'Europe Nouvelle*, upon every phase of the reparations question and the reconstruction of Europe. Each selection has an introduction, contributed by the editors, MM. Jacques Arnavon and E. de Felcourt. A preface, with a sketch of the life of M. Seydoux, is contributed by M. François Charles-Roux, minister of France at Prague. Americans may not be pleased by the comments of M. Seydoux upon our financial policies, but he wrote when we were still the richest and most prosperous nation in the world, and before France, in alarm at the rumored weakness of the dollar had called home her enormous gold balances.

Articles: Per Sörensson, *Das Kriegswesen während der Letzten Periode*

des Dreissigjährigen Kriegen (Hist. Vierteljahr., Oct.); Elise Despréaux, *Le Cabinet de Versailles et le Conflit entre la Russie et la Pologne en Courlande au Début du XVIII^e Siècle* (Rev. d'Hist. Dipl., July); John Horsch, *The Rise and Early History of the Swiss Brethren Church*, pt. 1, *The Rise of State Church Protestantism* (Mennonite Quar., July); Harold Temperley, *The Treaty of Paris of 1856 and its Execution* (Jour. Mod. Hist., Sept., Dec.); Wilhelm Schüssler, *Bismarck zwischen England und Russland in der Krise von 1879-80: ein Kritisches Nachwort* [in reference to the view of A. O. Meyer that Bismarck would have negotiated an alliance with England but for the opposition of the Emperor William] (Hist. Vierteljahr., July); Alfred von Wittich, *Die Rüstungen Oesterreich-Ungarns von 1866 bis 1914* (Berl. Monatsh., Sept.); Werner Frauendienst, *Graf Alvenslebens Petersburger Mission 1900 bis 1905* (*ibid.*); Georges Fotino, *Les Missions de Goluchowski et de Bülow auprès du Carol I^{er} de Roumanie* (Rev. d'Hist. Dipl., July); I. F. D. Morrow, *The Foreign Policy of Prince von Bülow, 1898-1909* (Cam. Hist. Jour., IV. 1); Camille Barrère, *Souvenirs Diplomatiques: la Chute de Delcassé* (Rev. des D. M., Aug. 1); Paul Herre, *Die Kleinen Staaten und die Entstehung des Weltkriegs* [I.] (Berl. Monatsh., Nov.); H. E. Enthoven, *Kiderlen-Wächter und die Deutsche Agadir-Politik* (Eur. Gespräche, July); Esther C. Brunauer, *The Peace Proposals of December, 1916-January, 1917* (Jour. Mod. Hist., Dec.); Hamilton Fish Armstrong, *Versailles: Retrospect* (Foreign Affairs, Oct.); Harold Temperley, *"War Guilt" and the Peace Treaty* (History, Oct).

GREAT BRITAIN

General review: F. L. Baumann, *Sir Thomas More* (Jour. Mod. Hist., Dec.); W. T. Laprade, *The Present State of the History of England in the Eighteenth Century* (*ibid.*).

The committee appointed by the first lord of the treasury in March, 1929, of which Professor Wallace Notestein is an American member, "to report on the materials available for a record of the personnel and politics of the past members of the House of Commons from 1264 to 1832" has published through the Stationery Office an *Interim Report*. As the result of much preliminary work, the committee recommends that the project be carried forward if the £30,000 estimated to be needed for the purpose can be obtained from other sources than the exchequer. Meanwhile, some twelve hundred names of members of early parliaments have been discovered in addition to those found in the "Official Return" published in 1878. The report indicates the sources from which this information has been derived. Appended are several interesting lists including one of the parliaments held 1258-1832, giving, where possible, the "Date of Testing the Writ of Summons", "Term of the Session", "Place to which Summoned", "Date for which Summoned", "Dates of Election of Commons", and "Dates of Dismissal of Commons". W. T. L.

Vol. II. of the Royal Commission's *An Inventory of the Historical Monuments in Herefordshire* (London, H. M. Stationery Office, pp. xxxv, 266, 190 plates, 30s.) follows with surprising promptitude vol. I. (*Am. Hist. Rev.*, XXXVI. 196). That dealt with the southwestern section of the county, including Hereford itself, while this deals with the eastern section. A third volume will conclude the survey of the county. Although there is for this volume no great church like Hereford cathedral, or castle like Goodrich, the monuments studied and photographed are of a hardly slighter interest. The great prehistoric camp on the Herefordshire Beacon, illustrated by three remarkable photographs, the remains of the Roman Magna near Kenchester, and Ledbury with its many timber-framed dwellings, enrich the treatment. Concerning Ledbury one curious fact is noted in the sectional preface: "the timber-framing . . . in these early buildings is widely spaced to form a square framework, the close-set studding not being commonly employed until the latter part of the 15th century." The commission recommends as "especially worthy of preservation" a long list of earthworks and of ecclesiastical and secular buildings. This means government protection against vandals of all types.

The May *Bulletin* of the Board of Celtic Studies, of the University of Wales, prints a second installment of A Bibliography of Monographs on the Place-names of Wales, the first having appeared in 1930 (V. 249-264).

Vols. VIII. and IX. of the English Place-name Society are concerned with the *Place-names of Devon* (Cambridge University Press, 40s.). One of the curious results of the survey is the fact that although the Celts remained in Devon longer than in the counties immediately to the east, very few place-names of Celtic origin have endured. It is conjectured that the Celtic population of the region was sparse and did not constitute any large fraction of the inhabitants after the Saxon conquest. The authors of these volumes are J. E. B. Gover, A. Mawer, and F. M. Stenton.

With the publication of *The Great Roll of the Pipe for the Tenth Year of the Reign of King Richard the First*, edited by Mrs. Doris M. Stenton, the work of the Pipe Roll Society for the reign of Richard I. is completed. It forms vol. IX. of the new series.

Under the direction of the keeper of registers and records of Scotland, has been issued a volume entitled *Acts of the Lords of Council in Public Affairs, 1501-1554*, being selections from the *Acta Dominorum Concilii* introductory to the Register of the Privy Council of Scotland. The editor is Robert Kerr Hannay (Edinburgh, General Register House, pp. lxxvii, 719, 45s.).

In *The Counter Reformation in Scotland, 1560-1930* (James Clarke, 1931, 7s. 6d.), Donald Maclean makes the point that the immigration of the Irish to Scotland in the nineteenth century hastened materially the growth of the

Roman Catholic Church in that country, which had been comparatively slow from the seventeenth century until that time. W. T. L.

To the series entitled *La Grande Légende de la Mer*, M. Léon Lemonnier has added a volume on *Sir Francis Drake* (Paris, Renaissance du Livre, pp. 255, 15 fr.). In an appendix are printed interesting documents, hitherto unpublished. There is an excellent bibliography.

The Historical Manuscripts Commission has issued a *Supplementary Report on the Manuscripts of His Grace the Duke of Hamilton*, edited by Jane Harvey McMaster and Marguerite Wood (H. M. Stationery Office, pp. 253, 5s.). The dates of the manuscripts run from 1563 to 1794. A group of undated manuscripts is given in appendix II. Appendix I. contains interesting records of military expenditure in the Thirty Years' War.

Other recent publications of the Stationery Office are; vol. IV. of the *Calendar of Close Rolls*, covering the years 1409-1413 of the reign of Henry IV.; *Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, of the Reign of Henry VIII.*, pt. II. of vol. I., *Addenda*; and *Journal of the Commissioners for Trade and Plantations from January 1749/1750 to December, 1753*.

The Wren Society has brought together in *The Parochial Churches of Sir Christopher Wren, 1666-1718*, printed for the society at the Oxford University Press, and as vol. IX. of their publications, John Clayton's *Churches of Sir Christopher Wren*, which appeared in 1848, and reproductions of original Wren drawings and of contemporary engravings collected by Samuel Pepys. The editors, Arthur T. Bolton and H. Duncan Hendry, have supplied a preliminary note and an introduction.

Vol. III. of the Bristol Record Society's Publications is entitled *Bristol Corporation of the Poor: Selected Records, 1696-1834*. The editor is E. E. Butcher of the University of Bristol. Most of the documents are from the Court Books of the Corporation of the Poor and indicate the organized efforts in Bristol to deal with poverty in the period 1653-1834. The bulk of the material dates from the generations just after 1696 and just preceding 1834. In 1696 came the act of Parliament authorizing the incorporation of the seventeen city parishes and the castle precincts for establishing a "manufactory" for "the better employment and maintaining the poor". In 1834 Parliament enacted country-wide legislation dealing with the same question. An introductory survey of the subject by the editor occupies thirty-eight pages of the book. Appended is a list of the guardians with biographical particulars. W. T. L.

Eyre and Spottiswoode have issued in comparatively small editions two works important for students of the history of England in the eighteenth century: Bonamy Dobrée's *The Letters of Philip Dormer Stanhope, Fourth Earl of Chesterfield* (6 vols., £12 12s.) and Romany Sedgwick's *Some Materials towards Memoirs of the Reign of King George II.*, by John, Lord

Hervey (3 vols., 1931, £5 5s.). Mr. Sedgwick has had the use of an unexpurgated manuscript in the royal archives at Windsor; thus his edition of Hervey contains new matter. Of the more than 2500 letters in Mr. Dobrée's edition of Chesterfield, some 1400 are published for the first time. W. T. L.

The Industrial Revolution in Scotland, by Henry Hamilton (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1955) is the first attempt to deal separately with the economic phenomena of Scotland during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. The ordinary reader of British industrial history, a little weak perhaps in geography, does not always realize how many important establishments were created north of the Border. This work deals with agriculture, shipping, and finance, as well as with industry in the narrower sense.

Material of value for the study of the Second Burmese War, and of the years that followed, will be found in *The Dalhousie-Phayre Correspondence, 1852-1856*, edited by D. G. E. Hall (Oxford University Press, 30s.). The volume is made up of Dalhousie's letters to Phayre, while the latter was administrator of Pegu, and of Phayre's journal, both of which now are a part of the collection of the University of Rangoon.

Sir George Otto Trevelyan's *Life and Letters of Lord Macaulay*, which was added to the series entitled *The World's Classics*, is published in this country by the Oxford University Press (2 vols., 80 cents).

Dr. Joseph Ellis Baker's dissertation entitled *The Novel and the Oxford Movement* is published as no. 8 in the Princeton Studies in English (Princeton University Press, pp. xiii, 220).

An interesting phase of the history of emigration is dealt with in vol. VI. of the Royal Empire Society Imperial Studies, entitled *Education for Empire Settlement*, by Alexander G. Scholes (Longmans, Green, pp. xii, 250, 7s. 6d.). As the subtitle, *A Study of Juvenile Migration*, indicates, it describes the effort, especially since the Empire Settlement Act of 1922, to save for the useful tasks of the dominions many of the boys and girls who are in danger of being added to the increasing army of the unemployed.

A new chapter entitled Later Anglo-Saxon England, the rearrangement of old sections and the addition of new, to the chapters on the Feudal Period, the Work of Henry II., and the Growth of the Constitution, form some of the revisions in the second edition of Frederick C. Dietz's *Political and Social History of England* (Macmillan, pp. xxii, 786, \$3.75). Later chapters on British Foreign Policy, 1890-1914, and on the War, have also been revised, and the discussion on the recent developments in the British empire has been brought up to 1932.

Articles: G. Lapsley, *Buzones* [II.] (Eng. Hist. Rev., Oct.); C. R. Cheney, *Letters of William Wickwane, Chancellor of York, 1266-1268* (*ibid.*); D. D.

Egbert, *The Tickhill Psalter: an English Illuminated Manuscript of the Early Fourteenth Century* (Bull. N. Y. Public Library, Oct.); B. J. H. Rowe, *John, Duke of Bedford, and the Norman 'Brigands'* (Eng. Hist. Rev., Oct.); Kathleen L. Wood-Legh, *Some Aspects of the History of the Chantries during the Reign of Edward III.* (Cam. Hist. Jour., IV. 1); T. F. T. Plucknett, *The Place of the Legal Profession in the History of English Law* (Law Quar. Rev., July); J. V. Kitto, *The House of Commons Mace* (Notes and Queries, Sept. 24); Bertha H. Putnam, *John Tindall's Contribution to Rastell's Abridgment of Statutes* (*ibid.*, Oct. 8); Richard Jones, *Science and Language in England of the Mid-Seventeenth Century* (Jour. Eng. and Ger. Philology, July); Harold Hulme, *The Leadership of Sir John Eliot in the Parliament of 1626* (Jour. Mod. Hist., Sept.); Keith Feiling, *Henrietta Stuart, Duchess of Orleans, and the Origins of the Treaty of Dover* [an important unpublished letter, probably of Sept., 1668] (Eng. Hist. Rev., Oct.); A. W. Johns, *The CONSTANT WARWICK* (Mariner's Mirror, July); G. A. Ballard, *British Battleships of 1870: the ROYAL OAK and ROYAL ALFRED* (*ibid.*); A. F. Fremantle, *The Truth about Oliver, the Spy* [a government agent in 1817] (Eng. Hist. Rev., Oct.); E. Welbourne, *Bankruptcy before the Era of Victorian Reform* (Cam. Hist. Jour., IV. 1); Paul Ostwald, *Der Zweite English-Japanische Bündnisvertrag* (Berl. Monatsh., Oct.); Charles Firth, *Macaulay's Third Chapter* (History, Oct.).

FRANCE

General review: G. M. Dutcher, *Napoleon and the Napoleonic Period* (Jour. Mod. Hist., Sept.).

Vol. X. (1629) of the *Mémoires du Cardinal de Richelieu* has just been published by the Société de l'Histoire de France.

It is possible to read Mercier's celebrated *Tableau de Paris* in an abridged English translation made by Helen Simpson and published by Harrap under the title *The Waiting City*.

A Centre d'Études de la Révolution Française has been established at the University of Paris. The director is the well-known historian, Philippe Sagnac.

On the jacket of Pierre Gaxotte's *The French Revolution* (Scribner's, pp. xiv, 416, \$3.00), the statement is made that "84 editions of this book were sold in France". The reader who is familiar with the details of the great transformation in 1789, and the years that followed, will probably ask, "Why this phenomenal sale?" The answer will not be found in the book itself, although it is well written and abounds in clever characterizations. Perhaps a part of the answer may be that just now Soviet historians are working industriously to show that the revolutionary movement in 1794 was the precursor of the communistic revolution in Russia. The late Professor Mathiez's

emphasis on the social aim of the confiscatory laws of *Ventôse* doubtless has helped them in their quest. All this has naturally strengthened the reactionary antagonism among certain French groups toward much that was true of the Revolution. M. Gaxotte frankly disclaims adding to our knowledge by his researches. He borrows his facts from men as widely separated as Cochin and Mathiez, quoting passages or referring to such writers as his narrative reaches the phases they have investigated. It need not be added that he does not borrow from pro-Revolution historians to praise the Revolution, but to discredit some features of it. The picture he is endeavoring to draw is his, not theirs. He adopts an attitude of impartiality, and for pages at a time his account is surprisingly impartial, but the total effect is a caricature, rather than a true picture, of the Revolution. His narrative is also not free from plain errors of fact. The translator, Professor Walter Alison Phillips, in an introduction offers his explanation of the significance of the book.

The French have a fashion of changing street names with a change of régime and in 1879 it was proposed to rechristen the Boulevard Haussmann. Baron Haussmann's admirers protested, but Haussmann said: "Laissez faire. On peut effacer une inscription. Tant que Paris vivra, mon nom restera gravé sur toutes les pierres." It is this fact that makes Georges Laronge's biography of the great prefect so absorbingly interesting. The volume entitled *Le Baron Haussmann* (Paris, Alcan, pp. 258, 15 fr.) is furnished neither with notes nor a bibliography, but it is evidently the outcome of a patient study of the records. Haussmann, as M. Laronge portrays him, was unquestionably a great administrator. He too readily forgot what he owed to the Orleans princes to be deemed a great character.

In the series of *Les Grandes Figures Coloniales* two new volumes have appeared: *La Bourdonnais*, by Louis Roubaud, and *Faidherbe*, by André Demaison (Paris, Plon, pp. 229, 281, 15 fr. each). The first was the founder of the Ile de France and the second the Père du Sénégal. The volumes give, then, the history of the formative period of two French colonies. Faidherbe also played a part in the Franco-Prussian War, and M. Demaison gives an interesting account of the campaign in northern France where General Faidherbe was put in command by Gambetta. M. Roubaud opens his account of La Bourdonnais appropriately with a description of Saint-Malo and of the influences in that haunt of seventeenth century adventurers and corsairs which stimulated the imagination of the future colonial.

The Société Historique Algérienne has published the record of the *Deuxième Congrès National des Sciences Historiques*, held at Algiers in honor of the centenary of the colony, on April 14-16, 1930 (Algiers, pp. 396). Most of the papers naturally dealt with phases of Algerian history. Professor Halvdan Koht presented a paper on *Les Répercussions de la Conquête de l'Algérie sur la Politique Scandinave*. Among those beyond the limits of the

particular field was the discussion by Camille Bloch on La Déclaration de Londres et le Différend Anglo-Américain de 1914-1916 sur la Liberté des Mers.

When General Weygand was received last May as a member of the French Academy, after his election to the chair made vacant by the death of Marshal Joffre, his discourse according to custom took the career of his predecessor as a theme (*Le Fauteuil du Maréchal Joffre: Discours de Réception de M. le Général Weygand à l'Académie Française et Réponse de M. Jules Cambon*, Paris, Plon, pp. 136). General Weygand sketches with a sure hand the development of Joffre's character as a soldier during years of experience in the colonies and then presents his own version of the Marne incident.

Articles: Gustave Dupont-Ferrier, *Les Origines et le Premier Siècle de la Chambre ou Cour des Aides de Paris* (Rev. Hist., Sept.); H. Prentout, *Louis XI. et l'Angleterre* (Jour. des Savants, June); Elisabeth Feist, *Königsmacht und Ständefreiheit: Kämpfe um den Staat bei der Tagung der Französischen Generalstände in Blois, 1576* (Hist. Vierteljahr., Oct.); Ed. Esmonin, *Le Fèvre de Caumartin, Intendant de Picardie pendant trente-deux Ans* [à propos de l'établissement des intendants] (Rev. d'Hist. Mod., May); Daniel Morinet, *L'Éveil de la Curiosité Intellectuelle dans les Provinces Françaises et ses Conséquences, 1770-1789* (Rev. de Paris, Aug. 1); Jean Marchand, ed., *François de la Rochefoucauld: Voyage en France, 1781-1783* [extracts from a work written by the son of the Duc de Liancourt, to be published in two volumes by the Société de l'Histoire de France] (Rev. des Ques. Hist., July); Georges Lefebvre, *Sur Danton* [apropos of the recent volumes of Hermann Wendel and Louis Barthou, and in general support of the main positions adopted by the late Albert Mathiez] (An. Hist. de la Rév. Fr., Sept.); Pierre Caron, *La Commune de Paris et les Massacres de Septembre* [II.] (Rév. Fr., Apr.); Wilfred B. Kerr, *Le Parti Modéré et la Lutte des Classes à la Convention* (An. Hist. de la Rév. Fr., Sept.); F. Braesch, *Une Étude sur l'Histoire de l'Assignat* (Rév. Fr., Apr.); Louis Madelin, *Vers l'Empire* [Cadoudal conspiracy and D'Enghien affair, I., concl.] (Rev. des D. M., Sept. 15, Oct. 1); René Martel, *Napoléon en Lithuanie, 1812; d'après des Documents Inédits* (Rev. de Paris, Aug. 15); Lefebvre de Béhaine, *Le Crépuscule de l'Empire* [cont'd, situation on the Rhine frontier in November, 1813] (Rev. des Ques. Hist., July); Marcel Blanchard, ed., *Journal de Michel Chevalier, 1865-1869* (Rev. des D. M. Nov. 1); Georges Yver, *Alger et Algérie* (Rev. Hist., Sept.); François Lescazes, *Léon Gambetta et l'Armistice de 1871; les Procédés de M. de Bismarck* (N. Rev., Sept. 15).

THE NETHERLANDS AND BELGIUM

General review: L. Cahen, E. Coornaert, et al., *Bibliographie relatifs aux Pays-Bas et à la Belgique* (Rev. d'Hist. Mod., May).

Especially to be commended is the publication of documents relating to the

care of the sick and to hospitals (*Documents pour servir à l'Étude des Maladies Pestilentiellles dans le Marquisat d'Anvers jusqu'à la Chute de l'Ancien Régime*, edited by Dr. A. F. C. Van Schevensteen [Académie Royale de Belgique, Commission Royale d'Histoire] Brussels, Lamertin, 2 vols, pp. xviii, 435, 492). The rise of towns is an admittedly capital fact in the Middle Ages, but it is less often realized that the institutions which grew up in urban centers are equally significant. This collection of official acts dealing with contagious diseases in Antwerp starts with 1454 and closes in 1793. The student will find much information about methods of fighting contagion, methods of hospital administration, and enforcement of quarantine, the last particularly interesting because Antwerp was an important port. H. S. L.

A tool of obvious value to historians is the exhaustive *Catalogue des Manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Publique de la Ville de Mons*, prepared by Paul Faider and Mme. Faider-Feytmans (Ghent, Van Rysselberghe, 1931, pp. xlv, 648). It is one of the publications of the University of Ghent and covers 600 volumes with a total of 1200 bibliographical items.

The life of the Dutch people, in all its phases, their history and institutions, their economic activities, their achievements in literature and art, the land in which they live, are described clearly and succinctly in a little volume entitled *La Hollande* (Paris, Rieder, pp. 178, 8 plates, 20 fr.), by Professor Salverda de Grave, of the University of Amsterdam. The volume belongs to the series of *Les États Contemporains*, published under the direction of MM. Caron and Lhéritier. The preface is contributed by F. Brunot, of the University of Paris.

Article: Victor Day, *The Church in Contemporary Belgium* (Catholic Hist. Rev., Oct.).

GERMANY, SWITZERLAND, AND CENTRAL EUROPE

General review: Marc Bloch, *Histoire d'Allemagne, Moyen Age* [concl.] (Rev. Hist., July); Hermann Wendorf, *Schriften zum 100. Todestage des Freiherrn vom Stein* (Hist. Vierteljahr., Oct.).

The *Zeitschrift der Savigny-stiftung für Rechtsgeschichte* [Germanistische Abteilung] has issued a *Generalregister* to volumes I.-L. (Weimar, Hermann Böhlau Nachfolger, pp. viii, 365, 24 M.). It is the work of Rudolph Bechert and others. The plan is admirable. There are three indexes: names, divided into seven sections—authors of essays, of miscellanies, reviews, works reviewed, etc.; subjects; and sources. By various devices the index of subjects offers cross references which secure the maximum of usefulness. An appendix gives an index of Heinrich Brunner's *Forschungen zur Geschichte des Deutschen und Französischen Rechtes* (1894), and of his *Abhandlungen zur Rechtsgeschichte* (1931, reviewed here in Oct., 1932).

A bibliography of books and articles relating to German history at the

time of the Reformation (*Bibliographie zur Deutschen Geschichte im Zeitalter der Glaubensspaltung, 1517-1585*) has been prepared by Karl Schottenlohrer under the auspices of the Committee for the Investigation of the Reformation and Counter-Reformation. It will include 40,000 entries, and will appear in fascicles of 160 pages each. The publisher is Karl W. Hiersemann, of Leipzig, and the price per fascicle is fifteen Swiss francs.

Two recent publications in the period of the Thirty Years' War are Werner Lahne's monograph, *Magdeburgs Zerstörung in der Zeitgeschichtlichen Publizistik; Gedenkschrift des Magdeburger Geschichtsvereins zum 10 Mai 1931* (Magdeburg, Verlag des Geschichtsvereins, 1931, pp. xiv, 259), and Felix Plage's study, *Die Einnahme der Stadt Frankfurt a. d. Oder durch Gustav Adolph König von Schweden am 3 April, 1631, nach Älteren Berichten Bearbeitet* (Frankfurt a. d. Oder, Trowitzsch, 1931, pp. 55).

Just a quarter of a century after its initial volume, the important *Entwicklungsgeschichte Bayerns* by Michael Doeberl reaches its conclusion with vol. III., *Vom Regierungsantritt König Ludwigs I. bis zum Tode König Ludwigs II.; mit einem Ausblick auf die Innere Entwicklung Bayerns unter dem Prinzregenten Luitpold* (Munich, Oldenbourg, 1931, pp. xiv, 639). The book appears after the author's regretted death, which took place in 1928; it has been prepared for publication by Max Spindler.

Prince Paul Esterhazy has earned the gratitude of historians by publishing in two handsome volumes the *Documents des Archives du Palatin Nicolas Esterhazy*, his ancestor, who lived from 1583 to 1645. Vol. I., published in 1930, contained Hungarian texts dealing with Hungarian internal affairs; vol. II., though in Turkish, is accompanied by a German translation and covers the period of the Thirty Years' War. The editor is Louis Fekete (Budapest, pp. 504).

A new biography of Maria Theresa, based especially on the works of Arneth, Bermann, and Coxe, has been written by J. Alexander Mahan (Thomas Y. Crowell Company, pp. xiii, 366, \$3.75).

An important study of the German element on the eastern shore of the Baltic, of German imperial policy toward it, and of the causes of the movement for Russification is made by Heinrich Schandinn in *Das Baltische Deutschtum und Bismarcks Reichsgründung* (Leipzig, J. C. Hinrichs, pp. vii, 206, 9.60 M.). It belongs to the Königsberg series of historical researches edited by Fr. Baethgen and H. Rothfels.

A phase of Bismarck's career which has hitherto failed to receive sufficient attention is his friendship for John Lothrop Motley, and his relations with Bancroft and other Americans. This is the subject of a dissertation of Dr. L. L. Snyder entitled *Die Persönlichen und Politischen Beziehungen Bismarcks zu Amerikanern*.

In *Die Nationale Differenzierung und Integration der Slovaken und Tschechen in ihren Geschichtlichen Verlauf bis 1848* (Haarlem, H. D. Tjeenk and Son, 1931, pp. 208, 3 fl.), Dr. Th. J. Locher has presented a serious study, not a work of propaganda. After a brief presentation of the question of Czechoslovak unity, the author, in six chapters, discusses the geographical distribution of the two peoples, their political relations with each other and their neighbors, their cultural connections up to the eighteenth century, the effect of modern nationalism upon them, Romantic Pan-Slavism, the birth of the Slovak national idea, and then, in the seventh chapter, develops his conclusions. Here he approaches the nearest to propaganda as he states his reasons for the triumph of the Czechoslovak instead of the Hungarian-Slovak solution of the question, and, it should be added, gives them most convincingly, thus clearing up various points that have been unnecessarily made hazy by previous writers. Dr. Locher has analyzed the ideas of certain leading Slovaks in one chapter, while in another he has gone back to Kollárs, Šafařík, Palacký, etc. No bibliography is attached. A. I. A.

Articles: Bernhard Sommerlad, *Das Hallische Urkundenbuch* [documents of the Teutonic Order relative to grants of benefices and other property in the 13th century] (Thüring.-Säch. Zeitschr. für Gesch. und Kunst, XX. 1-2); Friedrich Bothe, *Frankfurts Wirtschaftsleben im Mittelalter* (Zeitschr. für die Gesamte Staatswiss., XCIII. 2); Louise Sommer, *Erkenntnisgebiet und Methode in der Älteren Deutschen Volkswirtschaftslehre* (*ibid.*); Hermann Wendorf, *Der Durchbruch der neuen Erkenntnis Luthers im Lichte der Handschriftlichen Überlieferung* [II.] (Hist. Vierteljahr., July); Karl Helleiner, *Eine Religionspolitische Denkschrift an Maximilian II. aus der Feder des Caspar Hirsch, 1574* (Mitteil. des Oesterr. Inst. für Geschichtsf., XLVI. 2); Gustav Berthold Volz, *Prince Heinrich als Kritiker Friedrichs des Grossen* (Hist. Vierteljahr., July); Heinrich Ritter von Sbrink, *Die Bergmännischen Anfänge des Freiherrn vom Stein 1779 und ihr Nachklang 1811-12* (Hist. Zeitschr., Aug.); Eduard Clavery, *Une Condamnation pour Sorcellerie en Suisse Romande au Temps Jadis, d'après les Mémoires de Francisco de Miranda* (Rev. de l'Amér. Latine, Apr.); P. David, *Recherches sur l'Histoire de la Poméranie Polonaise* [II.] (Rev. des Ques. Hist., July); Albert Schreiber, *Leopold Ranke, Heinrich Ritter und Friedrich Perthes; ein Beitrag zu ihrer Charakteristik; mit Auszügen aus 36 Ungedruckten Briefen* (Hist. Vierteljahr., Oct.); Eugen Franz, *Graf Rechbergs Deutsche Zollpolitik 1859-1864* (Mitteil. des Oesterr. Inst. für Geschichtsf., XLVI. 2); R. W. Seton-Watson, *The Emperor Francis Joseph* (History, July, Oct.); Robert Stupperich, *Die Russische Kirchengeschichte in Deutschland seit 1914: Motive und Ergebnisse* (Zeitschr. für Osteur. Gesch., Heft 4, 1932).

E. N. C.

ITALY, SPAIN, AND PORTUGAL

General review: R. G. Woolbert, *Italian Colonial Expansion in Africa* (Jour. Mod. Hist., Sept.); Giuseppe Gabrieli, *Biografie* [books and articles on Cardinal Borromeo] (N. Antol., Sept. 1).

Valuable material for the history of medieval Italian commerce and finance is furnished by Armando Saporì's recent work, *Una Compagnia di Calimala ai Primi del Trecento* (Florence, Olschki, pp. 420), issued as vol. VII. of the Biblioteca Storica Toscana, published by the R. Deputazione Toscana di Storia Patria.

A new edition of Francesco Guicciardini's *Dialogo e Discorsi del Reggimento di Firenze* has been prepared by Roberto Palmarocchi (Bari, Laterza, pp. 304). Of even greater interest is the publication of a *Diario del Viaggio in Spagna*, recently found in the family archives and published in splendid dress by the great Florentine's descendant, Count Paolo Guicciardini (Florence, Le Monnier, pp. 123).

A life of *Carlo Felice* by F. Lemmi has been added to the collection, Biblioteca Storica Sabauda (Turin, Paravia, 1931, pp. 264).

Two works of value for the student of Austro-Italian relations, supplementing each other chronologically, are *Le Prime Strette dell' Austria in Italia* (Milan, Treves-Treccani-Tumminelli, pp. 340) by S. Pugliese, which deals with the period from the sixteenth to the eighteenth century and *L'Assolutismo Illuminato in Austria e Lombardia, I., I Domini Ereditari* (Bologna, Zanichelli, 1931, pp. 292) by Franco Valsecchi, which covers the reigns of Charles VI., Maria Theresa, and Joseph II.

Popoli e Lingue nell' Alto Adige by Carlo Battisti (Florence, Bemporad, 1931, pp. xi, 401) furnishes an elaborate historical survey of the evolution of one of the moot questions in present-day Europe.

Articles: Pericle Ducati, *Lo Stato Presente degli Studi Etruschi* (N. Antol., Aug. 16); André E. Sayous, *Les Opérations des Banquiers Italiens en Italie et aux Foires de Champagne pendant le XIII^e Siècle* (Rev. Hist., July); Annibale Alberti, *Confidenze e Confidenti al Tempo della Serenissima* [Venetian Inquisition] (N. Antol., Aug. 1); Albert Pingaud, *Le Premier Royaume d'Italie* [V.], *L'Œuvre Intellectuelle* (Rev. d'Hist. Dipl., July); Enzo Tagliacozzo, *Silvio Spaventa e la Politica della Destra* [Italian internal politics in '70s and '80s] (N. Riv. Stor., Mar.); Biagio Pace, *Africa e Sicilia* [6th-19th centuries] (N. Antol., Sept. 16); Giuseppe Stefani, *Unità della Storia Istriana* (*ibid.*, Oct. 1); Roberto Levillier, *Quelques "Propositions Juridiques" et la "Destruction des Indes" du P. Las Casas, Essai de Rectification* (Rev. d'Hist. Mod., May); Hedwig M. A. Fitzler, *Portugiesische Handelsgesellschaften des 15. und Beginnenden 16. Jahrhunderts* (Vierteljahr. für Soz.-u. Wirtschaftsgesch., XXV., Heft 3).

E. N. C.

NORTHERN EUROPE

An important addition to the body of source materials for Danish history are the Reventlow Papers (*Efterladte Papirer fra den Reventlowske Familiekreds*), the tenth and last volume of which has recently appeared (Copenhagen, P. Haase and Son). The Reventlow family has played an important part in Danish public life since the sixteenth century and the publication of its papers will prove of interest not only to students of Danish history but also to those who work in the history of the neighboring lands, particularly Germany. The work is edited by Louis Bobé; it has the virtue of an elaborate index.

In 1622, Christian IV., hoping to make his kingdom independent of Hamburg in certain lines of industry, invited a Jewish colony to settle in Copenhagen. The history of the Jews in this city and elsewhere in Denmark (and it is a rather drab story) has now been told by Benjamin Balslev in *De Danske Jöders Historie* (Copenhagen, Lohse).

The third and last volume of Johannes Paul's *Gustaf Adolf* has come from the press during the present year. It covers the period from Breitenfeld to Lützen (Leipzig, Quelle and Mayer).

An important contribution to the economic history of Sweden is a recent volume by Arthur Montgomery entitled *Industrialismens Genombrott i Sverige* [the rise of industrialism in Sweden] (Stockholm, Skoglund, pp. 330, 6.50 kr.).

The confiscation of feudal estates in Livonia in the latter part of the seventeenth century has been made the subject of a penetrating study by Juhan Vasar, one of the new school of historians in the Baltic lands. The author writes from the Swedish rather than from the German point of view (the despoiled landlords were nearly all German), but he has thought it expedient to publish his work in the German language: *Die Grosse Livländische Güterreduktion* (Tartu [Dorpat], 1931, pp. xxvii, 400).

Svensk Historietänkning, by Kay Schmidt-Phiseldeck, is a critical examination of the philosophic theories and points of view that have influenced scholars in Sweden and Finland in their treatment of historical problems. The author deals largely with philosophers like Höijer, Boström, and Geijer, who was both historian and philosopher; but he also presents the views of professional historians of a later generation, especially those of Ludvig Stavenow and the Finlander M. G. Schybergson. (Copenhagen, Brenner, pp. 135.)

Articles: D. B. Bjork, *The Peace of Stralsund* (Speculum, Oct.); Waldeemar Westergaard, *The Hansa Towns and Scandinavia on the Eve of Swedish Independence* (Jour. Mod. Hist., Sept.); A. Ballagi, *Zur Geschichte der Heimkehr des Karls XII. und des Schwedischen Heeres durch Ungarn* (Karolinska Förbundets Årsbok, 1931); Nils Forssell, *Omkring Karl Johans-*

tidens Statsrådsberedning [the committee of the council of state in the days of Charles John (Bernadotte)] (*Historisk Tidskrift*, 1932, 2); A. G. van Hamel, *On Ari's Chronology* (*Arkiv för Nordisk Filologi*, 1931); Ragnar Hemmer, *Svensk Rätt i Finland under Medeltiden* [Swedish law in Finland in the Middle Ages] (*Nordisk Tidskrift för Vetenskap, Konst och Industri*, 1932, 5); E. Despréaux, *L'Offensive de Catherine II. contre le Catholicisme en Courlande* (*Rev. des Études Hist.*, July); Karl Stählin, *Aus den Berichten der III. Abteilung S. M. Höchsteigener Kanzlei an Kaiser Nikolaus I.* [I.] (*Zeitschr. für Osteur. Gesch.*, 1932, Heft 4); Leonid Strahkovsky, *The Church in Contemporary Poland* (*Catholic Hist. Rev.*, Oct.).

L. M. L.

THE FAR EAST

An introduction to the culture of the Far East is Kenneth Saunders's *The Heritage of Asia* (Macmillan, pp. 224, \$1.75). By studying particularly the Gupta era in India, the T'ang period in China, the Nara age in Japan, and the teachings of Sakyamuni, Confucius, and Shokotu, the author seeks to find the characteristics of similarity and difference in these lands. In the latter part of the book are found illustrative readings from the literature of the three countries.

By the addition of some twenty pages of new material to his chapter on the Struggle for Democracy, Mr. E. T. Williams in the recent, fifth edition of his *China Yesterday and Today* (Thomas Y. Crowell, pp. xxiv, 743, \$4.00), brings the discussion of the political situation in China up to May, 1932. Several sections on such questions as the opium trade, extraterritoriality, and currency reform have also been revised in view of recent developments. Other new pages of bibliography, chronology, and the tables in the appendix help to continue the great usefulness of this standard work.

UNITED STATES

GENERAL

General review: Melvin M. Knight, *L'Aspect Européen d'Histoire Économique des États-Unis* (*Rev. d'Hist. Mod.*, May).

Among recent accessions to the Division of Manuscripts in the Library of Congress the following may be noted: additional photostats of letters of George Washington; the "Gregg Collection", papers of Frederick A. Muhlenberg, Gen. Joseph Hiester, and Andrew Gregg, 1715, 1773-1830. 57 pieces; four papers of Thomas Jefferson respecting the sale of his library to Congress; correspondence of John Randolph of Roanoke and James M. Garnett, 1806-1822, copies, one volume; letters and papers (18) of Benjamin Lundy, 1814-1849; photostats of 54 papers, mainly letters of Lewis Tappan, 1828-1872; photostats of 63 letters of James Buchanan and others to George Plitt, 1836-

1859; an additional volume of letters to Thomas Ewing, 1858-1860; the papers of Andrew Carnegie, a large collection; photocopies from the Public Archives of Canada of correspondence of the governor-general and other Canadian governors with the British minister to the United States, more than 10,000 pages, and many other photocopies from London, Paris, and Seville.

The Department of State has issued as publication no. 382 a *List of Treaties submitted to the Senate, 1789-1931, which have not gone into force*. Among the interesting problems discussed in the prefatory remarks is the question when a treaty may be considered defunct, rather than still pending. There is a supplementary list of six "Treaties awaiting further Proceedings". Full notes offer needed explanations of the fate of various treaties.

The story of American mines from colonial days to the present time is told by T. A. Rickard in a volume entitled *A History of American Mining* (McGraw-Hill Book Company, pp. xii, 419, \$3.00). It belongs to a series sponsored by the American Institute of Mining and Metallurgical Engineers, and is intended to give practical engineers some account of the historical background of their professional work.

Dr. Frank Monaghan's Bibliographical List of French Travellers in the United States, 1765-1931, is completed by the publication of part VII. in the October *Bulletin* of the New York Public Library.

The essay on *Grossbritannien und die Vereinigten Staaten: Ihr Machtpolitisches Verhältnis vom Amerikanischen Unabhängigkeitskrieg bis zum Weltkrieg*, by Max Silberschmidt, Privatdozent in the University of Zurich (Leipzig, B. G. Teubner, pp. 82), offers no new material to the discussion of the subject. It is drawn principally from general works like Morison's *Oxford History of the United States*, written primarily for English students of American history, the *Cambridge History of British Foreign Policy*, Dunning's volume on Anglo-American relations, with the use of maybe a half dozen special monographs; but omitting significant works by Henry Adams, Dexter Perkins, Julius Pratt, Lester B. Shippee, etc. Other important studies are mentioned in the bibliography but not used in the text. S. F. B.

M. Daniel Walther's dissertation entitled *Gouverneur Morris, Témoin de Deux Révolutions* (University of Geneva, pp. 307), adds materially to our knowledge of Morris's career in France, through a careful examination of the letters and papers preserved in the Department of State and the archives of the French ministry of foreign affairs. In chapter VIII., with the title of *Témoin des Grandes Journées*, M. Walther quotes at length from Morris's dispatches. He has also consulted letters preserved in such collections as those of the Library of Congress, the Huntington Library, and the New York Public Library. He appreciates at its just value Morris's testimony on the French Revolution, although he constantly emphasizes Morris's strong sympathies

with the aristocracy. Apropos of M. Aulard's characterization of Morris's comments on the Revolution as "radotage prétentieux" M. Walter remarks that after all Morris "a de bons yeux". The volume also deals with the part which he played in the American Revolution, and gives his later history.

The volume of Dr. Donald G. Tewksbury on *The Founding of American Colleges and Universities before the Civil War, with Particular Reference to the Religious Influences bearing upon the College Movement* (Teachers College, Columbia University, pp. x, 254, \$2.50) is extraordinarily successful in presenting the results of research in a form of maximum utility. One of its important contributions is a list of such institutions, including their charter-degree date, their religious connection, and changes of name. The dates are carefully checked from legal or other official records. This list is supplemented by lists for each denomination. Maps also display to the eye similar facts. Table II. exhibits the mortality of such institutions. Arkansas and Florida hold the record, 100 per cent., while Kansas and Texas follow with 95 per cent. The total for the sixteen states represented is 81 per cent. As the title of the first chapter, *The Moving Frontier and the American College*, suggests, the author believes that the American college "was designed primarily to meet the needs of pioneer communities, and was established in most cases on the frontier line of settlement".

The main purpose of the handsome volume on *Yale in the Civil War*, by Ellsworth Eliot, jr. (Yale University Press, pp. xiv, 222, many plates, \$5.00), is to give the Roll of Honor, the list of men, with their records, who served either in the Union or the Confederate army. It includes, however, material of historical interest even for those beyond the circle of Yale graduates. The second chapter explains the attitude of the undergraduates toward the war, and reveals an astonishing apathy. There was no such eagerness to enlist as characterized the student body in 1917. It is true that nearly one-half of the class of 1861, and one-third of the classes of 1862 and 1863 enlisted, but with very few exceptions they waited until graduation. The author feels that the student mind was ignorant and confused in regard to the issues of the conflict. He remarks that this was due in part to lack of instruction in subjects like history and economics.

In *Back Stage in 1912: the Inside Story of the Split Republican Convention*, by Victor Rosewater, formerly editor of the *Omaha Daily Bee* (Dorrance and Company, pp. xi, 227, \$2.00), is found the story of the 1912 Republican National Convention, written by one behind the scenes. As chairman of the Republican National Committee it fell to Mr. Rosewater's lot to call the stormy convention of that year to order and to wield the gavel till a temporary organization could be accomplished. He made decisions which aroused violent protests and denunciations from the faction that opposed him. He tells of the long struggle over contested seats in "the most acrimonious meetings

of the National Committee in its whole history"; of the Taft-Roosevelt feud; of the "steam roller" and "gag rule"; and of the efforts of the Roosevelt forces "to purge the roll of the fraudulent delegates placed there by the national committee". He presents interesting pen pictures of the convention leaders and he introduces some amusing fiction created by inventive journalists of the time. The book is concisely and clearly written and it presents in judicial tone an important chapter in our party history. It may be said that he makes out a good case for the defense, and that as a presiding officer he acted then, as he writes now, with dignity, fairness, and good temper. J. A. W.

Hon. James M. Beck in *Our Wonderland of Bureaucracy* (Macmillan, pp. xv, 272, \$3.00) traces the development of bureaucracy in our government from colonial days, in order to give more force to his indictment of it as a dangerous departure from the aims of the constitution and a menace to the liberty of the individual.

Money in Elections, by Louise Overacker, associate professor of political science, Wellesley College (Macmillan Company, pp. xiii, 476, \$3.50), is a substantial contribution in a field of research sufficiently new to possess unusual interest. The devious systems of bookkeeping used by political machines and party candidates make it a formidable task to study the financial side of modern elections with the hope of profitable results. The author leaves hardly a stone unturned in her determination to obtain all records and information pertinent to the investigation. Miss Overacker is willing to admit the conjectural nature of many of her conclusions. Her proposals of legislative change to control the collection and expenditure of money in political campaigns have either yet to be tried or have never been given a fair opportunity in their present application. The documentation and bibliography are full. Much of the material for this study was collected by the late Victor J. West, of Stanford University. C. M. F.

The International Joint Commission between the United States of America and the Dominion of Canada, by Chirakaikaran Joseph Chacko, Ph.D. [Studies in History, Economics and Public Law, no. 358] (Columbia University Press, pp. 431, \$5.50), is a valuable, clearly written, and exhaustive study of the body which was set up by treaty in 1909. In the first twenty years of its existence, it successfully reviewed six cases in its capacity as an investigating and conciliating body, and nineteen cases in its judicial capacity. Here is a record of common sense and solid achievement in the international field of which citizens of the United States and Canada may well be proud. Dr. Chacko has reported the proceedings of the commission in detail, as a judicial, administrative, investigative, and arbitral body. In its control over frontier waters, it has been concerned not only with matters of navigation, but also with fishing and wrecking privileges, sanitation, and power projects. The commission's report on the St. Lawrence waterway and power project has

become fairly well known, but the reader will be surprised to discover in how many other cases this body has quietly and with little publicity, found just and common sense solutions. C. W.

We commonly wait a decade or two for collections of source material on even a great crisis. The volume of *Walter Lippmann's Interpretations, 1931-1932*, edited by Allan Nevins (Macmillan, pp. x, 361, \$2.50), is therefore especially welcome for it enables the reader to see a group of fateful months as a whole, through the eyes of a notable observer. The articles originally appeared in the *Herald Tribune*, and have been selected and arranged under eleven general headings by another wise interpreter, Professor Nevins. An index helps to make the contents practically usable.

Articles: Ethel Owen Merrill, *Henri de Tonty* (Mid-America, Oct.); Albert M. Goodrich and Grace Lee Nute, *The Radisson Problem* (Minnesota Hist., Sept.); Cyrus H. Karraker, *A Treasure Expedition of William Phips* (New Eng. Quar., Oct.); V. D. Harrington, *The Merchant in Colonial Life* (New York Hist., Oct.); Christopher B. Coleman, *George Washington in the West* (Indiana Mag. of Hist., Sept.); Moses Bigelow, *Chronological Survey of the Operations of the Continental Army* (Proc. of the New Jersey Hist. Soc., Oct.); Elizabeth S. Kite, *General Duportail at Valley Forge* (Pennsylvania Mag. of Hist. and Biog., Oct.); Everett D. Obrecht, *The Influence of Luther Martin in the Making of the Constitution of the United States* (Maryland Hist. Mag., Sept.); George E. Hastings, *Jacob Duché, First Chaplain of Congress* (South Atlantic Quar., Oct.); Victor J. Albjerg, *Internal Improvements without a Policy, 1789-1861* (Indiana Mag. of Hist., Sept.); R. L. Morrow, *The Early American Attitude toward the Doctrine of Expatriation* (Am. Jour. of International Law, July); Dudley W. Knox, *The "Adams" Men-of-War* [history of vessels named for John Adams, 1798-1920] (U. S. Naval Inst. Proc., Nov.); H. I. Chapelle, *The Ships of the American Navy in the War of 1812* (Mariner's Mirror, July); Louis C. Duncan, *Sketches of the Medical Service in the War of 1812* [I.] (Military Surgeon, Nov.); M. L. Bonham, jr., *A Postscript to the Founding of New Madrid* (Miss. Valley Hist. Rev., Dec.); J. A. James, *Oliver Pollock and the Free Navigation of the Mississippi River* (*ibid.*); Marie J. Kohnova, *The Moravians and their Missionaries: a Problem in Americanization* (*ibid.*); H. Donaldson Jordan, *A Politician of Expansion: Robert J. Walker* (*ibid.*); P. G. Auchampaugh, *The Buchanan-Douglas Feud* (Jour. Illinois State Hist. Soc., Apr.-July); Earle D. Ross, *Northern Sectionalism in the Civil War Era* (Iowa Jour. of Hist. and Pol., Oct.); J. G. Randall, *John Sherman and Reconstruction* (Miss. Valley Hist. Rev., Dec.); Joseph Schafer, *Some Enduring Factors in Rural Polity* (Agric. Hist., Oct.); T. A. Bailey, *The World Cruise of the American Battleship Fleet*, (Pac. Hist. Rev., Dec.); H. J. Coppock, *Herbert Levi Osgood* (Miss. Valley Hist. Rev., Dec.).

Documents: A. L. Crabb, ed., *George Washington and the Chickasaw Nation, 1795* (Miss. Valley Hist. Rev., Dec.); *Bamford's Diary: the Revolutionary Diary of a British Officer* (Maryland Hist. Mag., Sept.).

NEW ENGLAND

The more important additions to the manuscript collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society during the past two years are as follows: the business and shipping papers of the Morse family of Boston and Massachusetts, covering their commercial relations with various parts of the world in the early part of the last century; similar papers of James and Thomas H. Perkins, 1803-1857, of Boston; and of James and Thomas Lamb, and Thomas Lamb, jr., of Boston, 1790-1865; the papers of the late Major-General Clarence R. Edwards, preserved by him since 1899; and an interesting volume of letters written by the Reverend Samuel Mather, of Boston, to his son Samuel, commissary of Fort Edward and of Quebec, and later a refugee in England, relating to important affairs in Boston from 1759 to 1785.

The Massachusetts Historical Society is preparing the third volume of the *Winthrop Papers* covering the years 1631-1633, together with the journal of John Winthrop for that period. This volume will be published in 1934. The fourth volume of Sibley's *Biographical Sketches of Graduates of Harvard University* will appear in 1933. This volume, which continues the work of the late John Langdon Sibley, librarian of Harvard College, will contain biographies of all graduates and temporary students for the years 1689-1700 inclusive. A fifth volume is now in preparation. Volume XIV. of the *Journals of the House of Representatives of Massachusetts (1736-1737)* will be published in the spring. These volumes appear annually and will ultimately contain all the Journals of the House from 1715 to 1776.

The Colonial Society of Massachusetts is publishing in two volumes the *Records of the Suffolk County Court, 1670-1680*, edited by Zechariah Chafee and Samuel Eliot Morison. The cases are illustrated with many documents from the court files, making these volumes the most notable documentary publication in colonial legal history for many years.

The General Society of Mayflower Descendants has published the *Mayflower Index* containing (pt. I.) the names of persons descended from a Mayflower Pilgrim, and (pt. II.) the names of husbands or wives of these descendants. The compiler is William Alexander McAuslan, historian general, 9 Ashburton Place, Boston.

A substantial addition to the history of early Massachusetts settlers is made in the volume entitled *Davis Families of Early Roxbury and Boston*, by Samuel Forbes Rockwell (North Andover, pp. xii, 314). It brings the record down to 1700, although one or two lines have been brought forward to the present time. It is provided with a bibliography and a full index.

The Connecticut Historical Society has recently acquired more than fifty letters written by Rev. Benjamin Trumbull, the historian of Connecticut, to his wife while he was in Revolutionary War service in 1775 and 1776. Accompanying these are seven letters from Martha Trumbull to her husband, Rev. Benjamin Trumbull, during the same years. Also several miscellaneous letters, including one from General David Wooster. At the same time the society also acquired "Memorandums, Minutes, etc., of a miscellaneous kind made in the camp 1775". These memorandums, made by Rev. Benjamin Trumbull, are in the nature of a diary, showing the camp life and events from day to day.

The Connecticut Historical Society in conjunction with the Society of Mayflower Descendants in Connecticut published last October the *Records of the Congregational Church in Canterbury, Connecticut, 1711-1844* (Hartford, the Society, pp. 229, \$4.00). Besides the usual official minutes, the volume contains entries of births, marriages, and deaths. The index is full, with 7200 references.

In *The Charter of Connecticut: a Study* (Hartford, the Society, pp. 72) Mr. Albert C. Bates, secretary of the Connecticut Historical Society, gives the history of the Connecticut charters from the so-called Warwick patent through the crisis of the Andros régime. One of the most interesting parts of his essay is his analysis of the evidence upon which rests the traditional story of the Charter Oak episode. Incidentally he endeavors to prove that the meeting with Andros did not take place in Sanford's tavern, the site of which is now commemorated by a tablet, but in "the court-town-school house on the south side of what is now Sheldon street". Mr. Bates adds the subsequent history of the charter and of the "duplicate" charter.

The recollections of a childhood and youth in Maine in the decades between 1890 and 1910 are most happily told by Miss Mary Ellen Chase in her recent book *A Goodly Heritage* (Henry Holt, pp. 298, \$3.00). She writes of her family, home life, religious training—still vigorously Puritanic even in the '90s—and of her schooling, "before education became an 'experiment'", at the Academy and at the University of Maine, with vividness, understanding, and humor. Except for the sea-faring tradition which made a New England village unique, such environment and training as Miss Chase describes are probably what millions of Americans experienced whose years now "fall between thirty and seventy". Her story, therefore, takes on some significance as social history.

Article: Fulmer Mood, *An Astrologer from Down East* (New Eng. Quar., Oct.).

Documents and letters: *A Record of Entrances and Clearances of the Port of Salem, 1750-1769* [cont'd] (Essex Inst. Hist. Coll., Oct.); *Letters of Samuel Dalton of Salem, an Impressed American Seaman, 1803-1814* (*ibid.*).

MIDDLE COLONIES AND STATES

Philipse Manor Hall, in Yonkers, is one of the most historic houses in America. It is believed to have been begun in 1682, by the first Frederick Philipse, lord of the manor of Philipsborough. It is the property of New York, and the custodian is the American Scenic and Historic Preservation Society. This interesting monument has just been thoroughly renovated as the result of the allocation of \$10,000 by the relief administration of the state to increase employment. It was reopened to the public on November 21.

The New Yorkers of half a century ago did not imagine that the Rogers groups would one day become important sources of information upon American social interests and costumes. It is from this point of view that the New York Historical Society is seeking to complete a collection, which already amounts to sixty-one pieces or three-fourths of all that John Rogers produced.

A Pennsylvania Historical Convention met at State College on September 15-17 under the auspices of the State Historical Commission and the Federation of Historical Societies. At the business meeting it was decided to form a Pennsylvania Historical Association. The temporary officers chosen were instructed to take the necessary steps.

The Historical Society of Pennsylvania has received a large collection of material relating to General George Gordon Meade, including the original manuscript of his *Life and Letters*, compiled by his son, George Meade, and edited by his grandson, George Gordon Meade; maps and coast surveys used by General Meade during the Mexican and Civil wars; original maps, sketches, and surveys of the engineer corps used during the Civil War; official letters and papers of General Meade covering the Civil War period; personal letters to his family; letters referring to the Battle of Gettysburg; newspaper cuttings (1863-1872), obituary notices, and letters referring to him.

Among other additions to the collections of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania are a number of account books, cash books, ledgers, etc., covering the latter part of the eighteenth and the beginning of the nineteenth centuries: (1) a ledger of William Bird beginning May, 1741, when he kept a store in Amity Township (now in Berks County) and managed Pine Forge; (2) a ledger of William Bird beginning May, 1744, which shows expenses incurred in building Hopewell Forge in Union Township (now in Berks County); (3) Berkshire Furnace Day Book, the first entry being April, 1787; (4) a ledger of the "New Furnace", or Reading Furnace (Berks County), commencing March 1, 1792.

Recent additions to collections of the Western Pennsylvania Historical Survey and the Historical Society of Western Pennsylvania include the papers of William G. Hawkins, a Pennsylvania legislator and attorney of the early

nineteenth century; a large collection of transcripts of early church and borough records of western Pennsylvania; the office file of the Pittsburgh *Christian Advocate*, official organ of the Pittsburgh Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, from 1833 to 1930; and large quantities of material relating to the Hungarian and Polish elements in the United States.

Special collection projects under way include the making of transcripts of all documents relating to western Pennsylvania in the Bouquet Papers from the photostats in the possession of the Library of Congress and the building up of as complete a file as possible of the Pittsburgh *Gazette* from its founding in 1786 to 1820 by assembling photostats of copies in libraries throughout the country. Research projects under way include a study of "Western Pennsylvania Politics, 1788-1824" by Dr. R. J. Ferguson; "Indian Affairs of the Upper Ohio Valley, 1774-95" by Dr. R. C. Downes; and "Early Transportation in Western Pennsylvania" by Dr. L. D. Baldwin. Dr. Alfred P. James, who was research associate on the staff of the Survey for 1931-1932, spent the summer in England and France searching for and listing materials on the early history of western Pennsylvania.

The Historical Society of Western Pennsylvania and the summer session of the University of Pittsburgh fittingly celebrated the Washington Bicentennial by joining in an expedition on July 15 and 16 over the trail which the youthful Washington followed in 1753 on his journey to Fort Le Bœuf. Incidentally other historic spots of the western frontier were visited. The pilgrimage terminated at Erie. An interesting account is published in the October number of the *Western Pennsylvania Historical Magazine*.

Arthur Pound continues his studies of the personages of the colonial period in a volume entitled *The Penns of Pennsylvania and England* (Macmillan, pp. xx, 349, \$3.50). It is divided into three books: Penn the Sailor, Penn the Quaker, and The Later Penns. The interest naturally centers upon the founder of Pennsylvania, although the sketch of Admiral Penn is well drawn. Mr. Pound has a vivid sense of the dramatic moments in the relations between this fighting Briton and his Quaker son. He also points out again and again that William Penn inherited much of his father's belligerent spirit, and showed it in the defense of his rights against the oppressors of the day. The later chapters make the volume, as the author intended, an instructive study of the fate of a great family, an essay in multibiography.

Articles: C. E. Bennett, *The Burning of Schenectady* [Feb. 8, 1689/1690] (New York History, Oct.); R. W. Anthony, *Schenectady, 1769-1775* (*ibid.*); John Pell, *The Saga of Will Gilliland* (*ibid.*); Robert G. Albion, *Yankee Domination of New York Port* (New Eng. Quar., Oct.); Edward S. Rankin, *The Ramapo Tract* (Proc. of the New Jersey Hist. Soc., Oct.); Harrold E. Gillingham, *Philadelphia's First Fire Defences* (Pennsylvania Mag. of Hist. and Biog., Oct.); Harold S. Bender, *The Literature and Hymnology of the*

Mennonites of Lancaster County, Pennsylvania (Mennonite Quar., July); J. Cutler Andrews, *The Pittsburgh Gazette: a Pioneer Newspaper* (Western Pennsylvania Hist. Mag., Nov.).

Documents, papers, and letters: *Journal of Lieut. Rufus Wheeler of Rowley, Fort Ticonderoga, July 23 to December 10, 1776* (Essex Inst. Hist. Coll., Oct.); Dr. Amos Canfield, ed., *Town Records of Newtown, Long Island* (New York Geneal. and Biog. Record, Oct.); Chester T. Hallenbeck, ed., *A Colonial Reading List* [from Loan Books, 1762-1787, of the Union Library, Hatboro, Pennsylvania] (Pennsylvania Mag. of Hist. and Biog., Oct.); Elizabeth M. Sellers, ed., *Selections from the Letter Book of John Thaw, 1804-1808* (Western Pennsylvania Hist. Mag., Nov.).

SOUTHERN COLONIES AND STATES

The *Second Annual Report* (1931-1932) of Dr. Lester J. Cappon, archivist of the University of Virginia Library, describes the progress made in the survey and collection of manuscript and other historical materials in Virginia. The archives and other manuscript records, public and private, were inventoried in the following counties: Isle of Wight, Norfolk, Stafford, and York (in Tidewater); Goochland and Orange (Piedmont); Augusta and Botetourt (Valley); and Washington (Southwest). The wide variety of records included and, in some cases, collected for the university library, is revealed in the list of acquisitions (p. 4). Some discussion of the data compiled through questionnaires to fraternal organizations indicates the inclusion of material for social history. An inventory of newspaper files throughout the state, including those in editors' offices, will be published first, according to present plans. The desire of the university to promote a coöperative spirit in the collection of manuscripts is emphasized, in order to further the work of preservation and to insure, as far as possible, the accessibility of these materials for research.

The North Carolina Historical Commission has received as an addition to the Marmaduke J. Hawkins Collection 279 letters, 1812-1905, dealing with textile manufacturers as well as politics, and as additions to the Crabtree Jones Collection 65 letters and papers, 1826-1873, and an account book of N. Jones and Company, 1790-1794. Other accessions are volumes of administrators' and guardians' bonds, 1827-1846, from Currituck County, and of marriage bonds from Stokes and Randolph counties.

In view of the fact that the North Carolina Historical Commission publishes a quarterly devoted to North Carolina history, the *North Carolina Historical and Genealogical Record* announces the policy of emphasizing genealogy and source material bearing upon that field in its numbers beginning with January, 1933.

The second section of *A Checklist of United States Newspapers* (and

Weeklies before 1900) in the General Library of Duke University covers the states from Idaho to Massachusetts inclusive. The compilers are Mary Westcott and Allene Ramage, and an introduction is contributed by Professor W. K. Boyd.

Mr. Burton Barrs has published in revised form a paper contributed to the Jacksonville History Society, entitled *East Florida in the American Revolution*.

Professor E. C. Barker, aided by grants from the Laura Spelman Rockefeller Fund and the University of Texas, has been engaged for the past two years in compiling and editing the letters, papers, and speeches of Sam Houston. The material has already attained the proportions of approximately 5000 typewritten pages. As Houston was a prolific letter writer, his literary remains are widely scattered and many letters may be in the hands of collectors. Professor Barker will appreciate receiving copies of Houston material or information concerning the whereabouts of such documents.

Articles: William J. Hirke, *The 1714 Colony of Germanna, Virginia* [I.] (Virginia Mag. of Hist. and Biog., Oct.); Arthur G. Peterson, *The Old Alexandria-Georgetown Canal and Potomac Aqueduct* (*ibid.*); Herbert Thatcher, *Dr. [John] Mitchell, M. D., F. R. S., of Virginia* [IV.] (*ibid.*); Lyon G. Tyler, *Arthur Lee: a Neglected Statesman* (Tyler's Quar. Hist. and Geneal. Mag., Oct.); I. N. Carr, *Mars Hill College in the War between the States* (North Carolina Hist. and Geneal. Rec., Oct.); J. G. Johnson, *Notes on Manufacturing in Ante-Bellum Georgia* (Georgia Hist. Quar., Sept.); Peter S. McGuire, *The Railroads of Georgia, 1860-1880* (*ibid.*); Laura L. Porteous (with occasional notes by Henry P. Dart), *Index to Spanish Judicial Records of Louisiana* [Feb., 1781], XXXVII. (Louisiana Hist. Quar., Oct.); Robert D. Calhoun, *A History of Concordia Parish, Louisiana* [IV.] (*ibid.*); G. P. Whittington, *Rapides Parish, Louisiana: a History*, chs. I-III. (*ibid.*); Lane C. Kendall, *John McDonough, Slave-Owner* [I.] (*ibid.*); James E. Winston, *New Orleans Newspapers and the Texas Question, 1835-1837* (Southwestern Hist. Quar., Oct.); W. Darrell Overdyke, *History of the American Party in Louisiana*, ch. I. (Louisiana Hist. Quar., Oct.); Harriet Smither, *The Alabama Indians of Texas* (Southwestern Hist. Quar., Oct.).

Documents, papers, letters: *Letters from Lawrence Butler* [cont'd, 1786] (Virginia Mag. of Hist. and Biog., Oct.); *Lower Norfolk County Records, 1636-1646* [cont'd] (*ibid.*); David R. Barbee, ed., *Letters on the Issues of 1850-1865* [letters of George W. Woodward, George Ashmun, Thurlow Weed, Allan B. Magruder, Stephen A. Douglas, and others] (Tyler's Quar. Hist. and Geneal. Mag., Oct.); Theodore D. Jervay, ed., *Garth Correspondence* [cont'd] (South Carolina Hist. and Geneal. Mag., Oct.); Mabel L. Webber, ed., *Josiah Smith's Diary, 1780-1781* (*ibid.*); Henry P. Dart, ed.,

Albert G. Sanders, translator, *Documents concerning the Crozat Régime in Louisiana, 1712-1717* [I.] (Louisiana Hist. Quar., Oct.); Henry P. Dart, ed., Laura L. Porteous, translator, *Sanitary Conditions in New Orleans under the Spanish Régime, 1799-1800* (*ibid.*); Henry P. Dart, ed., Heloise H. Cruzat, translator, *Records of the Superior Council of Louisiana*, LV. [May, 1746] (*ibid.*); James K. Greer, ed., *The Diary of James Buckner Barry* (South-western Hist. Quar., Oct.); Harriet Smither, ed., *Diary of Adolphus Sterne*, XXV. (*ibid.*).

WESTERN STATES

As a part of its educational program the Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Society has recently issued an illustrated booklet entitled *The Story of Ohio as Told by a Museum Exhibit*, by Dr. Harlow Lindley, curator of history.

Oberlin College Library has issued as one of its series of bulletins *A Classified Catalogue of the Collection of Anti-Slavery Propaganda in the Oberlin College Library*, compiled by Geraldine Hopkins Hubbard and edited by Julian S. Fowler. Mr. Fowler has contributed an account of the manner in which the collection has been brought together. It now includes about seven-hundred items. The catalogue entries are frequently accompanied by illuminating descriptive notes.

The new building of the Chicago Historical Society, situated in Lincoln Park, was opened to the public on November 12.

Vol. X., no. 2, of the University of Iowa Studies in the Social Sciences is entitled *Abstracts in History* and summarizes twelve theses presented to the Graduate College for the degree of Ph.D. (Iowa City, the University, pp. 170).

The University of Michigan has undertaken to make a collection of materials relating to Judge Thomas M. Cooley, with a view to an adequate biography of the noted jurist, and would appreciate information concerning the whereabouts of such materials. The chairman of the committee having the matter in charge is Professor John S. Worley.

As a result of the searches of Justice William W. Potter of the Michigan Supreme Court, who is writing a *History of the Michigan Bench and Bar*, the files of the Territorial Supreme Court through the whole of the Territorial period have been discovered, and steps are being taken to have these records properly edited and published. Contributory to this discovery were the researches of Shelby B. Schurz of Grand Rapids.

The William L. Clements Library plans to publish the letters of Henry Gladwin, commandant at Detroit at the time of the siege, 1763, together with an accompanying narrative of events at the time the letters were written, for which the known sources of information respecting the siege will be drawn upon. There are thirty-six known letters of Gladwin, of which the Clements

Library possesses twenty-seven (found among the papers of Thomas Gage), and of the thirty-six only four have been printed.

The State Historical Society of Wisconsin has received a substantial body of documents bearing upon the history of the Brothertown Indian tribe, some of the material relating to the affairs of the tribe while it was still located in New York. The other papers refer to tribal history in Wisconsin from the time of the arrival of these Indians down to the Civil War.

The State Historical Society of Wisconsin has decided to publish an index of the first fifteen volumes of the *Wisconsin Magazine of History*. It has also authorized the preparation of a calendar of the George Rogers Clark Papers in the Draper Collection. This volume will constitute vol. IV. in the calendar series.

Among recent accessions to the Minnesota Historical Society, as recorded in the September issue of *Minnesota History*, are: the papers of Commodore William F. Davidson, containing valuable material on Mississippi River steamboating, railroads, banking, insurance, etc.; and transcripts of numerous letters of the correspondence between missionaries among the Sioux and their superiors in Boston (1851-1862).

The State Historical Society of Colorado has recently acquired over 300 original "Claim Club" papers, comprising farm and townsite claims of the period of earliest settlement in the state. A collection of about 500 early books and pamphlets pertaining to Colorado and the Rocky Mountain West have come to the society from the late Frank L. Woodward. Included are three rare guidebooks to the Pike's Peak Gold Country (1859). The society is actively gathering files of early newspapers throughout the state, including some issued in mining boom towns now "ghost cities". The marking of historic sites is progressing rapidly. The society prepares the legend, furnishing a standardized bronze tablet, while local organizations provide the monument.

The Village of the Great Kivas on the Zuñi Reservation, New Mexico, by Frank H. H. Roberts, is the subject of Bulletin no. 111, Bureau of American Ethnology, Smithsonian Institution.

Indian Labor in the Spanish Colonies, by Ruth K. Barber, which has been appearing in the *New Mexico Historical Review*, has now been printed as vol. VI. of the Publications in History of the Historical Society of New Mexico.

With its January number the *Arizona Historical Review* will begin the publication of three books: the *Autobiography of George Wiley Paul Hunt*, seven times governor of Arizona; the *History of Phoenix: a Relation of its Pioneer Days and People*, by James M. Barney; and *Arizona Place-Names*, by Will C. Barnes, containing the origin and location of 4000 names. Publication as books will follow the appearance of these works in the quarterly. It is

also hoped to publish in book form Professor H. K. Wyllys's *Kino of Pimeria Alta*, which is now appearing in the quarterly.

Articles: Lucien Beckner, *Eskippakithiki: the Last Indian Town in Kentucky* (Filson Club Hist. Quar., Oct.); Adin Baber, *Early Trails of Eastern Illinois* (Jour. Illinois State Hist. Soc., Apr.-July); Edwin Davis, *Lincoln and Macon County, Illinois, 1830-1831* (*ibid.*); Charles B. Davis, *Judge James Hawkins Peck [ca. 1790-1836]* (Missouri Hist. Rev., Oct.); Monas N. Squires, *A New View of the Election of Barton and Benton to the United States Senate in 1820* (*ibid.*); Wilfred B. Shaw, *The Early Days of the University of Michigan: Some Sidelights from the Correspondence of Silas H. Douglass, first Professor of Chemistry at the University* (Michigan Hist. Mag., Autumn); William Stetson Merrill, *Catholic Historical Markers in Michigan* (Mid-America, Oct.); James B. Weaver, *The Story of the "Des Moines River Lands"* (Annals of Iowa, Oct.); Jacob A. Swisher, *The Career of Cyrus Bussey* (Iowa Jour. of Hist. and Pol., Oct.); Herman J. Deutsch, [Matt H.] *Carpenter and the Senatorial Election of 1875 in Wisconsin* (Wisconsin Mag. of Hist., Sept.); Dorothy Ganfield, *The Influence of Wisconsin on Federal Politics, 1880-1907* (*ibid.*); William J. Petersen, *Steamboating in the Upper Mississippi Fur Trade* (Minnesota Hist., Sept.); Esther Jerabek, *Antonín Jurka, a Pioneer Czech Schoolmaster in Minnesota* (*ibid.*); Arthur Ridgway, *The Mission of Colorado Toll Roads* (Colorado Mag., Sept.); LeRoy R. Hafen, *Colorado Cities: their Founding and their Names* (*ibid.*); Walker D. Wyman, *Bullwhacking: a Prosaic Profession Peculiar to the Great Plains* (New Mexico Hist. Rev., Oct.); Douglas C. McMurtrie, *The Beginnings of Printing in Arizona: with a Preliminary Check-List of Arizona Book and Pamphlet Imprints, 1860-1875* (Arizona Hist. Rev., Oct.); John B. Meserve, *The MacIntoshes [from Scotland through Georgia to Oklahoma]* (Chron. of Oklahoma, Sept.); Joseph B. Thoburn, *Washington Irving's Tour on the Prairies [1832]* (*ibid.*); Adele Ogden, *The Californias in Spain's Pacific Otter Trade, 1775-1795* (Pac. Hist. Rev., Dec.); Charles H. Carey, *Lee, Waller, and McLoughlin* (Oregon Hist. Quar., Sept.); J. Neilson Barry, *Oregon Boundaries* (*ibid.*); Edmund T. Coleman, *Puget Sound and the Northern Pacific Railroad* (Washington Hist. Quar., Oct.); Alfred Tunem, *The Dispute over the San Juan Islands Water Boundary* [cont'd] (*ibid.*).

Documents, papers, letters: Ludie K. Kinkhead, ed., *Minute Book, no. I., Jefferson County, Kentucky, 1784-1785* [pt. 4, Sept.-Dec., 1785] (Filson Club Hist. Quar., Oct.); Charles R. Staples, ed., *History in Circuit Court Records, Fayette County* [cont'd] (Reg. of the Kentucky State Hist. Soc., Oct.); Mrs. Jouett Taylor Cannon, ed., *General Expenditures of Government, 1792-1798* (*ibid.*); Arthur Homer Hays, ed., *Diary of Taylor N. Snow, Hoosier Fifty-niner* (Indiana Mag. of Hist., Sept.); Joseph Schafer, ed., *La Pointe Letters* [letters of Florantha Thompson Sproat, 1838-1842] (Wisconsin Mag. of

Hist., Sept.); Grant Foreman, ed., *An Unpublished Report by Captain Bonneville* (Chron. of Oklahoma, Sept.); Colonel C. C. Smith, ed., *Some Unpublished History of the Southwest* [Diary of Mrs. Granville Oury, cont'd] (Arizona Hist. Rev., Oct.).

CANADA

General review: W. P. M. Kennedy, *Some Aspects of British Constitutional Law* (Can. Hist. Rev., Sept.).

The *Twentieth Report* (1931) of the Department of Public Records and Archives of Ontario, by Alexander Fraser, LL.D. (Toronto, pp. ix, 222), continues the publication of land grants bearing dates from July 1, 1797, to July 13, 1798. It also includes further grants recorded in an appendix of Land Book "C", which run from June 29 to July 4, 1796.

The Fred Morgan Kirby Lectures delivered at Lafayette College in 1931 by Professor W. P. M. Kennedy, of the University of Toronto, are entitled *Some Aspects of the Theories and Workings of Constitutional Law* (Macmillan, pp. xiv, 142, \$1.50). They deal with Canadian institutions from four points of view: The State and the Law; Theories of Law and the Constitutional Law of the British Empire; Law and Custom in the Canadian Constitution; and Some Problems in the Workings of Canadian Political Institutions.

Vol. XXVIII. of the *Papers and Records* of the Ontario Historical Society (Toronto, the Society, pp. 339, \$2.00) ranges widely over the field of Canadian history. The most considerable essay, making up half of the volume, deals with the Genesis of the Canada Act, and is contributed by Brigadier-General E. A. Cruikshank.

The Public Archives of Canada have issued vol. II. of their *Catalogue of Pamphlets*. This volume covers the years 1878-1931, with 5812 entries. It has been prepared by the librarian, Magdalen Casey, and published under the direction of the dominion archivist, Arthur G. Doughty. There are author and subject indexes. The price is \$1.00.

The province of New Brunswick now possesses a museum, recently built in Saint John, which, in the value of its collections of books, documents, and prints, ranks next in importance to the Public Archives of Ottawa. The formal opening will be deferred until 1934, to mark the one hundred and fiftieth anniversary of New Brunswick as a distinct government.

Articles: Georges Robitaille, *Montcalm et ses Historiens* (Le Canada Français, Nov.); Dallas D. Irvine, *The Newfoundland Fishery: a French objective in the War of American Independence* (Can. Hist. Rev., Sept.); W. S. Wallace, *Namesakes in the Fur-Trade* (*ibid.*); W. N. Sage, *The Critical Period of British Columbia History, 1866-1871* (Pac. Hist. Rev., Dec.).

CUBA, MEXICO, AND SOUTH AMERICA

Nos. 1-6 of año XXX. of the *Boletín del Archivo Nacional* of Cuba contain an article on the history of the Cuban periodical press, as well as an index to the royal Spanish orders concerning Cuba for 1797, and a continuation of the calendar of the archives of the bureau of the Cuban revolutionary party in New York City, 1892-1896.

The *Academia de la Historia de Cuba* has published an address by Juan M. Dihigo y Mestre on Francisco Mateo de Acosta y Zenea, a Cuban Orientalist. Vol. V. of the *Colección de Documentos*, published by the same academy, contains an installment of the proceedings of the assembly of representatives and of the council of government of Cuba during the war for independence, 1898-1899.

The *Memoria de la Secretaría de Relaciones Exteriores* of Mexico for 1931-1932 (Mexico, 1932) contains a convenient list of the treaties and conventions in force between Mexico and other states, as well as a summary of the personnel of its diplomatic representation abroad.

In *Retablo Colonial* (Caracas, 1931) Colonel Santos Jurado published a series of brief, historical essays, with bibliography, on topics in Venezuelan colonial history. Among those sketches dealing with the revolutionary period, perhaps the most useful is that describing the Venezuelan acknowledgment of allegiance to Ferdinand VII. in 1808.

Among the items in no. 58, vol. XVI., of the *Boletín de la Academia Nacional de la Historia* of Venezuela, is one by N. E. Navarro on the Franciscans in colonial Venezuela. This number also contains an installment of documents regarding the public services of General José de la Cruz Paredes, besides inedited documents concerning Andrés Bello and Simón Bolívar. No. 58 of this bulletin contains, as well as other Cruz Paredes documents, an inedited letter respecting the assassination of General Antonio José de Sucre.

Among other items, nos. 218-223 of the *Boletín de Historia y Antigüedades* (Mar.-Aug., 1932) of the Colombian Academy of History contain material on the following topics: the historical writer, Fernández de Piedrahita; the trial of D'Evereux, commander of the Irish Legion; the policy of General Francisco de Paula Santander; the revolutionary martyrs of 1816; the tomb of Francisco A. Zea; essays on Colombian worthies by Eduardo Posada; and an account of General José M. Cordova, by Laureano García Ortiz.

The *Anales de la Universidad Central* of Quito, vol. XLVIII., no. 280 (Apr.-June, 1932) contains an address delivered by Dr. Pío Jaramillo Alvarado on the occasion of the celebration of the centenary of the birth of the Ecuadorean writer, Juan Montalvo.

Nicolás Espinosa Cordero of Cuenca, Ecuador, has recently had published

a volume entitled *Historia de España en América* (Com. Ib. Am., Madrid, 1931), which was awarded a prize of 50,000 pesetas in a literary contest arranged by the Spanish journal, *A B C*.

Vergniaud Leconte fills a serious gap in the literature on the island of Santo Domingo by his *Henri Christophe dans l'Histoire d'Haïti* (Berger-Levrault, Paris, 1931).

Articles: Ed. Clavery, *Les Archives du Général Miranda* (Rev. d'Hist. Dipl., July); A. C. Wilgus, *The Third International American Conference at Rio de Janeiro, 1906* (Hisp. Amer. Hist. Rev., Nov.); H. E. Davis, *Mexican Petroleum Taxes* (*ibid.*); Poblette Troncoso, *Le Code Fédéral du Travail au Mexique* (Rev. de l'Amér. Latine, Apr.); *id.*, *L'Influence du Capital Étranger dans le Développement de l'Amérique Latine* (*ibid.*, July).

Document: Mary M. Kenway, ed., *Correspondence between General William Winder and President Monroe* (Hisp. Amer. Hist. Rev., Nov.).

W. S. R.

Contributions to the section of Historical News have been made by Arthur I. Andrews, S. F. Bemis, R. C. Binkley, G. C. Boyce, T. R. S. Broughton, E. C. Burnett, E. N. Curtis, H. N. Fowler, C. M. Frasure, W. T. Laprade, Harold Larson, L. M. Larson, H. S. Lucas, Sidney Painter, M. M. Quaife, W. S. Robertson, Carl Wittke, J. A. Woodburn.

The
American Historical Review

TORONTO MEETING
AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

THE Forty-seventh Annual Meeting of the Association was held in Toronto on December 27, 28, and 29. This was the first time in its history that the Association has crossed the borders of the United States. To go to Toronto, however, was not to visit a foreign country, nor from the Canadian point of view was the meeting an "American invasion". For many years the Association has numbered among its members scores of Canadians, and scholars like Bourinot, Wrong, and Biggar have served on its Council. Their active interest in its work has not conflicted with a loyal support of the Canadian Historical Association and of the ably conducted *Canadian Historical Review*. Indeed, the two associations held a joint session on the last day of the meeting.

Other societies, besides the Canadian Historical Association, meeting concurrently, were the Mississippi Valley Historical Association, the Conference of Historical Societies, the Agricultural History Society, the American Catholic Historical Association, the National Council for Social Studies, and the American Society of Church History. In view of the long continued depression, with salary cuts, failing dividends, and frozen bank deposits, dame rumor had remarked confidentially that the attendance would be small. The fear *complex* did not survive an hour under the bright sunshine of Toronto, with numbers constantly swelling until the registered attendance reached 423.

The University of Toronto was the host of the Association and of its sister societies, and generously did it perform this function. A feature especially pleasant was the plan of quartering members in the dormitories, consoling to shrinking pocketbooks, and, better still, reminiscent of far away college days. On the evening of the first day the University entertained the associations and societies at a banquet in the Great Hall of Hart House, which recalled the halls of Oxford and Cambridge, although on a much larger scale. The ceremonial of the occasion was

especially interesting to the strangers from a country whose traditional customs have suffered a losing fight. The roast, the pudding, and the great ram's head snuff box were brought in to the sound of the pipes and the drum. After toasts to the King and the President, toasts were given to the Association and to Clio, the Muse of History. The Honorable Vincent Massey in an interpretative and witty speech proposed the toast to the Association, and the response was given by Dr. Charles A. Beard, vice president of the Association, who, after amusing introductory remarks, declared that often the historian has the task of courageously recording truths unpalatable to the interests of the hour. The toast to Clio was proposed in classical phrase by Sir Robert Falconer, former president of the University, and the response was made by Professor Dixon Ryan Fox, who rejoiced many of his hearers by his diverting, and sometimes caustic, analysis of the work, recently in vogue, of the debunkers and their kindred. The address of welcome by President Cody was so moving in its warmth that his hearers were made readier even than before to go away as ambassadors of good will to the two nations.

The University recognized the distinguished historical work of President Bolton and honored the Association by conferring upon him the degree of doctor of laws. This was done at a special Convocation immediately preceding the Presidential Address. The Trustees of the Royal Ontario Museum gave a reception to members of visiting associations. A similar reception was given at the Toronto Art Gallery, and at Wymilwood, a tea to the ladies.

The interest with which the members crowded into the sessions and entered into discussions showed how successful the Committee on Program, of which Professor Chester Martin was chairman, had been in shaping plans for the meeting. There was a praiseworthy effort to limit the number of papers in a section, in order to give opportunity for discussion. In two cases the discussion was preceded by a single paper. In another the discussion took the form of a round table. The plans made by the Committee on Local Arrangements, of which Professor C. N. Cochrane was chairman and Professor G. W. Brown secretary, also worked out to the convenience of everybody.

At a meeting held on Canadian soil it was natural that many topics of mutual interest should be placed upon the program. No fewer than nine of the papers, scattered through the sessions, had subjects of this type. Two of them were presented at the joint session of the Canadian and American Historical associations. It was there that Professor D. A.



McArthur, of Queen's University, discussed the Boundary Provisions of the Quebec Act. A paper which naturally provoked some comment in the Toronto newspapers was Canada and the Peace Settlement of 1782, in which Samuel Flagg Bemis, of the George Washington University, explained how narrowly Toronto escaped being included within the boundaries of the United States. Franklin, he said, had always been eager to obtain all Canada, including Nova Scotia, but Franklin and Jay were afraid that Spain, backed by France, would extend her boundaries east of the Mississippi and exclude the United States from the great valley. To guard against such a danger the American negotiators accepted a compromise in the north. Dr. Bemis added that it was only an accident that Lord Shelburne accepted the river and lake line rather than the forty-fifth parallel. Had the forty-fifth parallel been chosen, Toronto and southern Ontario would have been included within the limits of the republic. Bearing on the same general period in the history of the two countries was a paper by Nelson V. Russell, of Coe College, with the title of The Royal Navy as a Factor in the British Control of the Old Northwest from 1760 to 1796. Until the time when the Jay Treaty went into effect, said Professor Russell, the British maintained an exclusive control of the Upper Great Lakes and the Upper Mississippi. It was threatened by Pontiac in 1763 and by the revolting colonists in 1775-1783. One of the interesting features of the paper was the part played in the fur trade by government ships built at Navy Island, near Niagara, and at Detroit.

A career interesting for the American phase of the Napoleonic struggle with England was that of Charles Williamson, whom Isaac J. Cox, of Northwestern University, in his paper described as the Western Watch-dog of the British Empire. Williamson, said Professor Cox, sought to utilize the American situation in such a way as to contribute to the defeat of France. The bait he held out to the Americans was a share in the trade with the Spanish colonies. After the *Chesapeake* affair he laid plans to check the warlike tendencies of people along the Atlantic Coast. He died on a secret mission to Cuba after Napoleon had seized Spain. More directly related to Canada was the paper of Harold A. Innis, of the University of Toronto, upon the Interrelations between the Fur Trade of Canada and the United States. This trade developed in the two countries along different lines after the people of the United States began to expand into the far Northwest. The elements in the Trans-Mississippi country were the cultural traits of the Indians, especially on the plains, the onward march of settlers to arable lands, and

the relative importance and rapid exploitation of coarse furs and hides as in the case of the buffalo. In Canada, on the contrary, the trade assumed a more permanent character. Its route shifted from the St. Lawrence to Hudson Bay. Professor Innis added, as a significant fact, that during the past year the Hudson's Bay Company boat made no visit to the depot at Charlton Island in James Bay for the first time in two and a half centuries.

Another paper of joint interest came from the section on Agricultural history, Fred Landon, of the University of Western Ontario, dealing with the Effects of the Civil War in the United States upon Canadian Agriculture. At the opening of the war the Canadians, Professor Landon said, hoped under the reciprocity treaty of 1854 to find a good market for their wheat. Unfortunately for them, their crops turned out badly, while at the same time the yield in the States was abundant. In this period, however, came the introduction from over the border of the new farm machinery, and Canadian capital established branch firms. To the same period of Canadian history belongs a paper on Railway Land Policies in Canada and the United States, in which James B. Hedges, of Brown University, combatted the common statement that the American policy was "transplanted bodily" into Canada. On the contrary, said Dr. Hedges, Canada made serious modifications, insisting that the land granted must be "fairly fit for settlement", and not requiring that it be within a specified distance, regardless of quality. In the field of general relations between Canada and the United States has been the establishment and efficient work of the International Joint Commission, the origin of which was discussed by Lawrence J. Burpee, its secretary. It has performed its delicate task with such harmony, said Dr. Burpee, that the public has been too little conscious of its significant achievements. With public opinion in mind, Dean Arthur A. Hauck, of Lafayette College, reported the results of an investigation upon the question of how the history of each country has been either emphasized or neglected in the textbooks of the other. On the whole the Canadian textbook writers have taken a broader view than their brethren south of the border, and Canadian children know more of the history of the United States than "American" schoolboys know of Canada.

The members from over the border were naturally interested in problems more especially Canadian, and certain of them, conscious of their incomplete knowledge of Canadian history, were eager to assume the attitude of learners. The central problem is, of course, that of the viability of the British Commonwealth—"autonomous communities . . .

equal in status . . . united in a common allegiance to the Crown, and freely associated . . .". The discussion of this theme was opened by the Honorable N. W. Rowell, K.C., of Toronto, in a paper with the subtitle of *An Interpretation*, a paper distinguished by a grace of expression, a clarity of treatment, and a mastery of the elements of the situation only achieved after lifelong familiarity with the questions involved. Two features would particularly attract the stranger's notice, the opinion that trade agreements, like those recently made at Ottawa, are as likely to cause irritating differences as common satisfactions, and the conviction that after all the principal tie of the empire is spiritual, a common origin, common institutions and literature, and a common loyalty to the King. In the further discussion W. Y. Elliott, of Harvard University, noted the fact that at Ottawa there was no general agreement, only twelve separate pacts. A. L. Burt, of the University of Minnesota, formerly of the University of Alberta, said it was useless to suppose that Canada could act at such a conference without taking into account her relationships with her neighbor to the south. The same fact also was emphasized in the section on the Far East, Norman A. M. MacKenzie, of the University of Toronto, pointing to the classical case of Canadian insistence at the Imperial Conference of 1921 upon the abrogation of the Anglo-Japanese Treaty of Mutual Assistance. Two other subjects from Canadian history were: Church and State in Canada, presented by K. H. Cousland, of Emmanuel College, and The Elective Council of Quebec, 1647-1663, by Gustave Lanctot, of the Public Archives of Canada. This council may be called, said Dr. Lanctot, the first Canadian Parliament.

The theme of the Presidential Address of Herbert E. Bolton, of the University of California, was especially appropriate in a meeting on Canadian soil, where uppermost in thought were the historical relations of two great countries of North America, for it was a masterly synthesis of the development of the Western Hemisphere. Dr. Bolton presented a point of view which should correct our perspective in considering the history of the Americas, South as well as North. His address appears in this issue of the *Review*. Before the address opened Dr. Bolton was presented a handsome work in two volumes entitled *New Spain and the Anglo-American West*, a contribution offered by former students. It is a collection of source materials with introductory essays and annotations. It includes a list of Dr. Bolton's writings.

Turning to other fields of history it is apparent that certain subjects gained a place on the program because of present-day analogues. Of

these one touched the question of international indebtedness, a subject with possibilities of reverberations. The American people, it seems, are not the first to be described as "rapacious Shylocks," according to Reginald C. McGrane, of the University of Cincinnati, who read a paper on *Some Aspects of American States' Debts in the 'Forties*. The two states involved were Mississippi and Florida. The agents of those states, "high pressure" salesmen, had violated statutes in negotiating loans, and bankers, in the traditional manner, had aided and abetted them. Certain Englishmen were ill-advised enough to accept the rôle of investors. When the states repudiated their obligations, and neither the British nor the American governments could do anything about it, the bondholders endeavored to awaken the moral consciousness of the American public. It was then that political leaders in the legislatures of the two states raised the Shylock cry, but the moral consciousness of the American public continued to repose. Another aspect of the international debt problem concerned the Caribbean states. This was dealt with by J. F. Rippy, of Duke University, in a paper entitled *The British Bondholders and the Roosevelt Corollary of the Monroe Doctrine*. Professor Rippy presented evidence to show that the action of British bondholders prompted Roosevelt to declare that if the United States would not permit European governments to intervene in a Spanish-American state to secure the payment of debts, the United States would itself be forced to act as sheriff. But Professor Rippy also showed that that intervention by the northern neighbor did not always bring about results satisfactory to the European bondholder, who saw funds earmarked for him turned over to rival syndicates from the United States.

Closely related to the subject of debts is the rise of Investment Banking in the United States during the years 1861 to 1873. This was the subject of a paper by Henrietta M. Larson, of the Harvard School of Business Administration. Dr. Larson showed that it was Jay Cooke, as agent of the Treasury during the Civil War, who first built up an effective organization for the sale of bonds. At the close of the war the bankers had to shift their field of operations, but they maintained their system of procedure. Those who bought Western railroad bonds too freely after 1866 discovered in 1873 reasons to regret the persuasive methods adopted by the bankers, when they, and sometimes the bankers too, went down in ruin. However, although individuals perished the system remained. A question of debts, on this occasion domestic, and at the same time of farm relief, an historical version of a present difficulty, was described by John D. Hicks, of the University of Wisconsin,

in a paper entitled *Some Populist Panaceas*. Professor Hicks believed that if the farmers had divorced their schemes from paper money inflationist remedies they might have secured relief. Their "Sub-treasury" plan was to accept the farmer's grain for storage and give him paper, with which he was to carry on. Another plan of land loans was to prevent the foreclosures of mortgages by handing the farmer paper money secured on his land. When these schemes failed the farmers turned to free silver and to Bryan. All this reads uncomfortably like passages from the daily press of 1933.

No subject directly connected with the World War appeared on the program. The nearest approach was the paper presented by William E. Lingelbach, of the University of Pennsylvania, on *Belgian Neutrality: Origin and Successive Crises*. Even here the principal emphasis was laid upon the first part of the theme, in dealing with which Professor Lingelbach offered new evidence to show that the idea of a neutral state, after the manner of Switzerland, probably did not arise first in Talleyrand's mind, but was suggested to him by Palmerston, acting in this case for the powers who wished to guard against possible French annexation. The violation of Belgian territory in 1914 entered, however, into the discussion that followed. The other papers in the section on Modern Europe dealt with Robespierre and Bernadotte. Robespierre's Reputation in the Constituent Assembly was analyzed step by step by W. B. Kerr, of the University of Buffalo. At first rather slow of wit, unequal to quick interchange in debate, likely to bring forward general accusations without the evidence to back them, it was not, Professor Kerr believed, until the Constituent Assembly had nearly run its course, and then chiefly in the Jacobin Club, that Robespierre acquired the art of managing a sympathetic audience. At times his pose as a willing martyr to the popular cause made him lose ground rather than win adherents. Franklin D. Scott, of the Wisconsin State Teachers' College, by his work in various European archives, but especially with the documents copied by the late Professor Oscar Alin from the Bernadotte Family archives, was able to outline Bernadotte's plans more fully than has hitherto been possible, and to explain the maneuvers, especially of Metternich, which rendered them without result.

There was a feeling among some students in the field of Modern European history that more than one section should have been given to it. But a glance at the program shows that other sections carried subjects ordinarily scheduled in that field. For example, in the section on Agricultural history, V. Alton Moody, of the Iowa State College of

Agriculture, presented a paper on Agrarian Reform before Post-War European Constituent Assemblies, which showed what such assemblies in Austria, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Poland, and the Baltic states had done to break up great estates into small holdings, and pointed out that Yugoslavia, Roumania, and Spain had preferred to turn over the problem to future legislatures. Another paper, this time in the section on Diplomatic history, read by Frederick Merk, of Harvard University, explained how Aberdeen, having negotiated the Oregon Treaty, secured favorable reactions from influential newspapers and quarterlies like the *Examiner*, the *Times*, the *Edinburgh Review*, and the *Quarterly Review*. Professor Merk entitled his paper British Government Propaganda and the Oregon Treaty. A paper dealing with a diplomatic situation of the same period was presented in the British history section by F. S. Rodkey, of the University of Illinois. Its title was Palmerston and a Concert of Powers on the Eastern Question, 1833-1838. Professor Rodkey made it plain that Palmerston came to such a plan when it was too late, after rejecting overtures for common action suggested especially by Metternich.

An important contribution to the social history of the modern period was also given in the section on British history: British Coal Miners and the Government, 1840 to 1860, by Walter L. Slifer, of Butler University. Professor Slifer pointed out the difference between legislation and enforcement, and gave an account of Hugh Seymour Tremenheere, a Whig, appointed by the Tory home secretary as commissioner to see that the new, humanitarian laws were enforced. For sixteen years Mr. Tremenheere held the position, and for many years afterward remained in fact, if not in name, a national social worker for the miners. That very ominous aspect of recent world history which is called the Far Eastern Question was treated in a paper entitled Certain Psychological Factors in the Present Far Eastern Situation, by H. F. MacNair, of the University of Chicago. Professor MacNair characterized the traits of passive resistance, procrastination, and the attitude of superiority displayed by the Chinese with the mental alertness and tendency to drastic action which the Japanese possessed. He also noted the ability of the Russians to cope with Orientals on their own ground. He said that competent observers found nothing surprising in the present situation.

The Reformation used to be included in Modern European history, but it receives little attention on programs at the present time. For some years after the close of the World War history seemed to begin with the alliances and ententes which led to the catastrophe of 1914. Our interests are now slowly moving back once more to the study of earlier problems.

Albert Hyma, of the University of Michigan, touched the introductory phases of the Reformation in his paper on Erasmus and the Oxford Reformers. His main contention was that the first visit of Erasmus to England did not have the determinative influence upon him that certain French and German students have asserted, that he never broke with scholasticism, since he was never seriously interested in it, and that his attitude toward monasticism underwent no transformation in England, because his friends Colet and More were not opposed to monasticism and asceticism. A late phase of the general reform movement was dealt with by M. M. Knappen, of the University of Chicago, in a paper entitled *Causes of the Puritan Failure in England, 1640-1660*. Professor Knappen attributed the failure to the rise of secular influences, coming from the Renaissance, to the increasing prosperity of the mercantile class, the lawyers, and the gentry, making them restive under Puritan social control, and to the lack of aggressive leadership on the part of the Puritan clergy themselves, accustomed to the idea of state control in the Church. Professor Hyma's paper was read in the section on the Renaissance. The other paper presented there dealt with a problem in the field of trade. It was entitled *Venice, Spices, and Ship-Timbers in the Commercial Revolution*, and it was given by Frederic C. Lane, of the Johns Hopkins University. In briefer form it presented the same thesis as Dr. Lane's article in the January number of the *Review*, significantly modifying our previous views of the decline of Venetian shipping.

In the Medieval history section two papers, by James F. Willard, of the University of Colorado, and Professor N. Neilson, of Mount Holyoke College, noted important progress in research procedure in English history. Professor Willard, who is director of the project entitled *The English Government at Work, 1327-1336*, declared that the sum total of the several studies made thus far give us, what we have never had before, a picture of the various officers and departments working simultaneously, thus making clear their interrelations. Professor Neilson described a plan in practice at Mount Holyoke for the effective study of the English Plea Rolls, in spite of their great bulk and unwieldiness. Hidden away in these rolls, she remarked, is much information of importance for social history, occupations of litigants, chattels found in homes, lists of law books, and ecclesiastical works. She suggested that other groups of graduate students might undertake similar analyses of the rolls of the court of common pleas, one year in a decade, perhaps, or one year in a quarter century. The third paper, by J. C. Russell, of the University of North Carolina, gave an interesting account of the Procedure of Medieval

Assemblies, according to which there must have been a happy custom of silence on the part of some members, the lesser people probably expressing their feelings by inarticulate but appropriate sounds, with no right to extend them in the *Record*. The voting was done by the king, and if the decision was unpalatable the losing faction could attempt a revision on the field of battle.

The Round Table Discussion on the Economic History of the Ancient World resolved itself into a session much like the others. It was opened by A. E. R. Boak, of the University of Michigan, who described the results obtained from the excavations at Dimê, a Ptolemaic settlement in the Fayum, whose most prosperous time was in the Roman period from Augustus to Caracalla. Professor Boak also mentioned other results learned from papyri from Tebtunis and Karanis. William S. Ferguson, of Harvard University, dealt with recent contributions to the financial history of Athens. The third speaker, William L. Westermann, of Columbia University, spoke of the important economic agreements incorporated in the federation of the Hellenes established by Philip the Second in 338-337 B. C., and alluded to by Demosthenes in Oration 17. These agreements, Professor Westermann explained, included a provision for keeping the seas free from pirates, and promises on the part of the federated states not to free slaves for the purposes of revolution, or wipe out debts, or redistribute land.

Those papers which dealt jointly with the history of the United States and Canada have already been mentioned. Other papers dealt primarily with the historical problems of the United States. The first section mentioned on the program was devoted to an attempt to define The National Interest. Charles A. Beard discussed the Original American Conception of National Interest. The ideas of dynastic interest and of national honor, said Dr. Beard, gave way, and both the constitution of the United States and the foreign policies of Washington were founded upon conceptions and realities of interest. Dr. Beard, among other things, pointed out that in the hands of Hamilton national interest became in essence the doctrine of *Machtpolitik*. "National Interest" and Recent American Thought was the subject of Ralph H. Gabriel, of Yale University. Dr. Gabriel saw an advantage in the recent revival of attention given to the concept because it has led to a discussion of first principles, reflection upon which tends to check the formulation of hasty and inadequately considered social plans. One characteristic of a true formula should be the homely maxim of "putting one foot before the other". The general discussion was led by Professor Arthur C. Cole, of Western Reserve University.

Another section was given to the Colonial period. Here a paper on *Personnel and Personalities in the Colonial Agencies*, by Ella Lonn, of Goucher College, threw new light upon a group of which Benjamin Franklin was the most notable member. Professor Lonn has enumerated 200 of these agents, beginning with the year 1666. In thirty-four cases she has found that the same man served more than one colony. In some instances, however, each house of the colonial legislature had a separate agent. Some of the agents were colonists long resident in England, or even Englishmen. Edmund Burke was agent for New York at one time. The agent who had the longest record for service was Richard Partridge, who acted for Rhode Island forty years. Another phase of the Colonial period was discussed by Lawrence H. Gipson, of Lehigh University, under the caption of *The Iron Act of 1750*. Professor Gipson expressed the belief that Englishmen in the second quarter of the eighteenth century were alarmed by what they assumed was an astonishingly rapid development of the iron industry in the American colonies. This, with the existing dependence upon Swedish and Russian supplies of bar-iron, led them to anticipate dire economic and social consequences to the mother country, unless effective measures were taken. The consequence was that Parliament proposed to admit American pig-iron and bar-iron free of duty, getting rid of dependence on extra-empire sources, and to forbid the Americans the subsequent erection of slitting, rolling, or steel mills, in order to retain the American market for English finished products. It is unnecessary to add that the law was not obeyed by the colonists. Another phase of colonial life was treated by W. M. Gewehr, of American University, in a paper with the title of *The Religious and Social Revolution in Eighteenth Century Virginia*. Here Professor Gewehr traced the influence of the evangelical revivals of the eighteenth century in strengthening the position and influence of the Presbyterians, Methodists, and especially of the Baptists. The Baptists, he said, were in 1760 regarded as a poor, contemptible, and illiterate sect, but by 1790 they had become the most numerous and popular denomination in the state.

Two papers were given to the Revolutionary period: *Propagandists of the American Revolution*, by Philip Davidson, of Agnes Scott College, and *The Whig Opposition in England during the American Revolution*, by G. H. Guttridge, of the University of California, whose paper was read in his absence by Professor J. J. Van Nostrand. The most interesting illustration which Professor Davidson gave concerned the methods used by such men as Samuel Adams, William Livingston, William Henry Drayton, and Thomas Paine to discredit Lord North's

conciliatory measures announced in April, 1778. These writers, like their successors during the World War, appear to have been more concerned with the end they desired to reach than with the truth of what they alleged. Facts were distorted and rumors propagated. According to Professor Guttridge the main reason why the Whig opposition was ineffective was the great variety of independent men and opinions that made up the opposition. Even leaders like Chatham and the Rockinghams would not work together since they distrusted one another.

Much was said at the meeting of the late Professor Turner. At the dinner of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association and of the Agricultural History Society there was read an illuminating sketch and appreciation of his "Traits and Contributions", written by Professor Ulrich B. Phillips, who was unfortunately detained from the meeting. It was interesting to be thus admitted to the intimacies of Turner's graduate classes. A session was given to the discussion of Turner's chief thesis, the discussion being opened by Frederic L. Paxson, of the University of California, with a paper entitled *A Generation of the Frontier Hypothesis, 1893-1932*. Of Turner's four main positions Professor Paxson thought that the theory of the influence of the frontier upon democracy should be restudied in comparison with the history of nineteenth century democracies which approached the same goal by different routes. Professor Paxson said that Turner's conclusions in regard to the influence of the frontier upon nationalization were impregnable. Another feature of the process was the opportunity which each new region had, as it came to adolescence, to look over the common stock of institutions and remodel them to suit its needs. The discussion was further carried on by C. H. Ambler, of West Virginia University, whose paper was read in his absence, and by B. F. Wright, of Harvard University. At the joint dinner already mentioned Professor L. B. Schmidt, of Iowa State College, discussed another phase of the frontier under the title of *The Prairies and Plains of our Times*.

Three subjects belonging to Spanish-American history were considered besides that touched in Professor Rippey's paper. The relations of church and state were brought out in the treatment of Archbishop Juan de Zumarraga, First Archbishop in the Western Hemisphere, by Benjamin Webb Wheeler, of the University of Michigan. Zumarraga, a Franciscan friar, came to Mexico in 1528 and had a hand, therefore, in the coördination of civil and ecclesiastical government. According to Dr. Wheeler he was an aggressive spirit, but his wrath was found invariably on the side of justice, in defense of the crown, and of the welfare

of the natives. This paper was read in the joint session of the Association and of the Society of Church History. The other two papers belong to a later age. Roy F. Nichols, of the University of Pennsylvania, described the First United States Consuls and Trade Relations with the Spanish-American Empire, beginning with the delicate situation which arose soon after the Northern colonies declared their independence. Spain, Professor Nichols pointed out, was in principle as determined to exclude the United States from trade with her colonies as she was the older states of Europe, but during her wars with Great Britain she was obliged to resort to the United States for necessary supplies. This gave American traders a taste for profits from Hispanic colonial business, and appetite grew with eating. In a third paper, P. A. Martin, of Stanford University, strove to do belated justice to the memory of Artigas, the Founder of Uruguayan Nationality, and to give him a more assured position with Bolívar, San Martín, Miranda, and other liberators of Spanish America.

The problem of instruction, the assembly of material, and the publication of documents were discussed at the meeting. At a joint session with the National Council for Social Studies the chairman of the Commission on Social Studies, Professor A. C. Krey, presented a paper explaining what he entitled *Our Experience with the Use of the New-Type Test in the Investigation of the Social Studies in the Schools*. George M. Wrong, professor emeritus in the University of Toronto, speaking of *The Historian's Duty to Society*, noted the waning influence of the historians, partly because they tended to write for the expert rather than for the wide public, as in Macaulay's day.

The problems of graduate instruction provoked a lively discussion. The writers of the two leading papers, Guy Stanton Ford, of the University of Minnesota, and Evarts B. Greene, of Columbia University, were unhappily detained from being present, but their papers were read. Professor Ford characterized the Students while Professor Greene dealt with Instruction. Utilizing the conclusions of a report made by Professor J. P. Baxter's committee for the Social Science Research Council, and drawing upon his own wide experience, Professor Ford gave a composite photograph of the graduate student. The lines which he drew brought into clear view the elements of the present disconcerting situation. Professor Greene distinguished between the two classes of graduate students, the candidates for the master's degree and those who were ready to go forward to the doctorate. He dealt especially with the ways of selecting, guiding, and stimulating the latter. He deprecated the ten-

dency to dissertations unduly long and cumbrous in style, urging more attention to the problem of presentation. In the discussion that followed Dr. Conyers Read emphasized the right of those students who expect to take only the master's degree and to become teachers, to more attention than they now receive, if for nothing else because they furnish most of the income of the graduate schools. He also deprecated the tendency to "regiment" able young scholars, who would develop best only if they enjoyed more freedom and felt greater responsibility. Professor Baxter, author of the report already referred to, also took part in the discussion.

In the section on the Public Archives, Thomas P. Martin, of the Library of Congress, described the National Archives building which is now rising above its foundations in Washington. Dr. Martin's explanations of the plan made his hearers all the more eager for the day nearly two years distant when the completed building may be open to scholars. A paper on Archival Legislation was read by George S. Godard, of the Connecticut State Library. A. G. Doughty, of the Public Archives, Ottawa, described the Public Archives of Canada, which members of the Association were invited to visit after the close of the meeting.

One of the most practical discussions took place in the Conference of State and Local Historical Societies. It was opened by a paper, by Robert C. Binkley, of Western Reserve University, on Methods of Reproducing Research Materials. Among others who took part were Solon J. Buck, of the Historical Society of Western Pennsylvania, and Julian P. Boyd, of the New York State Historical Association.

The business meeting of the Association was held on December 28. Announcements of unusual importance were made by the secretary, Professor Dexter Perkins. He first congratulated the Association upon the realization of a plan for an Executive Secretariat, which was the aim of a resolution adopted at the Durham meeting three years before. Through the generosity of the Carnegie Corporation the sum of \$12,000 was made available for the fiscal year 1933. This would provide for the administrative expenses of the new office and leave approximately \$1200 for urgent meetings of committees which have often been compelled to transact all business by correspondence. For the new post Dr. Conyers Read has been selected by the Council. His office is to be at 226 South 16th Street, Philadelphia. Dr. Perkins added that the Council felt a "profound and unanimous conviction" of their good fortune in securing the "services of a man who has had at the same time a distinguished career as a scholar and large administrative and business experience". Dr. Perkins also said that the Council was confident that Dr. Read's

"administration of the affairs of the Association will afford ample evidence of the desirability of maintaining an officer of this type for the longer future".¹

In reviewing the work of publication, in charge of committees, the secretary remarked that the Association has had an unusually successful year. He first mentioned the *Guide to Historical Literature*, the usefulness of which was indicated by the size of the year's royalties—\$1663. The committee charged with the administration of the Littleton-Griswold Fund, he explained, will shortly publish the *Records of the Court of Appeals of Maryland*, with an introduction by the Honorable Carroll T. Bond, which is the first of a projected series in the field of legal history. Another volume, the *Records of the Mayoralty Court of New York City*, is ready for publication. A volume of *Records of the Vice-Admiralty Court of Rhode Island*, edited by Dorothy S. Towle, with an introduction by Professor Charles M. Andrews, is also planned. The committee in charge of the Beveridge Fund is making similar progress. Two of the projects now in train deal with aspects of slavery in the South. The secretary also mentioned the three volumes recently published with the aid of the Revolving Fund: John K. Shryock's *Origin and Development of the Cult of Confucius*, reviewed here in January; Nancy Lee Swann's *Pan Chao, Foremost Woman Scholar of China*, reviewed in this number; and Professor Frederick C. Dietz's, *English Public Finance, 1556-1641*. The committee which administers the fund has also approved the publication of a life of Shaftesbury, by Louise Fargo Brown. Only two or three more volumes may be provided for because the fund is becoming exhausted.

The secretary explained that the *Annual Report* for 1930, made up of four volumes, will include, in addition to the proceedings and the *Writings on American History*, a *Guide for the Study of British Caribbean History*, by Professor L. J. Ragatz, and the *Diary of Edward Bates*, edited by Howard K. Beale. The volume by Professor Ragatz has already appeared, as well as the first volume of the 1931 series, contain-

¹ The respective duties of the secretary and of the executive secretary were defined by the Council on November 25 as follows:

"Under the direction of the Council and the Executive Committee, the Executive Secretary shall promote historical scholarship in America through the agencies of the Association. He shall exercise general oversight of the affairs of the Association, supervise the work of its committees, formulate policies for presentation to the Council, execute its policies, and perform all duties not specifically within the sphere of other offices.

The Secretary of the Association shall arrange for meetings of the Council and of the Executive Committee, shall keep and circulate the minutes of the Council and the Executive Committee, and shall represent the Association in its legal capacity."

ing the Proceedings of the Forty-Sixth Annual meeting and the Report of the Committee on Linguistic and National Stocks in the Population of the United States, prepared for the American Council of Learned Societies. The *Report* for 1931 will also contain a *Guide to the Diplomatic History of the United States*, compiled by S. F. Bemis and Miss Grace G. Griffin. The secretary declared that it was the policy of the Council to support adequately the annual publication of the *Writings*, and that through the generosity of the American Council of Learned Societies provision has also been made for a cumulative index of the volumes from 1906 to 1931, with Mr. David M. Matteson to supervise the work.²

Dr. Perkins spoke of the approaching completion of the work of the Commission on Social Studies in the Schools. In addition to Dr. Charles A. Beard's *A Charter for the Social Sciences in the Schools*, a stimulating volume by Professor Henry Johnson entitled *An Introduction to the History of the Social Sciences in Schools* has appeared during the year. Other volumes are in preparation. The report of the Committee on the Planning of Research,³ published in a volume entitled *Historical Scholarship in America: Needs and Opportunities*, reviewed by Professor Evarts B. Greene in the January number of this journal, was also a subject of comment. Attention was called to the effective service rendered by the Public Archives Commission, under the chairmanship of Dr. A. R. Newsome, in compiling and distributing a pamphlet on *The Preservation of Local Archives*.

The secretary presented the problem of the finances of the Association, due in part to the serious shrinkage in membership brought about by the depression. He appealed for coöperation with the committee on membership in the effort to secure new members. He was able to report that in spite of the depression the Association had been able to complete the year with a balanced budget. This was due in part to care exercised in connection with certain large items of expense.

The secretary read a list of members who had died during the past year. A memorial of Frederick Jackson Turner written by Professor

² At the November meeting of the Council it was voted to include in the *Annual Report* for 1932 the addresses made on May 7 at the special meeting in commemoration of the Bicentennial of George Washington.

³ At the November meeting of the Council it was voted to put into effect certain features of the program of the Planning Committee, especially the establishment of a monograph series and the publication periodically of a list of research and editorial projects being actively carried forward by mature scholars in the modern fields. The executive secretary was asked to submit a plan to the Council for such a series, and to prepare the list of projects.

Ulrich B. Phillips was also read. A memorial of John Bach McMaster was presented by Professor F. L. Paxson.

Because of the fear lest motives of economy should retard the publication of the Territorial Papers of the United States, it was voted, upon recommendation of the Council, to petition the Secretary of State to include the continuation of this project in the budget of the Department, and to petition the Congress to make provision for it in the appropriations. The resolution declared that "to discontinue or curtail this work now, would be, not an economy, but a waste". Its completion "will save public money by publishing in a single volume material which would otherwise have to be published by the several states with numerous repetitions and reprintings".

The following awards of prizes were announced: the George Louis Beer Prize, to Oswald Henry Wedel, of the University of Arizona, for his volume entitled *Austro-German Diplomatic Relations, 1908-1914*; the Jusserand Medal, to Howard Mumford Jones, of the University of Michigan, for a volume on *America and French Culture, 1750-1848*.

The officers chosen for 1933 are: Charles A. Beard, president; William E. Dodd, first vice president; M. I. Rostovtzeff, second vice president; Dexter Perkins, secretary; and C. E. McGuire, treasurer. The two new members of the Council are Julian P. Bretz and John D. Hicks.⁴ J. Fred Rippy was elected to fill the vacancy on the Board of Editors caused by the resignation of J. Franklin Jameson. Dr. Jameson's resignation is deeply regretted by the members of the Board, to which he had given such distinguished service for thirty years, most of the time as managing editor. He was also managing editor during the first years of the *Review*.

The next meeting of the Association will be held at the University of Illinois in Urbana.

H. E. B.

⁴ For a list of officers and committees, see *Historical News*. A summary of the treasurer's report appears in the same section.

THE EPIC OF GREATER AMERICA

I.

THE membership of the American Historical Association used to consist almost exclusively of residents of the United States. At the time when it was formed a more exact name for the organization would have been "The United States Historical Association". In recent years the situation has changed. The interests of the body have greatly expanded, and membership has come to include numerous citizens of other American countries, especially of Canada. This widening of the clientele and of the outlook of the Association, together with the holding of the present annual meeting in a Canadian city, would seem to give special fitness to a presidential address dealing with some of the larger aspects of Western Hemisphere history. I have therefore chosen for my subject this evening, *The Epic of Greater America*.

There is need of a broader treatment of American history, to supplement the purely nationalistic presentation to which we are accustomed. European history cannot be learned from books dealing alone with England, or France, or Germany, or Italy, or Russia; nor can American history be adequately presented if confined to Brazil, or Chile, or Mexico, or Canada, or the United States. In my own country the study of thirteen English colonies and the United States in isolation has obscured many of the larger factors in their development, and helped to raise up a nation of chauvinists. Similar distortion has resulted from the teaching and writing of national history in other American countries.

It is time for a change. The increasing importance of inter-American relations makes imperative a better understanding by each of the history and the culture of all. A synthetic view is important not alone for its present day political and commercial implications; it is quite as desirable from the standpoint of correct historiography.¹

For some three hundred years the whole Western Hemisphere was colonial in status. European peoples occupied the country, transplanted their cultures, and adapted themselves to the American scene. Rival

¹ This is so patent that it hardly needs demonstration, and for the future I foresee generally in practice two types of school and college courses in American history: an introductory, synthetic course, embracing the entire Western Hemisphere, analogous to courses in general European history; and courses in the history of the United States or of any other individual nation. In fact, a movement in this direction is well under way.

nations devised systems for exploiting natives and natural resources, and competed for profit and possession. Some of the contestants were eliminated, leaving at the end of the eighteenth century Spain, Portugal, England, and Russia as the chief colonial powers in America.

By this time most of the European colonies in America had grown up; they now asserted their majority. In the half century between 1776 and 1826, practically all of South America and two-thirds of North America became politically independent of Europe, and a score of nations came into being. Eventually, the entire Western Hemisphere, with minor exceptions, has achieved independent nationality. Since separation from Europe these nations alike have been striving on the one hand for national solidarity, political stability, and economic well being, and on the other hand for a satisfactory adjustment of relations with each other and with the rest of the world.

Our national historians, especially in the United States, are prone to write of these broad phases of American history as though they were applicable to one country alone. It is my purpose, by a few bold strokes, to suggest that they are but phases common to most portions of the entire Western Hemisphere; that each local story will have clearer meaning when studied in the light of the others; and that much of what has been written of each national history is but a thread out of a larger strand.

II.

Columbus drew the curtain of the American stage not for Spaniards alone, but for all the European players. This navigator himself seems to have been international, if we may judge from the number of his birth-places. His daring voyage set in motion a race for the Orient in which several nations took part. The Cabots for England reached the shores of northeastern America and returned home with boats smelling of fish. Portuguese adventurers, sailing around Africa, reached India and set up an empire there. Spain, finding the American continent in the way, sought a route through or around the unexpected nuisance. When Magellan found a southern strait for Spain, Verrazano and Cartier for France, and Thorne for England, in imitation, scurried to find a passage further north. Spain set the fashion; the others tried to keep the pace.

Discovery was followed by exploitation and colonization. This, likewise, was not a matter of one nation, but of many. Spain and Portugal led the way. They not only explored and exploited, but they colonized extensively and permanently, and their experience was utilized by later comers. In rapid succession Spain occupied the West Indies, Central

America, Mexico, and all South America except the eastern seaboard. There Brazil is an imposing monument to tiny Portugal. On the mainland Spaniards first settled among the advanced peoples—Mayas, Aztecs, Pueblos, Chibchas, and Incas. These natives were easiest to conquer, were most worth exploiting, and their women made the best cooks. It happened, too, that most areas of advanced primitive culture were regions rich in mineral deposits.

The dominant position of Spain and Portugal in America at the end of the sixteenth century was truly remarkable. No other European power had established a single permanent settlement. Portugal monopolized the Brazilian seaboard. Spain had colonies all the way from Buenos Aires to the Rio Grande. Two-thirds of the Western Hemisphere was then Hispanic, and so it has remained to this day. Spain's exalted position in the New World at the time is illustrated by the enemies who then rose up against her.

The North European countries and France founded no permanent American colonies in the sixteenth century. But all were interested in expansion in similar ways. All took to the sea. All desired a share in the trade of America and the Far East. All tried to break down the monopoly of Spain and Portugal. All made intrusions into the Caribbean and the South American mainland. Britons braved winds and ice floes in an effort to find a Northwest Passage. French sea dogs, Dutch sea dogs, and English sea dogs alike plundered vessels and sacked towns all round the Hispanic American periphery. In defence Spain adopted a commercial fleet system, formed a West Indian armada, and walled her towns on the Caribbean coasts. One of these stanch old defences tourists see today at Cartagena. The fortifications at Havana and St. Augustine had a similar origin. The French intruded into Carolina, Florida, and Brazil; but were effectively expelled from all three. Raleigh attempted to found colonies in Carolina; his Orinoco project sent him to the block. Drake became a millionaire by plundering Spaniards, was crowned Great High by the Indians near San Francisco Bay, and talked of a New Albion in California, long before there was a New England on the Atlantic Coast.

Then a new chapter opened. At the dawn of the seventeenth century North Europe and France began to found permanent colonies in the Caribbean and on the North American mainland. Being late comers, they established themselves in the left over areas. We Saxon Americans to-day may regard our respective countries as Promised Lands, reserved for God's chosen people. But our Saxon ancestors froze and starved in

them primarily because their Hispanic contemporaries were firmly entrenched in the sunnier climes. The late comers made vigorous and long-continued attempts to get a foothold on the whole Atlantic seaboard of South America, but found the way blocked by the Portuguese. This is one of the chapters we forget.²

The favorite colonies of the late comers at the outset were those planted in the Caribbean and Guiana. French, Dutch, English, and Danes settled side by side in the Lesser Antilles, jostled each other, and warred with Spain. They established tropical plantations, trading stations, and buccaneering bases. Till the end of the century, investors' profits were vastly greater here than on the mainland. In 1676 the immigrant population of little Barbados alone was larger than that of all New England.

But the future for these new comers was in the northern continent, with its wide expanse, and its unappropriated back country. Here North Europe and France might hope to achieve something of the renown and a fraction of the wealth which Hispanic Europe had won in Mexico and South America. So France, Holland, Sweden, and England all planted colonies on the northern main.

The details need not detain us. France occupied Acadia, the St. Lawrence Valley, the Alabama and Mississippi basins, and the Canadian prairies. The Swedes and the Dutch settled on the Delaware and the Hudson. England founded subtropical plantations in the South, diversified colonies on the Dutch and Swedish foundations, a coastwise and industrial society in New England, fishing stations in the northeastern waters, and fur trading posts about the shores of Hudson Bay. New England was redolent of fish and brimstone; New France at first was largely a matter of skins and souls—the skins of beaver and the souls of the heathen.

Thus by the end of the seventeenth century European colonies and trading posts formed a fringe like a figure eight clear around the rim of both Americas, from Hudson Bay to the head of the Gulf of California. Middle America was occupied from ocean to ocean, and long salients had been thrust into the interior of the wider continental areas. England alone had not thirteen but nearly thirty colonies in the islands and on the Atlantic seaboard, strung all the way from Guiana to Hudson Bay. As commonly used, the phrase "Original Thirteen" has been very misleading and even pernicious. It does not mean the original colonies at all, but the original states of the American Union.

² England striped the Spanish Main (northern South America) with sea to sea grants which on the map look just as imposing as the more familiar grants in North America.

In these peripheral regions of the two continents the Europeans settled on the land, adjusted themselves to the American environment, devised systems for utilizing natural resources, and transplanted European cultures. Governments were set up, cities founded, religious institutions perpetuated, schools and colleges begun. The universities of Mexico and Lima date from 1551, the Jesuit College of Quebec, ancestor of Laval University, from 1635, Harvard from 1636, William and Mary from 1695, and Yale from 1701. Till near the end of the eighteenth century not Boston, not New York, not Charleston, not Quebec, but Mexico City was the metropolis of the entire Western Hemisphere.

Likenesses in the colonial systems were more striking than differences. All the nations entertained mercantilistic views of colonies—that is to say, they were for the benefit of their own people. Government at first was of the contemporary European pattern, adapted to the American frontier. Nearly every mother country revived in America some vestige of feudalism—Spain tried the *encomienda*, Portugal the *capitania*, Holland the patroon system, England the proprietary grant, France the seignior.

In all tropical areas Negro slavery was common. Native policies varied according to the natives. Indian tribes were everywhere used as buffers against European rivals. Intractable Indians were everywhere driven back or killed off. Sedentary tribes were subdued, preserved, and exploited. In New Spain they were held in *encomienda*; in South Carolina, Brazil, and Dutch America, and in the island colonies generally they were enslaved; in New France and in mainland English America they were utilized in the fur trade. Europeans who came without their women married native girls. Half breeds were numerous in Hispanic and French America, and squawmen were the rule on all French, Dutch, and English frontiers. In the Chickasaw nation in 1792 a fourth of the one thousand heads of Indian families were white men, mainly English. To-day French, English, and Scotch "breeds" are numerous in Manitoba, Labrador, and northern California, and dark cheeked oil queens are popular with white men in Oklahoma.

In one respect the Indian policies of the Latin countries differed essentially from those of the Saxons. The Latins considered the Indian worth civilizing and his soul worth saving. This was due largely to the influence of the Church. So in Brazil, Spanish America, and New France the missionary played a conspicuous rôle. There Franciscans, Dominicans, Augustinians, Jesuits, and other orders labored on every border, and founded Indian missions and Indian schools. The brilliant

Parkman made widely known the heroic work of the Jesuits in New France. Less famous in Saxon circles is the equally heroic and vastly more extensive work of the Jesuits in Spanish and Portuguese America. In colonial Mexico alone there were probably ten times as many Jesuits as in New France.

III.

Beginning on the rim of the continent, these European settlers pushed into the interior, opening new mines, new missions, new plantations, new farms, new trading posts, new administrative jurisdictions. Sometimes the advance to the hinterland was a westward movement, sometimes it was eastward, sometimes southward, sometimes northward. Everywhere contact with frontier environment and native peoples tended to modify the Europeans and their institutions. This was quite as true in the Latin as in the Saxon colonies.

Colonial expansion involved international rivalry. This, too, embraced the entire hemisphere. In Saxon America the story of the "struggle for the continent" has usually been told as though it all happened north of the Gulf of Mexico. But this is just another provincialism of ours. The southern continent was the scene of international conflicts quite as colorful and fully as significant as those in the north.

Minor rivalries occurred in Guiana, where France, Holland, and England exploited the region side by side. England for a century tried without success to break into the Spanish Main, and called into being the viceroyalty of New Granada. Into Portuguese America the French and Dutch intruded with great vigor and dogged tenacity.

But the major contest for territory in the austral continent was between Brazil and her Spanish neighbors to the west and south. Here an empire equal in area to the Mississippi Valley was at stake. By papal grant and royal treaty Portugal was restricted to a narrow strip on the Atlantic shore. So said the documents. But this delimitation made little difference in fact. Snapping their fingers at decrees and treaties, hardy Brazilians pushed their frontiers rapidly west, founded Portuguese settlements in the interior, and plundered Spanish outposts on the Paraguay border. The Brazilian drive toward the Andes strongly resembles the westward movement in the United States and Canada.

Spain contested these inroads. In resisting them the Jesuits played a dramatic part. Their Paraguay missions became a buffer province to restrain the aggressive Portuguese. From middle Paraguay they extended their reductions above the great falls of the Paraná. There for

twenty years they prospered, and then the Portuguese hammer fell upon them. Within three years thousands of mission Indians were carried off as slaves to Brazil. With the remainder—twelve thousand neophytes—Father Montoya and his associates fled helter-skelter in river craft five hundred miles down the stream, skirting through tropical forests the ninety miles of falls and rapids that broke navigation. This stirring episode antedated by more than a hundred and twenty years the Acadian expulsion which it somewhat resembled, and it determined the fate of a territory vastly greater in size. Striking new root in the south, the Jesuits defended that border for another century, sometimes by open warfare. The left bank of the lower Plata was another scene of long continued give and take. Brazil edged south at her neighbor's expense, but Spain managed to hold the region that became the Republic of Uruguay. The middle eighteenth century saw the border contest come to a head. With English backing, Portugal had the advantage. In 1750 by treaty Brazil was given a boundary much like that of to-day. Thus the Line of Demarcation, fixed in the time of Columbus and Cabral, was sadly bent, and Brazil came to occupy nearly half of South America.

There was another chapter in this story. To restrain the Portuguese from further encroachments and to keep out the threatening English, who had now occupied the Falkland Islands, Spain established the viceroyalty of La Plata, with its capital at Buenos Aires. This was one of the significant American events of 1776. It did much to determine the destiny of the southern continent.

The scene now shifts to the top of the map. Here again the story has been distorted through a provincial view of history. The contest for North America is usually represented as falling between 1689 and 1763, confined chiefly to the valleys of the Ohio and the St. Lawrence, and ending on the Plains of Abraham. But this is far too restricted a view. The story neither began on the Ohio nor ended at Quebec.

In eastern North America territorial rivalry began with the first intrusions of other Europeans into Spanish possessions in the Caribbean. In the sixteenth century the intruders merely barked at the Spaniards' heels. In the seventeenth century, long before 1689, important transfers of territory were effected both in the islands and on the mainland. By settlement of unoccupied islands, England, France, and Holland absorbed many regions stubbornly claimed but neglected by Spain. England conquered Jamaica, and the French took western Haiti. On the mainland, both Virginia and South Carolina were settled by England in the face of Spanish resistance; Swedes on the Delaware and Dutch on

the Hudson soon found themselves in the maw of the British empire. For decades the buccaneers ravaged Spain's Caribbean shores. Jamaica was the focus; Seitz has given us a telling refrain:

Ho! Henry Morgan sails today
To harry the Spanish Main,
With a pretty bill for the Dons to pay
Ere he comes back again.

For this harrying Morgan, like Drake, was knighted.

Then followed the more militant rivalry which Parkman has so brilliantly depicted as the *Half Century of Conflict*. It was a death grip of England not with France alone but with both France and Spain for eastern North America. On the American mainland fur trade and Indian alliances played a significant rôle. In the Caribbean and Georgia the Anglo-Spanish contest still raged. Not only Louisbourg and Quebec, but also Cartagena, Porto Bello, Havana, and St. Augustine, were targets for English cannon.

The long struggle was marked by five European wars. In each of them nearly all international frontiers were war zones—the Caribbean, the Spanish Main, the Florida-Georgia border, Acadia, Hudson Bay. In the contest Carolinians duplicated on a smaller scale in Georgia and Florida the savage Portuguese raids on the Spanish missions of Paraguay. In one campaign an ex-governor of South Carolina destroyed thirteen Spanish missions, burned Fathers Parga and Miranda at the stake, and carried off more than a thousand mission Indians. Bit by bit England shaved off both borderlands. France yielded her claims to Hudson Bay, Newfoundland, and Acadia; Oglethorpe's intruding colony broke Spain's hold on Georgia. But "Old Grog" Vernon's disaster in the War of Jenkins's Ear checked English designs on the Spanish Main. There Spain remained intact, for yellow fever was a faithful ally of the Dons. Incidentally, through Washington's brother, who served in the Cartagena campaign, this war gave the United States a name for its national shrine, Mt. Vernon.

The final clash with France in this chapter of history came when English settlers threatened the French hold on the Ohio Valley. The classic story needs no repetition here. Leaden plates and a line of posts signaled French determination to hold on. France was encouraged by four years of success; the tide turned when Pitt took the helm for England. With Wolfe's victory on the Plains of Abraham, French rule in mainland North America ended.

But the close of French rule did not remove the French people. Here historians often forget. The French settlers remained, continued to be pathfinders in the West, and their prolific descendants to-day constitute a third of Canada's population. Yankee institutions have edged across the line into British North America. As an offset, French Canadians have pushed south and contributed greatly to the economic life of New England.

The end was not yet. The contest for the continent did not close with the Portuguese drive for the Andes, with the absorption of Spain's Caribbean islands, nor with England's victory at Quebec. Western North America was similarly involved. International rivalry was quite as much a feature of western as of eastern America, even in colonial days, and its story cannot properly be separated from the other. The stage for the contest for the continent was as wide as the hemisphere and its adjacent seas. It was international rivalry that brought into existence as organized communities nearly all the Spanish borderland areas of the Southwest and the Pacific Coast. These stirring episodes, if treated at all, have been considered only as local history, but they are a part of the general theme. They are no more local history than is the struggle for the St. Lawrence and the Mississippi Valley.

On her northern borderland Spain's expansion was largely defensive. The French intruded into Carolina and Georgia, Menéndez expelled them, and founded Florida. Into Texas Spain was forced by a later French intrusion. La Salle founded his short-lived colony on the Gulf as a base for seizing the mines of Mexico, not primarily, as Parkman says, to hold back the English. Spain, roused to action, planted temporary settlements in the Piney Woods of eastern Texas. Iberville founded Louisiana, split Spain's Gulf possessions in two, and France again threatened the western country. But Spain came back. By a counter stroke she now permanently settled Texas. In the course of the contest the Marqués de Aguayo marched a thousand miles, at the head of cavalry raised at his own expense, restored Spain's posts beyond the Trinity, and returned to the Rio Grande on foot, through loss of nearly five thousand horses in a blizzard. Aguayo saved Texas for Spain and made Napoleon's pretension and Jefferson's claim to the province as a part of Louisiana an historical joke. During the same international episode in which Aguayo recovered Texas for Spain, the French advance up the Platte River was met by a Spanish gesture from Santa Fe toward occupying the region which is now eastern Colorado.

Louisiana tells a similar story. The Seven Years' War gave North

America a new map west of the Mississippi as well as east of it. At the end of the struggle Spain found herself in possession of half of the former patrimony of France, and frowning at England across the Father of Waters. Acquired by Carlos III. in the stress of conflict, Louisiana was occupied and developed by Spain primarily as a buffer province to hold back first the English and then the Anglo-Americans.

Upper California was likewise a child of international rivalry. Jesuit missionaries had carried the Spanish frontier into Arizona and Lower California. There it stood. Then the Russian Bear threatened. Bering explored the North Pacific and Russians planted posts in Alaska. So Spain moved up the map once more. Portolá and Serra planted garrisons and missions at San Diego and Monterey. A few days before the Declaration of Independence was proclaimed in Philadelphia, San Francisco was founded on the Pacific Coast. It was planted as an outpost to hold the northwestern border of Spain's vast empire, a realm which extended from the Strait of Magellan to the Golden Gate. Though less a matter of bullets, the founding of San Francisco was as much a part of world history as was Wolfe's victory at Quebec. It was another of the significant events of 1776.

IV.

Then came the American Revolution. This too was by no means a local matter. It lasted half a century—from 1776 to 1826—and it witnessed the political separation of most of America from Europe. The event was perhaps inevitable. Spain, Portugal, and England had founded vigorous colonies. They grew up and asserted their majority. The revolutions were the surest signs that the mother countries had succeeded. Thirteen of the English colonies led the way; Spanish and Portuguese America followed. Throwing off their status as wards, English, Spanish, and Portuguese colonists set themselves up as American nations. Viewed thus broadly the American Revolution takes on larger significance.

Of the revolt of the Thirteen English colonies little need be said before this audience. The causes were inherent in the situation. Beginning as a struggle for redress of grievances, it quickly became a war for independence. Soon the contest became international, a fact which determined the outcome. France, Spain, and Holland joined the colonial cause against England. Spain drove the British soldiery from the lower Mississippi and recovered the Floridas. In the final victory the French navy played a decisive part. The treaty of peace was a shock to

European monarchs. It recognized not only a Western Hemisphere nation, but a nation with a democratic form of government. Through hostility to England the rest of Europe had contributed toward the ultimate loss of all colonial America and toward the undermining of the monarchical system.

The independence of the United States was not fully assured by the surrender at Yorktown. For the next third of a century European interests in the Mississippi Valley were a menace to the continued independence and the growth of the new republic. The shadow of Europe lay deep over the West. The infant nation was not born a giant, and many persons of prominence thought it would fail. European powers looked on with interest. If the young upstart ceased to exist, they would be on hand to share the estate; if it survived, they would check its growth and dominate its fortunes. The danger was averted only by the jealousy and the long conflict among the Europeans themselves, and by the vigor of American growth. Spain threatened the Southwest. England occupied an analogous position north of the Ohio. France was more dangerous than either. She hoped to dominate the Ohio Valley, or even to separate it from the United States. In this she failed, but by browbeating Spain, Napoleon regained Louisiana. Then, suddenly, his colonial plans having changed, he sold it to the United States for a song. The shadow of France in the West was dispelled.

The revolt of thirteen of the thirty British colonies laid the foundations not of one but of two English speaking nations in North America. One was the United States; the other was the Dominion of Canada. Before 1776 Canada was mainly French in race stock. The settlers who now arrived made up the first large English speaking element in the country. In the revolt of the colonies the people were far from unanimous. Only thirteen of the provinces joined, though appeals were made to all. The Maritime Provinces, Quebec, the two Floridas, and the island colonies, all stood by the mother country. Even in the thirteen a third of the people were opposed to the revolution.

Under harsh treatment by the separatists, thousands of these Loyalists emigrated during and after the war. Going to Halifax became a well recognized pursuit. Some settled in the old Maritime Provinces, and others in newly formed New Brunswick. Still others flocked to Upper Canada—the Ontario of to-day. So British Canada was largely American in origin. These United Empire Loyalists, founders of this city,³ and a multitude of others, were Canada's Pilgrim Fathers. It was they

³ Toronto, where this address was delivered.

who did the most to shape the history of the vast domain north of the United States. The small seed of empire which they planted beside the French colony has grown to be the great Dominion of Canada.

Two American nations had been founded. But the revolution had only started. At the end of the eighteenth century only a small patch on the American map had won its independence from Europe. Portugal still ruled Brazil, and Spain's power was intact all the way from Patagonia to the borders of Oregon. But the revolution went on.

A third of a century behind the English colonies those of Spain and Portugal rose in revolt. In the two cases there were similarities and contrasts. The causes were in many respects alike. In both movements independence was achieved through outside aid. The area involved in Hispanic was ten times that in English America, and the population several times larger. In Hispanic America there were vastly greater obstacles to united action than in English America. Mountains and distance gave more effective isolation. As a consequence there were separate revolutionary movements in the different areas, and several nations resulted.

External influences played a prominent part in bringing the revolution about. England and France, trade rivals of Spain, plotted the liberation of her colonies. Subversive French philosophy penetrated Spanish America in spite of all efforts to keep it out. Young Creoles were educated in Europe. English and American contact through smuggling spread liberal ideas. The revolt of the English colonies, the French Revolution, and the independence of Santo Domingo furnished examples. Napoleon started the ball a'rolling by seating his brother Joseph on the throne of Spain. Spanish American resistance to the usurper soon changed into a war for separation.

Independence came to Brazil without bloodshed. Here as in Spanish America, Napoleon set things in motion. When he threatened to depose the Braganzas in Portugal, John, Prince Regent, fled with his court to Brazil. By his liberal policy he stirred new life in the quiescent colony. Brazil became a kingdom, John returned to Portugal and left his son Pedro as regent. Brazil and Portugal now grew apart. Ordered home, Pedro refused, raised the *Grito de Ypiranga*, declared for independence, and became emperor (1822).

The wars of independence in Spanish South America were an imposing military drama. Miranda the Precursor led the way in Venezuela. Bolívar the Liberator assumed his mantle. For fifteen years this brilliant figure moved back and forth across the continent, setting up

republics, defeated here, winning victories there. Then for a time the revolution was nearly stamped out. But Bolívar had a way of coming back. Aided by British volunteers—veterans released after Napoleon's fall—he crossed the Andes where they are thirteen thousand feet high, routed the royalists, and completed the revolution in the North. This Washington of South America well merited his title of *El Libertador*. In the North the dominating figure of Bolívar gave unity to the war. In the South there was less cohesion, but the cause prevailed. By 1816 the Argentine was practically free. Dr. Francia expelled the royalists and set up a republic in Paraguay. In the Banda Oriental Artigas, the picturesque Gaucho chieftain, laid the foundations of Uruguayan nationality. The rebel forces of the North and the South now closed in on Peru, the last royalist stronghold. San Martín, greatest soldier of the South, forged a new army at Mendoza, made a stupendous march over the Andes where they are twelve thousand feet high, and completed the revolution in Chile. Then, with fresh forces, carried north in a fleet commanded by a British admiral, he defeated the royalists at Lima, and turned his army over to the Liberator. Bolívar ascended the Andes, created the Republic of Bolivia, and ended the war in Spanish South America. Bolivia commemorates his name.

Simultaneously with these epic events North America ended the rule of Spain. Hidalgo rang the Liberty Bell and sounded the *Grito de Dolores*. Mexican school boys still bless him because he raised the cry precisely at midnight, for in order to be sure to celebrate the right day, both the fifteenth and the sixteenth of September are national holidays. The Philadelphia bell ringer was not so considerate. Hidalgo raised an armed mob, defeated the royalists, and seized government stores. Routed at Guadalajara, he fled north, was captured, and executed at Chihuahua. Rayón rose and fell. Then emerged Morelos, mule driver priest, the chief military figure in the war. His astounding victories were followed by a declaration of independence.

The revolt had spread like a flash to the northern provinces of New Spain, where it was given special character by the proximity of the United States. It must be remembered that at this time the Floridas, Texas, all the Southwest, and California were still parts of Spain. Occurrences there which in the nationalistic mold have been regarded as local events, in this larger perspective are seen to be important phases of the history of the New World.

The people of the United States favored the Mexican revolution. They had recently fought one themselves, and were flattered by the

imitation. They were interested in the spread of democracy, in Mexican commerce, and in Mexican land. Sam Houston of Tennessee, long before he became famous in Texas, offered to join the revolutionary cause there in return for real estate. There were boundary disputes between the United States and Spain, and now was a good time to settle them. So Mexico found many a helping hand. President Madison encouraged a revolution in West Florida, but when a republic was erected there he seized the district to keep order and to forestall England, for the War of 1812 was now in progress. In East Florida Madison fostered another short-lived revolt, with a similar purpose in view. Carolinians and Georgians ravaged the province but were expelled. Texas was "liberated" by a volunteer army raised in the United States, but was reconquered by Spain.

Meanwhile in Mexico the revolutionary congress fled from place to place, much as the Continental Congress had done before it. Heroic Morelós was captured and executed. But the revolt, now stamped out in the center, was kept alive on the frontiers. Here Western Hemisphere history was being made. Mina revived the spark by a raid from Texas. Andrew Jackson embarrassed Spain by invading East Florida, for Bahama Britons threatened. Uncle Sam took advantage of Spain's predicament to acquire title to both Floridas, which he already held by military force,⁴ and to negotiate the boundary line of 1819. General Long led new expeditions from the United States into Texas, and set up a temporary republic. Galveston Island continued to be a base for proclamations and revolutionary raids. Bouchard, by an expedition that sailed all the way from Argentina, tried in vain to arouse contented California. On the far southern border of Mexico Guerrero kept up a guerrilla warfare.

Iturbide now brought the struggle to a climax. Sent by royalists to crush Guerrero, he joined hands with the rebel instead, and ended the rule of Spain. Then, making himself emperor, he carried the war of liberation into Central America. He in turn was soon overthrown, and the republic of Mexico was established, though shorn of the Floridas, eastern Texas, and Central America. The American Revolution had been fought and won. It did not end at Yorktown.

It was these events that called forth the Monroe Doctrine and that make it intelligible. European monarchs looked askance at the large crop of American republics. After the overthrow of Napoleon, that

⁴ Brazil similarly seized Uruguay during the revolutionary disturbances, but relinquished it a few years later.

mutual insurance society at one stage called the Holy Alliance was formed to restore legitimate sovereigns. It essayed this task in Spain and in Italy, and then discussed the reconquest of Spanish America. Just then Russia took an aggressive position regarding Northwestern America. The czar declared the North Pacific a closed sea. In reply Monroe issued his famous dictum, denouncing further colonization of America by Europe and all plans to restore monarchy here. Russia now withdrew all claims below $54^{\circ} 40'$ —hence the phrase later used as a campaign slogan—and the allies gave up their plans to restore Spanish rule in America. England's precise part in this episode is still a subject of debate.

In most of the new Hispanic states independence was followed by disorder—like the “Critical Period” in the history of the United States, or like Tennessee when Sevier and Tipton were ludicrously chasing each other around the map. The turbulence was due to political inexperience, social antipathies, geographical barriers, and sectional or personal ambitions. But the struggle was not meaningless chaos. In the long period of strife, cleavage in politics usually centered on fundamental issues: centralism versus federalism; civilian rule versus militarism; privilege versus opportunity.

Disorder led to one man power. Mysterious Francia in Paraguay, bloody Rosas in Argentina, and venal Santa Anna in Mexico are examples of *caudillos* or military chiefs who thus became dictators. The struggle for nationality in Spanish America during the first half century after independence is typified by the fortunes of Mexico. There disorder and inexperience led not only to dictatorship but also to foreign invasion and loss of territory. Mexico's career was given special character, and made more difficult, by proximity to the “Colossus of the North”. Canada had a similar experience with her neighbor.

V.

Saxon America again occupied the center of the Western Hemisphere stage. All of Europe and America anxiously watched the drama. By the time the Hispanic states were established their territorial limits were fairly well fixed except on the north. The Spanish republics fitted into the *audiencia* districts of the old viceroyalties, whose outlines were already determined. Since independence there have been many boundary disputes in Hispanic America, Brazil has taken good-sized bites out of her neighbors' domain, but there have been few major transfers of territory.

Quite different was the case in Saxon America. When independence came to the United States and the Loyalists founded British Canada, most of North America above Mexico was still in the raw. Spain's holdings north of the Rio Grande were mainly defensive and missionary outposts. Beyond these, the major portion of the continent was Indian country, still in the fur trade stage. It lay in the pathway of several expanding peoples. It was an outpost of four empires, each of which contributed its pioneers. It was their land of opportunity, and it was anybody's prize. The ultimate domains of the three principal North American nations were still to be hammered out. The shaping of them was a primary interest of the Hemisphere for the next half century. Western North America was still largely a matter of frontiersmen and international politics. The spoils to be divided were the Spanish borderlands and the open spaces of the Great West and Northwest. It was an affair of all North America, not of any single nation. The outcome no one could predict, patriotic historians to the contrary notwithstanding.

In this elemental process of shaping national zones the two English speaking peoples moved westward side by side. In each there was a succession of frontier types. In both cases the vanguard were the fur men. The United States frontier nosed its way like a wedge between British America on the right flank and Spanish America on the left. Besides being the crux of international relations, both border zones were areas of cultural influence, quite as significant as that of the isolated frontier.

Into the Pacific Northwest, British and American fur men raced across the continent. These "splendid wayfarers" profited by the commerce in skins, marked out spheres of influence for their respective nations, prepared the way for fixing boundaries, and were harbingers of permanent civilization. The British traders moved west from two eastern bases, and represented principally two great organizations. The Hudson's Bay Company at first had held close to eastern shores. In the mid-eighteenth century it was forced inland by French rivalry in the back country and by criticism at home.⁵ Then it found a rival in the St. Lawrence Valley. Scotch settlers entered the fur trade at Montreal, formed the Northwest Company, and pushed boldly west. Mackenzie, McGillivray, McDougal, and all the rest—they have been called the "Clan of the Macks". South of the Great Lakes they competed with

⁵ It is interesting to note in passing that Samuel Hearne for the Hudson's Bay Company explored the copper mine country at the very same time that Daniel Boone reached the Mississippi. The two west moving columns were neck and neck.

American traders, and beyond the Mississippi they invaded the territory of Spain. In the Minnesota country and on the Missouri the Americans found them intrenched in the Louisiana Purchase. In the Canadian prairies the Nor'westers engaged in a life and death struggle with the Hudson's Bay Company. Rival posts were planted on every important stream. Price wars and bloodshed ensued, and tribal relations were sadly upset. But important explorations resulted; the Rocky Mountains were soon reached, and Mackenzie descended his fluvial namesake to the Arctic Ocean.

The next step was across the northern Rockies. Mackenzie again led the way and rivals followed. Spaniards from St. Louis ascended the Missouri, and Lewis and Clark crossed the mountains to the Lower Columbia. For the Nor'westers Fraser established posts in Fraser River Valley and David Thompson got a toe-hold on the upper Columbia in regions which are now British Columbia, Idaho, and Montana. Fraser's New Caledonia posts were the first permanent English speaking settlements on the Pacific Coast of America. Close behind the Nor'westers went Astor's men, and when Thompson descended the Columbia to its mouth he found Astoria established there. For the moment he was forestalled.

Then the American fur men had a setback. To them the War of 1812 was disastrous all along the border from Detroit to Astoria. Indians around the Lakes generally joined the British, and American traders fell back. Manuel Lisa and his associates retreated down the Missouri. Astoria was sold to the Nor'westers to prevent its capture by a British war vessel.

Canadian fur men were now confident. Why not restore the good old boundary of the Quebec Act, and extend it west? Urged by the traders, the British peace commissioners at Ghent proposed just this, demanding the cession of most of the country north of the Ohio, Missouri, and Platte rivers. The Oregon country was already in their hands. It would have been a pretty slice of territory. But quite the contrary happened, and the Canadians in turn got a setback. By the treaty British fur men were excluded from the United States, American traders replaced them around the Lakes, and the boundary was run along the forty-ninth parallel to the Rockies. Another great chapter in the story of the map was finished. As the Americans saw it, the shadow of Britain in the Upper Mississippi Valley had been removed. Canadians express it differently.

West of the Rockies the Canadians were still far ahead. Spain traded

her rights to Oregon for those to Texas and withdrew south to 42° . Then Mexico took Spain's place. England and the United States arranged for joint occupation of the Oregon country—a seven hundred mile stretch from California to $54^{\circ} 40'$. In that vast region the legal rights of the two nations were now equal. But *de facto* the advantage was clearly with the British, for the Astorians had sold out, and left the British in control. Nor'westers now consolidated with the Hudson's Bay Company, a western capital was placed at Ft. Vancouver,⁶ and Dr. McLoughlin took charge. For nearly two decades now this white haired dictator controlled most of the fur business of the Pacific Northwest, all the way from San Francisco to Alaska and eastward to the Rockies. His counterpart at Sitka was Baránof. These two fur barons were the monarchs of all Northwest America.

The American fur men had better luck in Mexico. Forestalled by the British traders in the Oregon country, they pushed southwest and west across the Great Valley and into the Rockies. Everywhere west of Louisiana and south of 42° they were intruders on Mexican soil. Most of our American explorer heroes of the Far West, from Smith to Frémont, were in reality belated explorers of a foreign country. For a quarter century after 1820 these trespassers roamed the western wilds, profiting by the fur trade, and "discovering" the mountain passes—which Spaniards had discovered long before. Into the Great Basin they entered simultaneously by way of the Platte River and the Rio Grande.

These mountain men were exemplars of manifest destiny. They wandered through Mexican lands, sometimes with but more generally without permission, unconscious of their character as unwelcome intruders, or arrogantly resentful of dark skinned people who spoke a foreign tongue and disputed the "inalienable right" of Americans to do as they pleased. Most of the fur gatherers were restless adventure lovers—rolling stones who gathered no moss, nor can we say that they got a very fine polish in the process of rolling. But they were endowed with that physical energy, that fondness for a life of half savagery, and that detachment from locality which fitted them for the great task which Titanic nature had set for some one.

Below the impresario Americans, who as partners managed large affairs, and beside the rank and file of reckless Americans who went as hired men or free trappers, there were the more numerous French *engagés*. These hardy souls, half European, half Indian, still formed the backbone of the western fur trade both in Canada and the United States.

⁶ Across the river from the site of the present city of Portland.

One such has given his name to Provo, another to Laramie, another to Pierre's Hole. Western Canada is similarly peppered with place-names commemorating the deeds of the French. These half-breeds did the humbler tasks of rowing, packing, skin curing, and camp duty. They served as guides into the wilderness, for their ancestors for generations had led the van, whether under English, French, Spanish, or American rule. Just as the American cowboy learned his trade from the Spanish *vaquero*, so the American fur trader borrowed his methods and his lingo from the French *métis*. *Bourgeois*, the word for manager, in the mouth of the mountain men became *bushwa*, for boss.

These American fur men were by no means monarchs of all they surveyed. In the southern Rockies and in the Great Basin they found Mexican traders everywhere ahead of them. They tried to push into jointly owned Oregon, but found their way blocked by the Hudson's Bay Company, safely intrenched in Snake River Valley. Climbing the Sierras, they descended the western slopes into California. There, in the Sacramento Valley, they found the streams trapped by Russians from Ft. Ross and by McLoughlin's brigades from Ft. Vancouver. A Hudson's Bay settlement encountered by the Americans in the valley, and for obvious reasons called by them French Camp, is still in existence near Stockton and still bears the same name.

The Americans had been beaten, not only to the Pacific Northwest, but to northern California as well. Both they and the men of H. B. C. were unwelcome trespassers on the soil of Mexico. The international contest was not yet over. The map was not yet made. The ultimate fate of the Far West was still in doubt. Spain was out, Russia had backed up to 54° 40', but England, the United States, and Mexico still had their stake. When the Republic of Texas was created, it, too, developed ambitions for a frontage on the Pacific.

The uncertainty was removed by the settler. Fur men and Santa Fe trader were followed into the alluring regions by land hungry Americans. All that had gone before, all the colonial and international drama of the centuries, was the background into which fitted the relentless westward movement of the farmer frontier.

By 1820 the United States had achieved stability and confirmed its independence from Europe. The next two decades witnessed the rise of the great Middle West and the formation of a western democracy. It was a militant democracy, fully imbued with belief in manifest destiny. American institutions must embrace and regenerate the entire Western Hemisphere. A concrete application was to be found in the rich lands

of Mexico and the disputed Oregon country, just beyond. So the shadow of Europe in the West now gave way to the shadow of the United States in the West—a shadow which all America and several European nations watched with anxiety, for nearly half of the northern continent was still at stake. Impelled by this expansion urge, Anglo-Americans drove a wide salient between Canada and Mexico, checking the expansion of the one, and absorbing half the territory of the other. This madness for conquest has been called by our naughty neighbors “the other side of the Monroe Doctrine”.

Mexico, in spite of her turmoil, likewise felt the impulse of expansion. Settlers poured into her northern provinces at a rate unprecedented under Spain. The vast “Spanish Grants”, as they are erroneously called, in Texas, New Mexico, Colorado, and California, were nearly all made during the Mexican régime. Part of the new settlers were Mexicans; part were foreigners. Spain had colonized Florida and Louisiana with Anglo-Americans. Mexico now made the same political mistake in Texas, New Mexico, and California.

Many factors aroused American interest in the Far West. Boston coast traders, overland fur men, Northwestern missionaries, and official explorers had spied out the land. Interest was stimulated by sectional rivalry, and by fear of England, France, or Russia. Pathfinders beckoned; government tried to follow. By diplomacy, through purchase from Mexico, and through compromise with England it essayed to acquire all the vast region between Louisiana and the Pacific. Mexico did not wish to sell, and England was “stubborn”—so our schoolbooks say. Canning put his heavy foot down on the Columbia, and there he stood; so Uncle Sam resorted to watchful waiting. We thank President Wilson for the phrase, for it precisely fits the case. Wilkes, Ap Jones, Larkin, and Frémont all typify the government’s hope that something would “turn up”.

While government watched, settlers moved in. Invited, Americans colonized Texas, arose in revolt, and sought annexation, alternating this ambition with dreams of possessing “the fine harbor of Monterey”. Covered wagons creaked their way from the Middle West to Oregon; then England and the United States divided the disputed area. Uninvited, and long before the Gold Rush, other covered wagons invaded California, still a part of Mexico; their occupants obtained generous land grants, and then, imitating the Texans, set up the Bear Flag Republic. When something thus turned up, Frémont was on hand. Uninvited, Mormons poured into Utah, also Mexican territory. Uncle

Sam's soldiers and diplomats now supplemented the work of the settlers. Texas was annexed; Mexico went to war, and was forced to yield half of her domain. The purchase of the Gadsden strip and of Alaska completed the story of Saxon growth on the western mainland. The contest for the continent was practically over.

This division of the western seaboard of North America was highly significant. It cut off from Spanish America the remaining borderland areas which had been only partly Hispanized and placed the boundary near the frontier of effective Spanish colonization. It gave both Canada and the United States frontage on the Pacific. It enabled them both to assimilate added millions of Europeans. Built on the national domain, in both countries the West became a powerful nationalizing force. The process of growth kept both nations young with continued frontier experience; it prolonged opportunity for social experimentation, and perpetuated early American and Canadian characteristics.

VI.

On this long colonial and international background the subsequent development of the Western Hemisphere was founded. The nations had come into being. The outline of the map had been essentially completed. The territorial bases for the national system had been laid. The next phase was the filling in of the spaces with people, national unification, and economic growth. Like all the earlier phases, this, too, was not confined to one American nation, but was hemisphere wide.

In this whole process of national growth and unification in the nineteenth century the outstanding factors were boundless natural resources, foreign immigration, foreign capital, and expanding markets. Without these, none of the American nations would have come far on the road which they have traveled. No time is left me for detail. I can only indicate the broad lines. But if you are like my students, I am sure you will gladly forgive me for what I leave out.

The United States first got under way. Here territorial expansion was attended by growing pains. Tariffs, the slavery question, the acquisition of Texas, Oregon, and California aroused sectional jealousies. For thirty years peace between the sections was maintained by compromise. War followed, but the Union was preserved. It was then multiplied in strength by the peopling of the Far West. Wide flung and sprawling, it was welded by the building of transcontinental railroads, the economic reconstruction of the South, and the reorganization of industry on a national scale. In all this, European immigration and

European capital played a decisive part. By the end of the nineteenth century both political and economic nationality had been achieved.

While the United States were gaining solidarity and power, the British provinces to the north were being similarly welded into a great dominion. The War of 1812 stimulated their sense of nationality, and British immigration lessened American influence. By 1850 the provinces had already won responsible government, but they were still detached entities. Like the United States, the Dominion was fashioned out of scraps of territory variously acquired.

Now the tide of federation set strongly in. Union was prompted by community of interests. Obstacles were met in local hostilities and racial suspicion. Federation found able champions and determined opponents. There were Hamiltons and Calhouns. In the Quebec Conference—as significant in Canadian history as the Constitutional Convention in the United States—the Dominion of Canada was born. One by one the older provinces joined. *A mari usque ad mare* became the slogan. Hudson's Bay Company relinquished its vast jurisdiction in the West, Manitoba and British Columbia entered the union, and the Dominion did indeed extend from sea to sea.

The loosely knit federation, like its neighbor a little earlier, was now welded by transcontinental railroads and the development of the West. The American movement to the frontier was duplicated in Canada. European capital furnished the means. European immigrants thronged, Americans flocked across the border, new prairie provinces were formed, Winnipeg and Vancouver became boom towns. New railroads built up still more northerly cities, and mining rushes developed the yet more remote Northwest. Like California, Oregon, and Washington, British Columbia looks out across the Pacific.

The World War stimulated Canadian loyalism on the one hand, and English conciliation on the other. Canada now has full membership in the British Commonwealth. A fine sentiment binds her to the empire, but she is in all essentials an independent nation. From pole to pole American independence from Europe has been achieved.

Hispanic America has a similar tale of national growth to tell. Some of our southern neighbors have been moving rapidly along the same road as that traveled by the Anglo-American nations. The last half century has been remarkable especially for the emergence of the A B C powers—Argentina, Brazil, and Chile.

The essential factors in the recent development of these countries are much the same as those which have operated in Canada and the

United States. Foreign capital and foreign immigration have been decisive. Italians, Spaniards, and Germans have come to the A B C countries by millions to make their homes. Railroads, plantations, stock ranches, nitrate works, mines, and oil wells have been developed by English and German capital. In business matters Uncle Sam has by no means had a monopoly there. Will Rogers, whom all will accept as an authority, wrote from Buenos Aires a few weeks ago, "Englishmen have got this country sewed up tighter than Borah has Idaho". Other indexes of material progress in that far Southland are the great modern cities, such as Santiago, Rio de Janeiro, and Sao Paulo. Cultural progress has followed material prosperity. Buenos Aires, with its nearly three million inhabitants, is the third city in the Western Hemisphere, and one of the great ones of the world. Brazil, with a population of over forty millions, is the second power in America, a title which Argentina probably would contest. When a Brazilian boasted of his country's forty-three millions, an Argentinian retorted, "You must have counted all those who live in the trees".

"The first shall be last!" In the tropics and around the shores of the Caribbean there has been less material progress than in the temperate regions. The areas which were most developed in early colonial days are now most retarded.⁷ Nevertheless, backwardness is only relative, and some of these tropical regions, with their fruit and oil, have recently attracted capital and been developed at a tremendous rate.

Mexico, our nearest Hispanic neighbor, has continued to have its ups and downs. The fall of Maximilian was followed by the rule of one of the remarkable men of all time. Porfirio Díaz, half-breed Zapotec Indian, and soldier hero, became president on the platform of no reelection—and then held office for seven terms in succession. He was a benevolent despot. He gave Mexico what it then most needed—good order and material progress. Foreign capital poured in, railroads were built, mines and oil wells opened. What had happened in the United States, Canada, and Brazil, was duplicated there. Díaz became a much eulogized world figure. Outsiders saw Mexico in a Golden Age.

But prosperity was one-sided. Vast estates were still intact while millions of people needed land. Foreigners and the old aristocracy flourished while peons were still bound to the soil. The kettle of unrest boiled, and the lid blew off. Madero gave the new *Grito*, Díaz fled the country never to return, Madero fell, Huerta was eliminated, Carranza put in power, and the new constitution installed. Socialistic and na-

⁷ This is true of British, Dutch, and French America also.

tionalistic in its aims, fifteen years have been spent putting it into operation. The declared objectives of the social revolution—for it is still going on—are Mexico for Mexicans, rights for the common man, and education for the common people—slogans which sound familiar to Anglo-Americans. In so radical a program vested interests have suffered. In the struggle the Church has been involved. Critics maintain that some of the reforms are more apparent than real; but the same has been said of other countries.

VII.

Progress toward nationality in the Western Hemisphere has been attended by international adjustments. The interrelations of Canada and the United States have always been close, as their development has been in many ways parallel. Loyalists never forget their expulsion from the home hearth, nor the attempted conquest of 1812. Fortunately, as the Canadians say, the Americans were always just exasperating enough to prevent an international marriage, thus preserving Canadian nationality. By 1846 the old boundary questions had been adjusted. The mid-century was sometimes disturbed by annexation talk that was seldom dangerous. The war between the states and Fenian raids caused irritation. Fisheries and the Bering Sea were bones of contention. Blaine enjoyed twisting the British Lion's tail. Trade relations have sometimes been troublesome. But eventually these matters have been amicably settled. All in all, with common boundaries unfortified for more than a century, Canada and the United States, in this world of turmoil, furnish a splendid example of neighborliness.

Of the Hispanic republics the most intimate international contacts have been with each other. Like good Irishmen, whom they greatly resemble, the Latins quarrel among themselves but show solidarity against outsiders who interfere. Bullets often fly. But boundary disputes on many borders have been settled by arbitration, in which Latin America has set an example before the world. With Europe there has been occasional friction, but much more conspicuous has been the peaceful intercourse of commerce, investment, immigration, and cultural contacts.

Hispanic dealings with the United States have generally been closest in the adjacent regions; and by the rest of Latin America, naturally, these dealings have been taken as an index. Early friendship soon cooled. When the United States seized half of Mexico's domain, that country became embittered and other Latins suspicious. In the mid-

century relations with Mexico greatly improved, and the long reign of Díaz was the heyday of American investors south of the Rio Grande. After the fall of "El General", the story was one of frequent intervention. Huerta was eliminated and Carranza elevated largely through Wilson's aid. Villa chasing and "saluting the flag" made Uncle Sam ridiculous. Mexico's new constitution threatened American investments and a decade of irritation followed. But this matter has been adjusted. In recent years the United States has had its most intimate relations with the Isthmus and the Caribbean area. In these regions the United States has exercised extensive supervisory functions. With South America, on the other hand, the tendency is toward recognition of the fullest autonomy. There the Monroe Doctrine is dead. The Southern Continent has grown up.

The essential unity of the Western Hemisphere was revealed by the Great War. Every nation had to answer the question of participation or neutrality. Canada was in from the start; the United States moved more slowly. Until Uncle Sam joined the Allies, all Hispanic America held aloof. Then, of the twenty states to the south, eight joined the Allies, five broke relations with Germany, and seven remained neutral. It is a significant thing that all America, from the north pole to the south pole, was either on the same side of the great struggle or remained neutral. There was emphatic Western Hemisphere solidarity.

The Americas have developed side by side. In the past their relations have been close; in the future they may or may not be closer. In the colonial period Latin greatly outweighed Saxon America. In the nineteenth century the balance tipped decisively in the other direction. But it is swinging back. The importance of Hispanic America as an economic unit and as a political factor is becoming greater from day to day. It is one of the great reservoirs of raw materials. It continues to attract foreign capital and foreign immigration. Saxon America, with its one hundred and forty millions of people, is practically closed to European settlers. Hispanic America, with its hundred millions, is wide open. A German colony of a whole million is right now being planned for the Upper Amazon—equipped with electric cooling plants and everything else up to date. It is entirely possible that within a short time Hispanic will outnumber Saxon America, and with continued immigration its race stock will be more and more largely European. Ever since independence there has been fundamental Western Hemisphere solidarity. Therefore, it is not a matter of indifference to know that European influence in South America to-day far outweighs that of Saxon

America, and that Europe is bending every effort to draw the Southern continent more and more into the European circle and away from its northern neighbors.

VIII.

In this imperfect way I have endeavored to indicate some of the larger historical unities and interrelations of the Americas. Those outlined are only a few out of the many that are patent at every turn. Cultural and intellectual relations are quite as close and fully as important as political, territorial, and economic contacts. What I have said is intended merely as an illustration.

In recent years the range of investigation in Western Hemisphere history has vastly broadened. This is due in no small part to the influence of Jameson's guides to foreign archives; to the work of American and Canadian scholars on British America; of the students of the Caribbean; of the historians of the frontier; of the whole galaxy of Hispanists; of the social, economic, institutional, cultural, and diplomatic historians, the international relationists, and a host of others. Our historical data have not only become greater in amount but much more complex in character. Phases and factors formerly undreamed of have come to light. Many of the new discoveries do not fit into the nationalistic pattern. In the old synthesis their significance is lost. In a larger framework, on the other hand, many things which have seemed obscure and secondary become outstanding and primary.

This applies especially to borderland researches. Brebner studied the institutional relations of New England and the Maritime Provinces of Canada, and concluded that the histories of Canada and the United States should be treated as one. Just as emphatically, those who have studied borderland areas between Saxon and Hispanic America are convinced that the two fields are inextricably linked together. Borderland zones are vital not only in the determination of international relations, but also in the development of culture. In this direction one of the important modifications of the Turner thesis is to be sought. By borderland areas not solely geographical regions are meant; borderline studies of many kinds are similarly fruitful.

It is not merely that a new framework will find a place for special researches that have already been consummated. Quite as important, a larger framework will call for data which we do not possess, and thus suggest a thousand new things to do. A classic example of the influence of a new synthesis is found in the multitude of investigators whom

Turner set to work to fill out his elementary sketch. A report by a recent committee of historians complains that many doctoral thesis subjects in United States history have been cultivated past the point of diminishing returns. A larger synthesis of American history, I am sure, would do much to relieve this rather pathetic situation.⁸ Who has written the history of the introduction of European plants and animals into the Western Hemisphere as a whole, or of the spread of cattle and horse raising from Patagonia to Labrador? Who has written on a Western Hemisphere scale the history of shipbuilding and commerce, mining, Christian missions, Indian policies, slavery and emancipation, constitutional development, arbitration, the effects of the Indian on European cultures, the rise of the common man, art, architecture, literature, or science? Who has tried to state the significance of the frontier in terms of the Americas?

A noted historian has written for us the *Epic of America*. In his title "America" means the United States. We need an Adams to sketch the high lights and the significant developments of the Western Hemisphere as a whole. Perhaps the person who undertakes the task, as a guarantee of objectivity ought to be an inhabitant of the moon. But such a synthesis, done with similar brilliancy, would give us the "Epic of Greater America".

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⁸ Before closing I wish to repeat with emphasis that I do not propose such a synthesis as a substitute for, but as a setting in which to place, any one of our national histories.

THE FORMATION OF THE NEW EAST INDIA COMPANY OF CALONNE¹

THE problem of the Old Régime in France has been much confused for historians by the melodramatic intensity of the Revolution. The genius of Tocqueville and of Taine and the something less than genius of Augustin Cochin and the conspiracy school, not to mention the picaresque appeal of the memoir writers, have imposed upon the present a concept of the Old Régime as a political society existing solely as a foil for the catastrophes and terrors, the achievements and accomplishments of those awful and glorious years after 1789. The miseries of the peasants, the rationalizations of the philosophers, the scandals of high life—these are the steps which in spite of well-known criticism, constitute the approach to the Revolution. Meanwhile, a simple *a posteriori* logic dictates another approach. It was the bourgeois, the capitalist, the entrepreneur who emerged victorious from the mêlée of the Revolution. Crane Brinton has shown us in *The Jacobins* that the bourgeois made the Revolution. The question emerges, major in significance but almost wholly unanswered: What was their political weight and action before 1789?

A part of the answer to that question is to be found in the hitherto untold story of the formation of the new India company.² As it unfolds, it will be apparent that Sieyès's estimate of the third estate as "nothing", however valuable as material for a pamphlet and as the basis of a reputation, was far from even the ambiguous accuracy of a real oracle. Quite probably the oracular abbé did not recognize that aspect of the third estate which we know as "big business"; he was to encounter it in unmistakable form before another decade had passed. It will be seen that even in 1785 "big business" was able to "excite the zeal of too many people attached to the ministries" to permit a practical politician to resist its demands. It will also be seen that the passion for profit liquidated old

¹ Based on research supported by a grant-in-aid of the Social Science Research Council and the University of Wyoming.

² Summaries of the external facts of the company's history, with no comprehension of the forces back of its formation or of the hostility it engendered, will be found in E. Levasseur, *Histoire des Classes Ouvrières et de l'Industrie en France avant 1789*, 2 vols., 2nd ed. (1900-1901); in his *Histoire du Commerce de la France*, vol. I. (1911-1912); and in H. Weber, *La Compagnie Française des Indes* (1904).

political jealousies and regimented rival powers in the service of the London and Paris bankers.

The dissolution of the East India Company in 1769 and the consequent abandonment of the India trade to the efforts of individual merchants was not generally regarded as final or satisfactory. The estates of Brittany in 1770 petitioned for the reestablishment of the company.³ About the same time, the Anglo-French financiers, such as Bourdieu and Chollet, of London, and Jacques Necker, as yet only a prominent member of the Thelusson firm, were negotiating with a view to finding some basis of coöperation between a reconstituted French company and the English East India Company. In 1772, Bourdieu was counting on renewing the negotiations. Although Bourdieu's proposals were not favorably regarded in the ministry,⁴ the political aspects and possibilities of the trade continued to interest the government. The requirement to deliver all India goods at Lorient for sale at the biennial auctions was rigorously maintained in spite of the sustained demand of the other ports and of the deputies of commerce that the returns should be permitted at least to the home ports. In 1771, Trudaine declared that "it was essential to present a national front to foreigners by combining all sales at one time and place".⁵

Many asserted that free trade failed adequately to supply the French market. A group of three retired *juges-consuls* of Lorient declared to Vergennes that attempts of individuals to trade in India had been ruinous to those undertaking it.⁶ Later when the new company was under fire, the administrators argued repeatedly that free trade had been inadequate and that what there was had passed largely into the hands of foreigners, especially at Marseilles, where the practice of lending the names of French firms to foreigners had become habitual. Even a very ardent advocate of freedom of trade, one of the deputies extraordinary sent to Paris to secure the revocation of the monopolistic privilege of the company, was able to present only a very mediocre statistical picture of free trade. His figures showed an average of twenty-one vessels a year

³ Arch. Aff. Étr., Mém. et Doc., Asie, vol. 5.

⁴ Bourdieu to Aiguillon, Nov. 24, 1772, *ibid.*, Corr. Pol., Angleterre, vol. 499. Office memoir of June 16, 1773, unsigned, *ibid.*, vol. 502.

⁵ Arch. Départementales, Charente Inférieure, E 1198. For a demand by the chamber of commerce of Bordeaux in 1775 for "liberté des retours de l'Inde", see the archives of the chamber at Bordeaux, C 4257. The many references to these archives throughout this paper are all derived from the magnificent *Inventaire du Fonds de la Chambre de Commerce de Guienne*, by J. A. Brutails (1893).

⁶ "Considerations sur le commerce de l'Inde et nécessité absolue pour son maintien d'en faire l'exploitation par l'entremise d'une compagnie." (Signed) Godieu, De Montigny de Monplaisir, J.-L. Borne-Bonet, Arch. Aff. Étr., Corr. Pol., Angleterre, vol. 550.

for the entire period, 1769 to 1785, and even for the especially prosperous period just before the American war, 1774 to 1777, an average of only twenty-nine vessels a year.⁷

It must, of course, be borne in mind that the spirit of enterprise was not as general or as adaptable in the eighteenth century as it is in present-day commercial society. The attempts of Castries to interest the business men of the ports in the very great possibilities of the trade of the American states after 1783 or even in the immensely profitable business of supplying the French West Indies were quite without success. When, in 1775, Sartine gave the seaport towns the opportunity to show that they could supply the West Indies and thus avoid a second revision of the cherished *pacte colonial*, the chamber of commerce of Bordeaux publicly appealed to the merchants to do something to meet Sartine's conditions. The appeal seems to have been without result.⁸

- In spite, then, of the attractive profits of the East India trade, ranging from forty to eighty per cent. on each turnover, of from eighteen to twenty-four months,⁹ it is at least possible to believe that private enterprise might fall short of furnishing the French market with supplies of Eastern goods equal to the demand.

The conclusion of the negotiations for peace with Great Britain paved the way for the reorganization of the relations of France with India. The first problem to solve was the serious shortage of Eastern goods resulting from the long continuation of the war. Without waiting to settle the matter of policy, the government intervened directly to meet the apparently serious emergency. By an *arrêt* of February 2, 1783, Grandclos-Meslé, who had been connected with the administration of the old company, was directed to send four *flûtes* to China on the king's account to buy Nanking silks. The operation seems to have been pushed through with great dispatch. Job-hunters and merchants with cloth to sell found themselves too late with their applications to Grandclos-Meslé. The operations in China were completed on January 4, 1784, the first cargoes were reported on May 24, 1784, and, after one postponement, the auction at Lorient was held on August 23, 1784.¹⁰

⁷ *Mémoires Relatifs à la Discussion du Privilège de la Nouvelle Compagnie des Indes* (1787), pp. 18, 27, 29.

⁸ Nussbaum, The French Colonial Arrêt of August 30, 1784, *South Atlantic Quarterly*, XXVII. (1928) 62-78. Arch., Bordeaux, C 4257, May 15, 1776.

⁹ *Mémoires Relatifs à la Discussion du Privilège de la Nouvelle Compagnie des Indes*, *passim*.

¹⁰ De Montigny du Timeur to the President Joly de Fleury, Feb. 9, 27, 1783, Bib. Nat., collection Joly de Fleury, vol. 1722; L. Pinel, Carcassonne, to Vergennes, Aug. 11, 1783, Arch. Aff. Étr., Mém. et. Doc., Asie, vol. 18; *ibid.*, *passim*, for reports of Grandclos-Meslé.

The government, however, had no intention of carrying this direct intervention beyond the emergency. Some one evolved the idea of organizing the merchants of the several ports through their chambers of commerce into an association for the specific purpose of carrying through one expedition to China.¹¹ The *arrêt* of July 21, 1783, directed the formation of *une seule et même association* among the merchants of Marseilles, Bordeaux, Nantes, Saint-Malo, Lorient, and Havre. The association was to have a capital of 6,000,000 livres, divided into 1200 shares of 5000 livres each. Four hundred shares were assigned to Marseilles, three hundred and twenty to Bordeaux, one hundred and forty to Nantes, and lesser quotas to the other ports. At each of the three larger centers, the shareholders were to elect one director. The king offered three of his vessels but the association was to pay all the expenses of the operation.

The plan seems to have approximated very closely the limit of the practical interest of the merchants of these places in the India trade. The quota assigned to Bordeaux was covered at once and more would have been taken. At Nantes and the other northern ports, there seems to have been no difficulty, but at Marseilles, the 2,000,000 livres required were raised only after urgent persuasion on the part of Rostagny, the deputy of Marseilles at the bureau of commerce.¹² At Nantes, De Luynes was elected deputy, or, as we should say, director, at Bordeaux, Nairac, and at Marseilles, Miraillet.

The organization did not work smoothly. The stockholders were suspicious of the directors, the controllers' general intervened, the association refused to do anything that had not been directed by the government, the directors got into a bitter law suit over a petty amount of money.¹³ Nevertheless, the expedition prospered. On February 12, 1784, Nairac announced the departure of the three vessels, *Le Triton*, *Le Sagittaire*, and *La Provence*, which the king had furnished.¹⁴ Nairac's account of their outward cargoes illustrates in a striking manner how the Eastern trade drained Europe of specie, for over seventy-five per cent.

¹¹ Among the numerous memorialists who presented plans, only Bedos, the author of *Le Négociant Patriote* (1784), suggested that the trade should be entrusted to the chambers of commerce. "Nous avons tous un intérêt", he wrote; "seroit-il impossible, Monseigneur, de le diriger à la Patrie?" Bedos to Vergennes, Jan. 4, 1784, *ibid.*

¹² Chamber of Bordeaux to the controller general, Aug. 12, 1783, Arch. Bordeaux, C 4265. Joseph Fournier, *La Chambre de Commerce de Marseille et ses Représentants Permanents à Paris* (1920), p. 157.

¹³ See especially Arch., Nantes, C 591 and C 624 (2), and Arch. Nat., 3¹² 724.

¹⁴ Texier, *Histoire de la Chambre de Commerce de Bordeaux*, p. 34.

of the value of these cargoes was in specie or instruments of exchange.¹⁵

The returns proved to be very satisfactory. The sale of tea alone surpassed expectations by more than 1,500,000 livres. Although some silk and silk stuffs remained unsold when dividends were declared, there was a profit of 4,930,000 livres, or about eighty-two per cent.¹⁶

The deputy of Marseilles, Miraillet, left the sale at Lorient entirely in the hands of Nairac and De Luynes. The final liquidation was entrusted to Nairac's banking house, P. Nairac and Son. Nairac attempted to deduct interest on a portion of Marseilles's share in the enterprise on account of a delay in the delivery of the funds subscribed. The result was a lawsuit over a fraction of one per cent. of the returns, which Nairac, in spite of repeated rebuffs in the lower courts, carried up to the council and managed to keep alive at least until 1789.¹⁷

Although no document summarizing the results of this experiment from the government's point of view has been found, it is obvious that certain conclusions could hardly have been avoided. It was apparent that the merchants of the seaport towns had too much local and personal jealousy, too little coöperative habit, to develop a financial organization that could face the English company on anything approaching an equal basis. They had manifested no disposition to work for the continuance, not to speak of the extension, of the activity of their association or of the Eastern trade.¹⁸ Continuity and expansion would have to depend upon repeated and persistent efforts on the part of the government. On the other hand, nothing could be hoped from the association that would contribute to the political advancement of France in the Orient. China was an excellent source of silk, tea, and profits, but it was not, as yet, an area in which political weight could be developed.

¹⁵ The directors of commerce of Guienne to Vergennes, Bordeaux, May 21, 1785. Aff. Étr., Mém. et Doc., Asie, vol. 18. *Compte général de l'emploi fait de la somme de six millions*, Arch., Chambre de Commerce de Nantes, C 749.

¹⁶ Nairac to the chamber of Bordeaux, Oct. 21, 1785, Arch. of the chamber, C 4353. For further information upon the final settlement, see minutes of the *juges-consuls* of Nantes, Arch., Nantes, C 591; Bordeaux, C 4258. Letter of De Luynes to the *juges-consuls* of Nantes, Nov. 27, 1785, Arch., Nantes, C 749. The calculation of the profit is based on the customary sale of 1/10% of the gross returns for the benefit of the poor. This amounted to 10,930 livres, which indicates a profit of 4,930,000 livres, or about eighty-two per cent. On the other hand, Nantes received of this sum 1000 livres, 2 sous, 6 deniers and Bordeaux, 2286 livres, which, on the same basis, indicates a profit of forty-three per cent. The discrepancy is presumably due to deductions for expenses of the sale at Lorient.

¹⁷ Arch. Nat., F¹² 724; minutes of the *juges-consuls* of Nantes, Arch., Nantes, C 591.

¹⁸ Proposals of De Montigny du Tilleur with reference to such development were filed in the Nantes archives with the comment, "sans réponse ni en faire mention sur les registres", *ibid.*, C 624 (2).

Meanwhile, the logic of political animus, of economic statesmanship, of capitalistic enterprise, in complex combination, was leading the French government inexorably toward the recreation of monopoly in the Eastern trade. Vergennes had already learned from the veteran Montaran that the establishments of foreign trade concerned his department because they were closely connected with the political weight of the foreign powers with which he had to deal, as well as of France.¹⁹ For Calonne, India was another opportunity to link the finances of the kingdom with the financiers of a new and bolder stamp who were displacing the plethoric and reactionary "Farmers" as the leaders of finance—the capitalistic profit-seekers as against the publicans. For Castries, the redevelopment of the India trade promised an enlargement of the colonial phase, so long diminished, of his ministry. All three of these ministers had a part in the formation of the new India company.²⁰ If Calonne's part was greatest, the superior preservation of the records of the foreign office makes it possible to state most fully the point of view of Vergennes.

The peace of 1783 seemed to be definitive and of such a character that France might build upon it with some hope of realizing "a place in the sun" appropriate to her history. The alliance with Holland and the projected commercial treaty with Russia opened the way to the north even if the Bordeaux shippers did not think the moderate profits of the trade worth their while.²¹ The intimacies of the Family Alliance had been intensified by the war and seemed to offer large vistas in South America and even across the Pacific, where Mexican dollars, with an extra profit of thirty per cent., might shorten the physically longer route into the East—Rayneval's favorite project.²² Disillusionment had not yet come in regard to the former colonies of Great Britain in North America, now open to the trade of the world and supposedly inclined by gratitude and affection toward France. The Treaty of Versailles provided for the restoration of French rights in India and also for certain

¹⁹ Montaran to Vergennes, June 19, 1780, Arch. Aff. Étr., Corr. Pol., Angleterre, vol. 533.

²⁰ Joly de Fleury, when controller general, had made the first definite proposal. With characteristic lack of originality, he proposed to reestablish something very like the old company, a group of *intéressés* under complete bureaucratic control. Every decision was to be subject to the approval of the ministers. His plan was totally disregarded in the actual development of the new company. Joly de Fleury to Vergennes, Feb. 12, 1783, *ibid.*, Mém. et Doc., Asie, vol. 18.

²¹ Chamber of Commerce of Guienne to Letellier, Jan. 5, 1788, Arch., Bordeaux, C 4266.

²² Cf. Rayneval's memoir of Jan., 1786, Arch. Aff. Étr., Mém. et Doc., Asie, supplément, vol. 5. The memoir is more fully discussed below, p. 491.

special facilities to be furnished by the English company to French subjects whether they carried on trade "individually or as a company". In such a world, there was reason to hope that a careful policy might make France again a great power in India.

With this objective in mind, Vergennes's advisers, volunteer and official, were busy during 1783 and 1784 furnishing him with all sorts of ideas about India. A brief summary of the numerous memoirs addressed to him will indicate the general form of the problem and some of the particular considerations that seem to have entered into his later action and attitudes. As Rayneval remarked in 1786, the ultimate justification for the organization of a monopolistic company was political. The fact that the English power in India had grown and was growing dictated such an attitude.²³ Panchaud, the Genevese director of the Caisse d'Escompte, submitted to Joly de Fleury a memoir which Moracin, who later resided at Pondicherry for the new company, described to Vergennes as "containing all that can be said on the reëstablishment of our nation in that country".²⁴ Panchaud seems, indeed, to have had an exceptionally clear conception of the necessities of the situation. He saw that it was necessary to deal with the great financiers—"concentrate the organization around Paris", as he put it—and so secure an adequate capital. He proposed the organization of a negotiable share company, now a familiar form but then essentially a novelty. By the sale of shares and bonds this company should raise a capital of 60,000,000 livres. Thus adequately financed, the company should be given a monopoly, but should operate in India as a purely commercial company, "without touching the English". The treaty rights in the English ports, especially Calcutta, should be exploited to the full. Pondicherry and a new port to be obtained on the Malabar coast were also to be used. The company should be entirely devoid of political function.²⁵ The later history of the company fully demonstrated the good sense of Panchaud's program. Timidity and unfamiliarity with the possibilities of capital concentration by means of the sale of stock led to the decision to attempt organization on the basis of an issue of twenty million francs instead of sixty million. This deficient capitalization forced the new company to depend on the English company.

De Luynes, the deputy of the Nantes group in the association for the expedition to China, declared that a monopoly was dictated by the nature

²³ See also unsigned memoir, possibly Rayneval's, dated Apr., 1783, *ibid.*

²⁴ Moracin to Vergennes, Feb. 12, 1783, *ibid.*

²⁵ *Réflexions générales sur les possessions et le commerce des Européens dans la péninsule de l'Inde*, *ibid.*, vol. 4.

of the trade and, like Panchaud, urged that it should take the form of a stock company rather than that of a closed group of *intéressés*. He made the point that the intermediary between the company and the government should not be connected solely with the department of finance but also with the other departments concerned.²⁶ Gourlade, who was very close to Vergennes, argued that the Eastern trade was positively injurious to France since it extracted specie and competed with French industry and that therefore it should be limited, by means of a monopoly, to five ships a year, two of which should go to China.²⁷ Dupont de Nemours, who in this matter as in connection with the tobacco trade²⁸ expressed himself more freely to Vergennes than to his proper chief, the controller general, repeated the plan which he had advocated in 1767 and 1769. He proposed that the Ile de France and the Ile de Bourbon be opened as free ports to all the world, beginning with the United States, and a *messagerie* be created with ships of the king. This would accomplish, he declared, all the really desirable results, an adequate supply of Indian goods for French industry, and plentiful occupation for French carriers.²⁹

It was generally agreed, except by such purely economic thinkers as Dupont, that a strongly organized representation of French commerce, that is to say, a company, must be visible in India. The new company, unlike the old, was to be purely commercial and devoid of any political functions. A political company would sooner or later involve war, which was to be avoided at all costs. From Vergennes's point of view, peace, the protection of existing and prospective treaties, were essential to any project to rehabilitate France.³⁰

The pacific bases of Vergennes's policy, however, did not in his mind exclude the organization of the potential allies of France in India. In

²⁶ Undated memoir (copy) in the archives of the chamber of Nantes.

²⁷ Gourlade to Vergennes, Feb. 3, 1783, Arch. Aff. Étr., Mém. et Doc., Asie, vol. 4. Several other unsigned memoirs which seem to be from Gourlade repeat the same idea. See also, Gourlade to Rayneval, Jan. 22, 1786: "Never would I allow myself to do anything contrary to his [Vergennes's] system", *ibid.*, suppl., vol. 5.

²⁸ Nussbaum, The Revolutionary Vergennes and Lafayette versus the Farmers General, *Journal of Modern History*, III. (1931) 592-604.

²⁹ Dupont to Vergennes, Oct. 28, 1784, Arch. Aff. Étr., Mém. et Doc., Asie, vol. 4. See also Dupont's letter of Dec. 29, 1784. For the original proposal see Dupont's *Du Commerce et de la Compagnie des Indes* (2nd ed., Amsterdam, 1769).

³⁰ The completely pacific intention of Vergennes was most fully manifested in the promptness with which he met Lord Howe's proposal for total naval disarmament in the Indian area. For this interesting negotiation, which proceeded with almost no difficulty from either side, see Arch. Aff. Étr., Corr. Pol., Angleterre, vols. 549, 550, 551. Mr. J. Holland Rose in *William Pitt and the National Revival* (1911), p. 341, incorrectly leaves the impression that Vergennes rejected the proposal definitively on Apr. 1, 1786.

1786, Louis Monneron was sent to Tippoo to offer to share the expenses of the Mysore war, and, although Tippoo declined the offer on the ground that the effort against the English had been mutual, he did everything he could to show his friendship for the French. In 1784, Gourlade had urged keeping up the political connection with Hyder Ali and the Mahrattas. Even a proposal to intervene in Cochin China and to restore a deposed emperor, whose son and heir the bishop of Adran had brought to France, was given serious consideration. A treaty providing for the restoration of the deposed king and the grant to the French of two island posts was actually executed.³¹

It was, however, neither the projects of the economists nor the ambitions of the politicians that determined the ultimate formation of the new *Compagnie des Indes*. It was the well-coördinated effort and influence of the Paris bankers, Girardot, Haller, and Company, and of the London bankers, Bourdieu and Chollet, as leaders of a group of financiers. The firm of Bourdieu and Chollet had for a long time been involved with the French government in affairs that were none too creditable to either. In 1784, Bourdieu was trying to collect a considerable sum (350,000 livres) remaining due to the firm as a result of the unsavory stock-gambling operations of the Comte de Guines while he was ambassador at London in 1770.³² Although Vergennes in 1777 had flatly refused to have anything more to do with Bourdieu's alleged claim, Calonne had resumed dealings with him. From the beginning of Calonne's ministry, he was in touch with Bourdieu and in the spring of 1784 was in direct correspondence with him.³³

Bourdieu, meanwhile, had established relations with Girardot, Haller, and Company, and, in accord with them, had returned to the project of a new French India company about which he had dealt with Necker in 1770 and 1772. The plan of the two banking houses was quite simple. A French company should be formed with an exclusive privilege and

³¹ Nov. 28, 1787, A. J. H. Clercq, *Recueil des Traités de la France*, XV. (suppl. 1713-1885) 133. Cf. memoir of La Luzerne, Arch. des Col., F⁸ 158.

³² Guines had attempted a *coup*, failed, and refused to pay. Bourdieu and Chollet, his brokers, and Tort, his secretary, upon whom he threw the responsibility, were permitted by Aiguillon, then minister of foreign affairs, to sue him in the Châtelet, but the Guines faction secured Aiguillon's dismissal. When Maurepas came in, he wished to restore Aiguillon, who was his nephew, but time was necessary. Vergennes was put in as a stop-gap, but with great ingenuity managed to have the Châtelet give Guines a verdict against Tort, thus securing his own position. Bourdieu resorted to a sort of blackmail, threatening to publish all the papers. Arch. Aff. Étr., Corr. Pol., Angleterre, vols. 498-524, *passim*.

³³ Exposé des services de M. Bourdieu. Arch. Nat., T 38¹⁻² (papiers de Huber).

with authority to make a "treaty" with the English company to purchase Indian goods from it rather than from the natives of India. According to Bourdieu, they began their operations by securing the support of Castries, the minister of the marine. Four of the promoters, Bernier, Sabatier, Desprez, and Périer, went to London in the spring of 1784 and told Bourdieu that under the auspices of Castries they and their associates proposed to ask for the sort of privilege he had had in mind. Bourdieu was given the authority of Castries to sound out the directors of the English company and the English ministry. He promptly sent a memoir to the Duke of Portland and to the directors. His arguments were designed to appeal to English interests but certainly not to come to the notice of Vergennes as they did. He argued, in brief, that a connection of the French company with the English company would serve to prevent the French from making direct connections in India, would produce about thirteen million pounds sterling of new business for the English company, and would lead the Indian manufacturers to regard the French only as the agents of the English.³⁴

At this point, Calonne sent Tort to London to promise Bourdieu that the old claims on account of the Guines affair would be paid if his firm would help Tort float a loan in Belgium and would use its influence with the British government in favor of the formation of a new India company in France.³⁵ Whether this move of Calonne's was without knowledge of Castries's earlier movement or whether Castries knew of Calonne's cannot be determined. At any rate, from that time on, the proposal advanced under the auspices of Calonne.

A conference between Bourdieu and Calonne seems to have resulted in a satisfactory understanding. Calonne wrote Bourdieu a letter taking official note of his negotiations "to facilitate French commerce in India" and to express the king's satisfaction with the steps he had taken and with the services he had previously rendered—in short, to give him the character of an authorized negotiator.³⁶

³⁴ Adhemar to Vergennes, Aug. 15, 1784, Arch. Aff. Étr., Corr. Pcl., Angleterre, vol. 549.

³⁵ Memoir of Tort, dated Oct. 6, 1791, Arch. Nat., T 38¹⁻². This memoir was Tort's side of a dispute between him and Bourdieu as to the value of Tort's services in collecting the Guines debt. They were submitting it to the arbitration of their friends, including Huber.

³⁶ Calonne to Bourdieu, Apr. 26, 1784. Quoted in full by Bourdieu in the *Exposé* of his services in the formation of the company, which he prepared as material for his agent in Paris to use to convince the directors that his house ought to have all the commissions connected with their business and not to have to divide them with other firms. "The services previously rendered" by Bourdieu consisted of securing, at the request of

That Vergennes knew of these maneuvers in their first stages seems unlikely. He soon was well informed by Adhemar, Gourlade, and Barthélemy. By devious means, Adhemar obtained a copy of Bourdieu's memoir to the court of directors of the English company and transmitted it to Vergennes. "You will, of-course, know of this", he wrote, "as the controller general would not have taken such a step without informing the council."³⁷ Vergennes did not inform Adhemar whether he knew of the matter or not, nor did he reply to Adhemar's complaint that he had been left in the dark as to the negotiations, but simply expressed his interest in his information and opinions on the India question. Bourdieu alleged that Vergennes as well as Calonne requested him to find out what the disposition of the new Pitt ministry would be. Gourlade knew very well what Bourdieu was doing and the state of his maneuvers, and Barthélemy warned Vergennes of Bourdieu's reputation. "He will be distrusted by you and the controller general, as he is distrusted here."³⁸

Bourdieu succeeded in inducing the court of directors, with the approval of Pitt, to adopt a formal resolution on October 1, 1784, that they would treat, on bases not definitely formulated, "with any person having sufficient authority from a minister of France or from a French East India company".³⁹ They refused, however, to regard Calonne's letter of April 26, 1784, as authority to proceed, and Bourdieu went to Paris to ask for proper authority. Calonne held back on the ground that no company had as yet been formed, but promised that if the formation of the company were accomplished, the offer of the English court of directors would receive consideration. He formally conveyed once more the royal approval of Bourdieu's activities and gave a promise, not too vague, of a profitable connection with the company for Bourdieu's firm.⁴⁰ At this point, the negotiation of the treaty rested until the formation of the company.

Meanwhile, the formation of the company proceeded apace. It was known at Nantes in December, 1784, that the government was planning a stock company in which any merchant might participate, and De

Gourlade, letters of recommendation for agents of the promoters of the French company to Sir J. Macpherson, governor general of Bengal (*Exposé*). In a letter to Vergennes, dated June 3, 1786, Bourdieu asserted that he had done this at the request of Vergennes himself, Arch. Aff. Étr., Corr. Pol., Angleterre, vol. 556.

³⁷ Adhemar to Vergennes, July 9, 1784, *ibid.*, vol. 549.

³⁸ *Exposé*. Unsigned letter to Vergennes, Sept. 3, 1784, Arch. Aff. Étr., Corr. Pol., Angleterre, vol. 550. Barthélemy to Vergennes, Oct. 12, 1784, *ibid.*, vol. 549.

³⁹ *Exposé*. Cf. copy of resolution with Bourdieu, Chollet, and Bourdieu to B. Huber, Jan. 14, 1791, Arch. Nat., T 38¹⁻².

⁴⁰ Calonne to Bourdieu, Dec. 1, 1784, quoted in *Exposé*.

Luynes informed Castries that he was authorized to take up any shares allotted to the towns he represented in the association for the expedition to China. Dupont was continuing to urge Vergennes to oppose the plan of Girardot, Haller, and Company on the ground that the English alone would profit,⁴¹ but, according to Gourlade, Vergennes was in a pessimistic mood: "Vous m'avez persuadé", he said to Gourlade, "mais il est impossible de faire le bien dans ce pays. On veut une compagnie des Indes et elle sera établie malgré la démonstration phisique que vous m'avez donné de son danger." In the euphemistic phraseology of Adhemar, the great interests of the house of Girardot, Haller, and Company had been able to excite the zeal of too many people attached to the ministries.⁴²

The proposed organization was taken up in a meeting of the council on February 27, 1785. It was presented by Calonne. Breteuil later alleged that Calonne had said in full council that he was proposing the formation of the company with the approval of commerce and only after having consulted all the chambers of commerce. This, of course, was not exactly true, although he had let it be known among their deputies and such deputies extraordinary as were in Paris to protest against the colonial *arrêt* of August 30, 1784.⁴³ The general plan of the organization was approved, including, according to the administrators, permission to make such arrangements with foreign companies as would be thought suitable and, specifically, provision that the company should be compensated for its losses if an agreement could not be reached with the English company. On the other hand, Vergennes a few weeks later wrote to Adhemar⁴⁴ that it would be financially and politically a mistake to depend on the English company. No such system, he asserted, had been adopted in the council, but the French company was to use the services of the English company only until its own trading posts were

⁴¹ J. B. Baluynes to the *juges-consuls* of Nantes, "18 ou 19 Xbre 1784" [*sic*], Arch., Nantes, C 624. De Luynes to the *juges-consuls*, Dec. 29, 1784, *ibid.*, C 749; Dupont to Vergennes, Dec. 29, 1784.

⁴² Gourlade to Tallien, undated [An V.], copy with memoir of Gourlade to Delacroix, Arch. Aff. Étr., Mém. et Doc., Angleterre, vol. 18. Adhemar to Vergennes, Aug. 15, 1784, *ibid.*, Corr. Pol., Angleterre, vol. 549.

⁴³ Memoir of the administrators of the company, Dec. 21, 1785, *ibid.*, Mém. et Doc., Asie, suppl., vol. 5. Letellier to the Chamber of Commerce of Guienne, Sept. 30, 1787, Arch., Bordeaux, C 4358. Cf. J.-B. Baluynes to *juges-consuls* of Nantes, Dec. 18 (19), 1784, cited above.

⁴⁴ Memoir of the administrators, Dec. 21, 1785, cited above. See also articles 6 and 7 of the *arrêt* of June 19, 1785, homologating the statutes and regulations of the company, which are to the same effect. Vergennes to Adhemar, Mar. 15, 1785, Arch. Aff. Étr., Corr. Pol., Angleterre, vol. 549.

reestablished. Vergennes might be suspected on occasion of not speaking clearly, but it is difficult to believe that he did not hear clearly in a matter that was so seriously regarded by his closest friends and advisers. It is possible to suspect at this point, as M. Mathiez has shown at a later stage in the history of the company, the falsification of a decree.⁴⁵ On the other hand, it is quite possible that Vergennes was disingenuous in making this comment. As far as the records and assertions of others show, such a system had been adopted in council, with a provision for termination when the French *comptoirs* had been reestablished.

No provision was made for the allocation of the shares among the commercial interests of the nation, particularly, as might have been expected, among the chambers of commerce that were participating in the China expedition. The Lorient merchants in a petition of 1785 refer to the company "à laquelle n'ont été appelés aucunes des villes maritimes et de manufactures". The chamber of Bordeaux complained to their deputy that "as soon as the stock appeared, all of it was snapped up by the speculators and none reserved for the maritime towns which coöperated in the association of 1783. When subscriptions were offered, the would-be subscribers were informed by the administrators that the shares had risen, six, seven, and eight per cent."⁴⁶—apparently in the minds of the Bordelais a conclusive argument against purchasing. It is, however, to be remembered that Gourlade did not suppose it possible that so large a share issue could be floated.⁴⁷ It may well be that it was assumed that there would be plenty of shares for all takers.

The decisions of February 27 were embodied and the organization of the company completed in a series of *arrêts* of later dates. An *arrêt* of April 14, 1785, defined the general status of the company and the lines of its organization. It was authorized as a negotiable share company, with a capital of 20,000,000 livres and was granted the monopoly of the trade beyond the Cape of Good Hope in terms only slightly different from that of the old company, for a period of seven years of peace. Model provisions, from the point of view of the present day, provided for the accountability of the administration to the stockholders. Girardot, Haller, and Company were provisionally named cashiers at Paris and J. J. Bérard and Company, at Lorient. Two other *arrêts* of May 15 named the officials. Tavernier de Boullongne, son of a former controller general and member of the councils of finance and of commerce,

⁴⁵ A. Mathiez, *Un Procès de Corruption sous la Terreur: l'Affaire de la Compagnie des Indes* (1920).

⁴⁶ Arch. Nat., F¹ 1032¹. Arch., Bordeaux, C 4266, dated May 28, 1785.

⁴⁷ Gourlade to Tallien [An V.], cited above.

was made commissioner of the government. Gourlade, Bérard *ainé*, Périer, Bernier, Bézard, De Mars, Dodun, the firm Sabatier and Desprez, Montessuy, Bérard *cadet*, Moracin, and Goguenot were named administrators. Bernier, Sabatier, Desprez, and Périer were the four who had secured the coöperation of Bourdieu and Chollet. The Bérards were hostile to Bourdieu but were close to Vergennes.⁴⁸ Gourlade and Moracin may be regarded as the particular representatives of Vergennes. It was to Moracin that Vergennes had submitted the memoir of Panchaud and he later resided in Pondicherry for the company until 1791. Presumably he was "the man attached to your person and to your department" whom it was the idea of Vergennes from the first to have in India. Gourlade many years later claimed that he had been put on the board of administrators by the government without his knowledge and that the government had even bought the stock required to qualify him.⁴⁹

Unauthorized by the *arrêt* of April 14, but apparently functioning as representatives of the stockholders, another group beside the administrators appeared before 1787. They were known as *commissaires* and included well-known financial names such as Le Couteux du Moley, Boyd, and Lalanne.⁵⁰

The delays in the formation of the company had again made it necessary to provide by direct action of the government for the supply of the market. On February 27, 1785, Gourlade, Périer, and Bérard *ainé* were directed to send a vessel, the *Dauphin*, to China to buy silk.⁵¹ Once the company was legally formed, the *arrêt* of May 20, 1785, turned the *Dauphin* over to it on condition of paying the expenses of the expedition, "in order that the company might have a dividend the first year".

The *arrêt* of June 18, 1785, gave sanction to the statutes and regulations of the company including articles six and seven which authorized the treaty with the English company. The *arrêt* of July 10, 1785, which was in part, if not mainly, intended to put an end to the dilatory attitude of the English government in regard to the negotiation of a treaty of commerce, also served to bring pressure on the English East India Company to proceed with the treaty with the French company by cutting off the import of cotton cloth.

⁴⁸ Cf. correspondence of Bérard with Vergennes discussed in my article, American Tobacco and French Politics, *Political Science Quarterly*, XL. (1925) 497-516.

⁴⁹ Bourdieu to Huber, July 8, 1791, Arch. Nat., T 38¹⁻². Moracin to Vergennes, Feb. 12, 1783, cited above. Gourlade to Tallien [An V.], cited above.

⁵⁰ Cf. signatures to *Idées Préliminaires sur le Privilège Exclusif de la Compagnie des Indes* (Paris, 1787).

⁵¹ Arch., Nantes, C 749.

Even before the new company was legally formed, the negotiation of the treaty with the English company was resumed. Bourdieu secured the consent of Dundas of the council of control and the still prospective administrators sent Périer to treat. Périer used methods that seemed promising, making a present of £1500 to one of the English directors "who had been very serviceable in the business". Nevertheless, the negotiations lagged because the English company was unwilling to give satisfactory assurances in regard to the assortments of the goods it was to sell the French company. Barthélemy suspected that the English intended to furnish only poor goods under the treaty.⁵² The dilatory attitude of the English was ended when the prohibitive *arrêt* of July 10, 1785, became known. Much opposition had been manifested in London on the ground that the proposed treaty would operate as a check on the English carrying-trade by encouraging the French, but the English directors and ministers were convinced that, taking the prohibitive *arrêts* into consideration, both political and mercantile advantages would be gained by the completion of the agreement between the companies.⁵³

In December, 1785, the administrators of the French company submitted the completed treaty to the French government. It provided that for three years, beginning with September, 1787, the English company should sell annually to the French company India goods to the value of forty lakhs of rupees at an advance of fifteen per cent. for profits and expenses. Careful provision was made to control the quality and character of goods delivered. The payments were to be made through Bourdieu, Chollet, and Bourdieu,⁵⁴ upon presentation of drafts to them, which was to be regarded as equivalent to presentation to the French company itself. Bourdieu, Chollet, and Bourdieu were to put up a guarantee with the English company and, in addition, the French company was to deposit £200,000. This latter sum, however, was to bear interest at five

⁵² Exposé des services de M. Bourdieu. Bourdieu to Huber, Apr. 27, 1790, Arch. Nat., T 83⁷. Barthélemy to Vergennes, May 6, 1785, Arch. Aff. Étr., Corr. Pol., Angleterre, vol. 549.

⁵³ Same to same, Oct. 23, 1785, *ibid.* Mr. J. Holland Rose, in his study of *William Pitt and the National Revival*, was apparently unaware of the relations between the two India companies and represents the formation of the India company as being, to Pitt's mind, "a threatening sign" (pp. 310, 326, 327). From the material he presents, it is plain that the English contemplated and dreaded as a possibility something that seems not to have entered the calculations of the French company, namely, a treaty with the Dutch East India Company (p. 327).

⁵⁴ About this time, Bourdieu's nephew was taken into the firm; hence the change of style.

per cent. The French company was not to carry on or allow any other commerce with India. The treaty was to be terminable by either company upon fifteen months notice in advance of the beginning of the trade year (September 1).⁵⁵

The organization thus formulated was of a modernity inconsistent with the antiquated device of monopoly which then and since has seemed the principle feature of Calonne's company. It was nothing less than an international cartel, a type not to be realized until our own day. It is hardly too much to say that what was proposed was the most clearly capitalistic business organization of its time. While the politicians on both sides viewed with alarm the prospect of confusing the lines of separation between the two communities, the business men were content to associate solely upon the basis of a mutual hope for profits. That it was impossible to overcome the opposition to the treaty in France was due to the fact that it clashed with the essentially mercantilist thought of Vergennes.

The requirement that the treaty be ratified by the French government gave Vergennes the opportunity to revenge himself for the attempt on the part of Calonne and the company to carry on such an important affair without his participation. His remark to Adhemar indicated that he was fairly well settled in his hostility to the proposed treaty as early as March, 1785. His closest advisers, Goulade, Moracin, Dupont, Adhemar, De Luynes, had been presenting arguments against it ever since it had been proposed.

Rayneval presented arguments against the approval of the treaty which from the point of view of Vergennes were conclusive.⁵⁶ He pointed out that the treaty was wholly useless except as a device to insure profits, which would come from the pockets of other Frenchmen, to the French company and the English company. "What interest has the state in enriching a small number of individuals at the expense of the other citizens, of the king's revenues, of liberty itself, which a wise administration does not restrain except for the good of the state and not for the purpose of making anyone rich?" If the trade in Bengal could not be carried on without the aid of the English company, the French company was wholly useless. Adequately protected by the treaty of 1783, French merchants could buy Eastern goods at Copenhagen, at Lisbon, or, for that matter, in England. The Anglo-Indian cloths, of which so much was being made, did not deserve preference over those

⁵⁵ Arch. Aff. Étr., Mém. et Doc., Asie, suppl., vol. 5.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*

which came into France from Switzerland, Holland, the free port of Dunkirk, and Portugal. As for the claim that the company represented the nation, Rayneval replied that it was merely a useless and burdensome intermediary. The obligation implied in the homologation of the statutes of the company, he left delicately but firmly to Calonne: it was the act of a single minister. The motives of the English company in agreeing to the treaty were simply the considerations presented to the directors by Bourdieu in 1784, namely, that the treaty would serve to cut off the French, politically and commercially, from direct dealings with the Indians.

Rayneval himself had a scheme that as a scheme was very interesting in its possibilities. He proposed that the French company should attach itself rather to the Spanish Company of the Philippines, which had the right of carrying goods to South America and from the East Indies, and thus had the opportunity to pick up an additional profit of about thirty per cent. Manila, Rayneval supposed, was an unrivaled base for the trade with the Chinese, who were quite accustomed and willing to bring their goods there. The silver supply of America would afford the allied companies a great advantage in India, where the French, on their part, could offer the protection of treaties and firmans. Thus the Franco-Spanish combination "could buy everything the employees of the English company have" and shut out from the Continent even smuggled English goods by the low prices that would be possible. Aware of the fate of the Suez project, described below, at the hands of the company, Rayneval protested against the submission to it of his proposal. "It is too important to be considered only by a company whose system it upsets." The ultimate justification of the company and of its privilege could be only the political results, declared Rayneval. If no system which met that test could be organized, he advocated the adoption of the proposal of Dupont to open the Ile de France to all nations for the purchase and sale of Eastern goods and to open the French ports to such nations as it seemed desirable to admit.

Here, after all, was the crux of the matter: While Calonne and the bankers and business men with whom he was so intimately bound wished to organize a big business enterprise without regard to the old lines of political conflict, Vergennes and the men who surrounded him were equally determined that the new organization of Indian trade should subserve the development of political power. In terms, the difference between the two groups reduced itself almost to a mere question of emphasis. Calonne and his banker friends wanted political power as

an incident to their business aims; Vergennes and Rayneval wanted economic strength as a means to political achievement. In this matter, the two groups typified respectively two branches of the antinomy which the nationalist state of the nineteenth century has carried within itself, the nominalism of its internal policy and the realism of its external existence.⁵⁷

Not only had the organization of the company followed a course which neutralized, as far as it was concerned, the political possibilities inherent in the situation, but it had also interposed its privilege as an obstacle to the utilization of arrangements which seemed perfectly adapted to contribute effectively to the great end, the increase of French influence in India without increasing the danger of war with the English. As M. F. Charles-Roux has ably shown in his monograph, *Le Projet Français de Commerce avec l'Inde par Suez sous le Règne de Louis XVI* (1927), just as the formation of the company was being completed, the efforts of Choiseul-Gouffier with the Sublime Porte and of Truguet with the beys of Egypt had at last brought to fruition the centuries-old plans and hopes of many Frenchmen to open the Suez routes to French trade with India. It seemed in the words of an earlier memoir writer quoted by M. Charles-Roux,⁵⁸ that "cette courte et facile communication doit nous procurer l'avantage de dominer aux Indes, non en conquérants, qualité qui y convient moins à la France qu'à toute autre puissance, mais en y entretenant les comptoirs les plus utiles et en empêchant aucune nation européenne d'y donner la loi". A series of memoirs in especially rapid sequence between 1773 and 1783 showed that the idea was, to say the least, current. Under the auspices of the Maréchal de Castries, Choiseul-Gouffier and Truguet had obtained a treaty which seemed to offer substantial security to a French line across the isthmus and down the Red Sea to the Indian Ocean and the Malabar coast. The advantage in time and cost of transportation over the immense detour around Africa promised to be enormous.

The English company had deliberately "killed" various promising English attempts to exploit the route because it threatened the company's monopoly. The French company, it appears, took the same intransigent attitude. As soon as Castries had received the dispatches from Truguet at Cairo, he entrusted them to Cabre, the inspector of the Levant trade, with instructions to find some way to resolve the contradiction between the arrangements Truguet had made and the privilege of the company.

⁵⁷ W. Sombart, *Das Wirtschaftsleben im Zeitalter des Hochkapitalismus* (Munich and Leipzig, 1928), pp. 42-73.

⁵⁸ *Op. cit.*, p. 22.

A laborious negotiation ensued between Cabre, the Baron de Tott, a Hungarian noble who had become an Eastern expert for the French government,⁵⁹ the Marseilles merchants Audibert and Seymandi, who stood ready with a capital of three million livres to develop the Suez trade with India, and the India Company.

The great objective of the company, based as it was on the expectation of a treaty with the English company which was just in process of completion, was to head off in some way the operation of the new route. This was very neatly done by a merger between the company and Seymandi, in which the latter was reduced to a secondary rôle. "To show its deference and its desire to coördinate its operations with the intentions of the government", the company in a special stockholders' meeting on August 27, 1785, decided to exploit the Suez route itself "at its own risk and peril". Seymandi was made director for Suez commerce at a salary of 12,000 livres a year—to do nothing. The company could thus proceed without fear that the English company would be alarmed by an energetic development of the Suez route. Although it was recognized that the company's capital was no more than adequate for the arrangement originally contemplated, including the treaty with the English company,⁶⁰ it made some show of getting the *Calonne* ready for a trial voyage. A thousand occasions for delay intervened. Castries regarded it as unsafe to communicate the treaties of Truguet because of "the slight value attached by the company to the Suez enterprise, its connection with the English company, the interest of the latter in obtaining them, the slight concern of our own company in concealing them".⁶¹ By January, 1786, the Suez project was regarded as buried. It was revived again in the same year, but it was only in the autumn of 1788 that the first vessel arrived at Mocha. It was held there for a long time and arrived at Suez on March 31, 1789. Its cargo was sold in France just before the abolition of the company's privilege.

The fate of the Suez project and the drastic criticism of Rayneval made it obvious that the English connection with the French company would block any considerable development of the insistent political purposes of Vergennes. Calonne tried to save something out of the wreck of the treaty by agreeing that as it stood it was bad for France and for the company and by proposing that the articles which made it impossible for the company to lend itself to the development of the Suez route

⁵⁹ Sir R. M. Keith to Carmarthen, Dec. 3, 1785, quoted by Rose, *William Pitt and the National Revival*, p. 482.

⁶⁰ Letter of Vergennes, dated Jan., 1786, quoted by Charles-Roux, *op cit.*, p. 99.

⁶¹ Castries to Calonne, Dec. 22, 1785, *ibid.*, p. 98.

(articles 19 and 20) be eliminated and the rest subjected to further discussion.⁶² Vergennes remained obdurate. In spite of the insistence of the administrators that the agreement was purely commercial, that Pitt, Sidney, and Dundas had seen it only as *ex-officio* directors of the English company, and in spite of the specific provisions of the French company's own statutes, homologated by the *arrêt* of July 19, 1785, which authorized such arrangements with the English company, he refused to ratify.⁶³

The defeat of the treaty dislocated the whole financial arrangement of the company. The original capital of 20,000,000 livres was adequate only to carry on business in combination with the English company. Vergennes's refusal to ratify made it necessary to raise capital adequate to sustain independent operations. After a delay of about six months, the company succeeded in securing the offer of a loan of 20,000,000 livres at the rate of six per cent. per annum plus a four per cent. preferential dividend out of profits. The loan was submitted to the government for its approval. The company explained that from the beginning of the promotion, the limited capital of twenty million livres had been regarded as insufficient for independent operation. Since an adequate capital had seemed too large for the market to furnish, the company had counted on the treaty with the English company which the government had refused to ratify. In the situation thus created, it was urged, no dividend could be paid in 1788 without additional capital. The chambers of commerce, already hostile, would clamor about the incompetence of the company. Without credit, it would have no standing in Europe.

The conditions of the loan, however, and the arguments for it were probably less startling to the government (and, it is hoped, to the reader) than the signatures of the syndicate that offered the loan: "L. P. duc d'Orleans. Barons. P. Cte. de Proli. D. Lalanne."⁶⁴

It is hardly necessary to say that the loan was not approved. Instead, the company was authorized by an *arrêt* of September 21, 1786, to issue twenty million livres more of stock and at the same time was granted an extension of its privilege to fifteen years of peace.

The marketing of the stock seems to have been badly planned. Nearly the whole issue, seventeen thousand shares, was placed on the market at once.⁶⁵ The government, doubly committed by its interference with

⁶² Calonne to Vergennes, Jan. 1, 1786, Arch. Aff. Étr., Mém. et Doc., Asie, suppl., vol. 5.

⁶³ Exposé des services de M. Bourdieu.

⁶⁴ Conditions of a loan of 20,000,000 livres offered to the Compagnie des Indes, dated July 7, 1786, Arch. Aff. Étr., Mém. et Doc., Asie, suppl., vol. 5.

⁶⁵ A. Mathiez, *La Corruption Parlementaire sous la Terreur* (1927), p. 141.

the treaty and with the loan, undertook to sustain the market. Calonne entrusted 11,500,000 livres, drawn from the navy and the *maison du roi*, to one Veymeranges, who, through Pyron de Chaboulon, Seneff, and a number of other brokers, proceeded to buy East India and Water Company shares.⁶⁶ This assured coöperation presented a magnificent opportunity to the Abbé d'Espagnac, who a few months previously had already made one *coup* in the shares of the company. Pyron and Seneff came to an understanding with him and, between them, they worked the shares of the India Company up from about 1200 livres to a "top" of 1700 livres. Pyron and Seneff ended their operation by selling their holdings to Espagnac, who continued to buy until he held commitments from "les baissiers"—the short interest—to deliver him 14,503 more shares of stock than had been issued. As has happened more recently, the short interest abandoned the principle of a free market and the validity of contracts and demanded to be saved. A judgment of the council annulled the contracts and the liquidation of the affair was entrusted to Haller of Girardot, Haller, and Company, and Le Couteulx de la Noraye.⁶⁷ They let the "shorts" off with a penalty, arrived at by I do not know what logic, of 4,045,500 livres, which Espagnac as a matter of fact never received. Much notoriety was given the whole affair by the famous polemic between Mirabeau and Espagnac.⁶⁸ Although the hired pen of Mirabeau came off decidedly second best, his disparaging insinuations continued to weigh upon the government, the company, and the reputation of Calonne.

The conspicuousness of Espagnac's operations and especially its dramatic conclusion diverted the attention of the public at the time and that of historians since then from the less picturesque actuality. As reflected in the letters of the chamber of commerce of Bordeaux to its deputy extraordinary, the story current at the time was something like this: The government lent considerable sums (13,000,000 livres) to Espagnac to buy East India shares; Espagnac, stuffed ("egorgé") with shares, collapsed; the government was embarrassed by the loss of the money which the abbé was unable to return; the offer of the company

⁶⁶ Conseil des Anciens: Rapport par Porcher (l'Indre) sur l'affaire Veymeranges. Vendémiaire, An IV., Arch. Nat., AD XI. 58. According to Delaunay d'Angers, Calonne advanced 6,900,000 livres to the brokers and 6,000,000 to Haller and Le Couteulx de la Noraye, *Moniteur*, Oct. 10, 1793.

⁶⁷ *Jugement qui annule des Marchés faits à terme, d'Actions de la nouvelle Compagnie des Indes, 27 novembre 1786*. John Crerar Library, *Catalogue of French Economic Documents*, no. 1119.

⁶⁸ Mirabeau, *Dénonciation de l'Agiotage* (1787); D'Espagnac, *Considérations sur la Dénonciation de l'Agiotage: Lettre au Comte de Mirabeau* (1787).

to repay this sum to the government induced it to abstain from any action against the company.⁶⁹

The real story is somewhat different. In spite of "la grande autorité" of M. Léon Say,⁷⁰ it is not correct to say that Espagnac got his funds from the royal treasury. He used the fact of the presence of such funds on the "bull" side of the market, but these particular funds were actually handled by Veymeranges and his brokers.

An extraordinary feature of the story was the fact that Veymeranges and his brokers were able, in spite of being on the right side of a rising market, to lose 9,000,000 livres of the 11,500,000 which Calonne had advanced to them. Veymeranges was promptly haled before the Châtelet and sued, but he managed to keep up a defense until the Year IV.⁷¹ What had happened, probably, was that the brokers, after terminating their coöperation with Espagnac, had joined the short interest and had been ruined with the rest.

The company had thus weathered the confusion and conflict among the ministers and the crisis of an extraordinary expansion of its capital. In this form it was to endure until the revocation of its privilege in April, 1790, and the consequent reorganization. Although it cannot be said that in this brief period it accomplished any of the political purposes for which it was formed, the statistics of its business and the quotations of its shares on the Bourse reflect a substantial prosperity. The first dividend, paid in 1788, was eighteen per cent. and during 1789 the price of the stock ranged from 1800 to 1832½.⁷² "Insiders" were still buying shares of the company in 1791, and even in October, 1792, one of its administrators could still describe it as "the only safe establishment and investment of one's property in France, because independent of government though not of robbers".⁷³ After the death of Vergennes and the fall of Calonne, the company was able to induce the government of Loménie de Brienne to enter into a treaty with the English government that served as a limited substitute for the general treaty between the two companies which Vergennes had defeated.⁷⁴

⁶⁹ Chamber of Bordeaux to Letellier, July 7, 28, 1787, Arch., Bordeaux. C 4266.

⁷⁰ Quoted by Mathiez, L'Abbé d'Espagnac, in *La Corruption Parlementaire*, p. 145.

⁷¹ Rapport par Porcher, cited above.

⁷² R. Bigo, Un Grammaire de Bourse en 1789, *Annales d'Histoire Économique et Sociale*, II. (1930) 499-510.

⁷³ Huber to Auckland, Oct. 4, 1792, *Journal and Correspondence of Lord Auckland*, II. 451.

⁷⁴ Convention explicative entre la France et la Grande Bretagne au sujet des établissements et du commerce français dans l'Inde. Versailles, 31 août 1787. Isambert, *Recueil des Lois Anciennes*, XXVIII. 425.

The treaty provided for the importation into India by the French company of 200,000 maunds of salt, to be delivered to the English company at specified prices. The French company was to receive from the English company 18,000 maunds of saltpetre and 300 chests of opium at pre-war prices. It was doubtless an arrangement that contributed much to the prosperity of the French company in the succeeding years.

The company had also weathered—temporarily—the bitter and sustained opposition of the chambers of commerce of the kingdom. The story of that opposition, relevant and significant as it is of the “structure of politics” in the years before 1789, must be omitted from this paper. The formation of the company was another item in the program of the monarch which, like the opening of the colonies to foreigners by the *arrêt* of August 30, 1784, and the treaty of 1786, alienated the provincial merchants and promoted the revolutionary temper among a class that had been traditionally bound in intimate alliance with the absolutism. The vigorous opposition never relented from the formation of the company until the abolition of its privilege. Along with the colonial question, the East India question served effectively to bind the merchants to the support of the Constituent Assembly.⁷⁵

⁷⁵ Letaconnoux, *Le Comité des Députés Extraordinaires des Manufactures et du Commerce de France, Annales Révolutionnaires*, vol. VI. (1913), pp. 149 ff. For the dissolution of the company in the Year II., see Mathiez, *Un Procès de Corruption sous la Terreur: l’Affaire de la Compagnie des Indes*. In the *cahier* of the merchants of Havre, Begouen, who was the author, indicated “trois actes marquants de l’administration . . . comme les causes principales et notoires du déclin des manufactures, de la désertion des ateliers, des faillites nombreuses, du découragement et de la misère des peuples condamnés à l’oisiveté, à la nudité, et aux horreurs de la faim”, that is, the *arrêt* upon *entrepôts*, the reestablishment of the East India Company, and the Treaty of 1786, E. Pollio, *Le Commerce Maritime pendant la Révolution*, pt. I., *La Révolution Française*, LXXXIV. (1931) 311.

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NOTES AND SUGGESTIONS

McCLELLAN'S CHANGING VIEWS ON THE PEACE PLANK OF 1864

THE ringing unionism of General McClellan's letter accepting the Democratic nomination for the presidency in 1864, together with the sentiments he had previously expressed in his Harrison's Landing letter, the Woodward letter, and his West Point address, has led to the assumption that the general at no time wavered in his "Union at any price" position. However, some apparently hitherto unused documents among the McClellan papers in the Library of Congress, which almost certainly are early drafts of the nominee's letter of acceptance, throw doubt upon the validity of this assumption.¹ They reveal that at one time between the nomination and McClellan's formal acceptance, the candidate's interpretation of the ambiguous second resolution in the platform squared, so far as practical results were concerned, with that of the ultra peace men in the party.

In any case the Democratic party was committed to an endeavor to bring about a cessation of hostilities.² But dissension raged within the party over the prime consideration of whether or not a previous recognition of the Union by the Confederate States should be an indispensable condition of the proposed armistice. The Vallandigham group, asserting that no conditions were to be attached, insisted that the platform meant peace and possible union.³ The more conservative element of the party asserted no less strenuously that it meant union and possible peace.

McClellan, in an effort to reconcile these divergent factions appears to have been willing at one time to accept the doctrine of an unconditional armistice and to risk the resumption of hostilities in case negotiations should break down. In his belief that the war could be renewed and in his determination that it should be, he differed from the radical

¹ These documents are to be found in the McClellan Manuscripts, *Second Series* (hereinafter cited as "McClellan MSS. II."). There is a mass of valuable political material in this second series. My attention was called to it through the courtesy of Dr. Curtis W. Garrison of the Division of Manuscripts.

² Edward McPherson, *Political History of the United States . . . during the Great Rebellion*, 3rd ed., pp. 419-420.

³ See Vallandigham's speech to the ratification meeting at Dayton, Ohio, Sept. 6, quoted in the Cincinnati *Daily Gazette*, Sept. 8. According to Vallandigham, the convention "meant peace, and it said it".

peace faction. But in assenting to an armistice in which the Northern objective in the war was not forthwith recognized, he placed himself in a dangerous position, and one which easily could have led to betrayal of the confidence unionist Democrats had placed in him. Perhaps he felt that if he made it sufficiently clear to the South that in a final analysis union was the absolute *sine qua non* of peace there would be no possibility of an armistice due to opposition from Richmond. Thus his concession to the ultra peace men would not terminate in an irretrievable blunder. But this is merely conjectural. In any case, older and possibly wiser heads saw only disaster involved in chaining up the dogs of war without definite assurances from the South on the question of the Union. Consequently, sufficient pressure was brought to bear upon McClellan to cause him to revert to his earlier decisive attitude and to insist upon recognition of the Union by the South as an indispensable preliminary to the cessation of hostilities.

The idea of an armistice did not burst suddenly upon the Democratic nominee with the adoption of the platform at Chicago. Aside from suggestions in the New York press, it had been proposed to him at least as early as June 20 by George W. Morgan of Mt. Vernon, Ohio. Again on August 4 Morgan wrote: "A letter from you to your friend Douglass [*sic*] of Ills. declaring in favor of an armistice would double [y]our chances at Chicago."⁴ That the general was not impressed is perhaps best indicated by his biting comment on the matter in a letter of August 10 to W. C. Prime, editor of the New York *Journal of Commerce*. "I receive so many suggestions that I have determined to follow my own judgment in the matter. Morgan is very anxious that I should write a letter suggesting an armistice!!!! If these fools will ruin the country I won't help them."⁵

⁴ McClellan MSS. II.

⁵ Copy in McClellan MSS. II., vol. 17, numbered (apparently erroneously) 639. There is no evidence that McClellan held any other than the strictest Union position at any time previous to the Chicago convention. The views expressed in his private correspondence during this period are entirely consistent with those uttered in public. If he so ardently desired the Democratic nomination in 1864 as to prostitute his principles in securing it, no recorded word or personal activity testifies to the fact. As early as Dec. 6, 1863, he wrote to his mother, "I feel very indifferent about the White House—for many reasons I do not wish it—I shall do nothing to get it and trust that Providence will decide the matter as is best for the country" (McClellan MSS. II.). In June, 1864 (day not indicated), he wrote to Frank Blair, sr.: "Here let me repeat the statement which you are aware I have more than once made, that I have not taken a single step nor said one word for the purpose of influencing the action of any political convention, and that I am not an aspirant for nomination for the Presidency" (copy in *ibid.*, vol. 16, 87283).

In the same letter he was "convinced" that the Union "should never be abandoned so long as there is a hope that it can be made to serve the welfare and happiness of the people"

Morgan persisted in his advice, however, in letters dated August 12 and August 17. Unquestionably his object was not disunion, but the fact remains that so far as is known he at no time suggested union as a condition of the armistice he proposed. In view of the widespread war weariness in the North, it must frankly be admitted that the "peace at any price" men could have asked for little more.⁶

While Morgan's letters had no influence, of course, in eliciting a pre-convention statement from McClellan, they unquestionably played an important part in causing the general to weigh most carefully the possibilities of the peace resolution after it had been adopted at Chicago. Such statements as "the masses are bent on peace", "it will be a grave mistake to take the action of a New York multitude as an index of the widespread country", "New York has become rich, and the West poor by the war", and "the peace sentiment has become a torrent which no man can check" carried conviction and could not fail to arrest a political candidate's attention. Subsequent to McClellan's nomination, Edward Farreni, writing from the office of the New York *World*, informed him that "if you do not commit yourself fully to the *peace policy* in your answer to the Executive Committee . . . a large party of peace men . . .

and "deprecate[d]" any feeling "which far from looking to that end tends in a contrary direction". While "our antagonists should be made to know that we are ready to extend the olive branch" they should likewise know that "an honorable peace" could come only "on the basis of the Union of all the States".

As early as March 16, 1864, McClellan had become suspicious of the influence of the radical peace men on the convention arrangements, and he informed S. L. M. Barlow that he didn't "intend to be made a tool of by them. . . . If these miserable intriguers think that they can use me for their purposes I will soon show them that they have mistaken their man—I am sick of the whole thing" (copy in *ibid.*, vol. 15, 86904).

⁶ Morgan saw danger only in the extreme radical position demanding the withdrawal of the Federal armies from invaded territory upon the signing of an armistice (letter to McClellan, June 20, McClellan MSS. II.). His plan was that an armistice for the purpose of negotiation should be proposed to extend from March 10 to April 10. He believed that war could be resumed if necessary, but he doubted that the contingency would arise (letter to McClellan, Aug. 17, *ibid.*). An otherwise unconditional armistice was justified, in his opinion, because "negotiations cannot be successfully carried on 'mid the danger of arms—the loss of a battle, or the burning of a town on either side, would retard negotiations" (letter to McClellan, Aug. 4, *ibid.*). Vallandigham, frustrated in the convention with regard to securing a platform embodying a clear-cut statement of his principles (see letters from August Belmont and Amasa J. Parker to McClellan, Sept. 3 and 5, *ibid.*) was quick to see that even a mere cessation of hostilities probably would entail the end he desired. Therefore in his ratification speech at Dayton, cited *ante*, he stated that the Democratic convention and platform "demanded peace after the failure of the experiment of war, whereby to restore the Union. And no man among the recognized advocates of peace from the beginning of this war to the present hour, has in any formal, public declaration demanded more than the Convention has declared".

intend to drop your ticket . . .". Vollandigham merely added to the general's perturbation with the warning that "if anything implying war is presented, two hundred thousand men in the West will with[h]old their support, and many go further still".⁷ Clearly the general was in a difficult position.

Overwhelmed with advice of all kinds and from all sides, McClellan began the composition of the first draft of his letter. Quoting the cessation of hostilities plank, he proceeded with a conventional reference to "the restoration of the Union, the Constitution, and the ancient harmony and fraternity of the States as they [formerly] existed . . .", expressing the desire of every patriot and Christian "that their restoration shall be secured with as small a sacrifice of blood and treasure as possible, and with no unnecessary hatred and bitterness between the contending parties". Then came the burden of his message. "Among all civilized Nations it is customary during the progress of war, for the combatants now and then to suspend hostilities temporarily for purposes of negotiation and mutual explanations. Such suspensions have sometimes resulted in satisfactory settlements and returns to peace, and at other times in renewals of the contests. These temporary cessations of hostilities for purposes of negotiation constitute a part of the military code of all civilized nations, except in cases where absolute subjugation and extermination are intended." It was "the desire and object" of the Democratic party "to exhaust all peaceable means consistent with the honor and dignity of the Republic, to induce the people of the revolted States to return to their allegiance to the Union and the Constitution". Should the Democratic candidate be elected, it would be his duty "to hold out the olive branch to those now in arms against the Government, and to offer them all the rights and priviledges [*sic*] guaranteed them by the Constitution, in case they will lay down their arms and return to the Union."⁸ But should these peaceable and conciliatory efforts be per-

⁷ Morgan to McClellan, Aug. 12, Aug. 17; Farreni to same, Sept. 2; *ibid.* Vollandigham to same, Sept. 4, McClellan MSS., *First Series*.

⁸ The "rights and priviledges" guaranteed them by the constitution were summed up by the general thus: "In the accomplishment of their great 'aim and object', the Democratic party desires [later changed to "are willing"] to announce frankly to the Southern people that they do not wage war for the abolition of slavery, confiscation, political disfranchisement, or for the destruction of any other right or privilege pertaining to the States, nor for revenge or any purpose of degrading or humiliating them, [preceding eleven words later crossed out] but simply for the Union and the Constitution as established by the founders of the Republic." The view expressed here is entirely consistent with that set forth in the Harrison's Landing letter (McPherson, *op. cit.*, p. 385). It is worth noting, however, that nothing was said in the final letter of acceptance with regard to slavery. But McClellan's

sistently rejected and terms of peace on the 'basis of the Union and Constitution' be definitely refused, then with a united North, with right and justice on our side, and the blessing of the Almighty, we shall be obliged to appeal again to the God of battles, and leave the issue to the arbitrament of the sword."⁹ Clearly McClellan had shifted his position with regard to armistice since Morgan's first letters, and, while he still regarded the South's "return to their allegiance to the Union and the laws" as "vital and indispensable", he looked upon this consummation as the possible result of negotiations conducted under an armistice rather than as a preliminary condition to it. The general was gambling with the gods.

For some reason which is not apparent, McClellan was not completely satisfied with his letter and he made an entirely fresh start. The resulting second draft¹⁰ was then carefully worked over, and, so far as phraseology is concerned, formed the basis of the third draft. But the third draft embodied a fundamental change in attitude, and, with various alterations in diction but with no significant variation in content, became the fourth draft from which the final letter was drawn.¹¹

"We have fought enough to satisfy the military honor of the two sections", runs the second draft, "and to satiate the vengeance of the most vindictive. It is therefore my opinion, that while the restoration of the Union is and should [later changed to "must"] continue to be an [later changed to "the"] indispensable condition in any settlement of the questions at issue in this war, we should use our best endeavors to attain a pacific solution of the controversy without further effusion of blood. I think that all peaceable means, consistent with the honor and safety

personal interest in the matter is further evidenced by a separate and distinct pencilled statement written in the general's hand which is among the McClellan papers. In this he says that he opposes slavery as a national evil and feels that emancipation would tend to promote national security, "but I do not think that forcible abolition should be made an object of the war or a necessary condition of peace and reunion" (McClellan MSS. II., vol. 23, 88912). It is possible that this is a rough draft of what McClellan planned to make a very important paragraph in his letter of acceptance.

⁹ McClellan MSS. II., vol. 23, 88908.

¹⁰ This second draft is marked in McClellan's hand "*1st Rough Draft*", but it appears to be merely the first draft of his second attempt.

¹¹ Unfortunately the various drafts of the letter of acceptance are not dated. However, their logical order would seem, by context, to be as indicated above. The first draft, since it quotes the cessation of hostilities plank, could not have been written before Aug. 30, and the final one, of course, was indited on or before Sept. 8. It would seem indubitable that McClellan's changes in position came within this nine-day period. As the McClellan correspondence is bound at the present time, these drafts are out of place. The specific references to the four preliminary drafts are as follows (all in the *Second Series*): first, vol. 23, 88908; second, vol. 21, 88343; third, vol. 21, 88353; fourth, vol. 23, 88959.

of the country, should be exhausted to secure the restoration of the Union, with the Constitutional rights of all the States fully guaranteed for all future time.”¹² Then follows the idea of resumption of war should the negotiations fail, “for it is better to fight upon the question of the Union than for the adjustment of the inevitable question of a boundary line with its many kindred subjects of dispute, and I, for one, could not look in the face my comrades of the army and navy who have survived so many bloody battles and tell them that their labors and the sacrifice of such numbers of their brothers had been in vain—that we had abandoned the Union for which we had so often risked our lives”. As a parting shot at Northern disunionists he added, “In view of circumstances to which I need not advert this somewhat long and personal explanation has seemed necessary”.¹³ Yet, even so, he had again failed to impose any conditions as a preliminary to the general armistice.

About this time, apparently, McClellan received a letter from August Belmont, agent of the Rothschilds and chairman of the Democratic National Committee, which seems to have determined the final form of the general's statement. “It is absolutely necessary”, wrote Belmont, “that in your letter of acceptance you place yourself squarely and unequivocally on the ground that you will never surrender one foot of soil and that peace can only be based upon the reconstruction of the Union—In other words cessation of hostilities can only be agreed upon *after* we have sufficient guarantee from the South that they are ready for a peace under the Union. . . .”¹⁴ Accordingly, a new note crept into McClellan's third draft. Retaining the sentiment that there had been sufficient fighting, he insinuated the fundamental change into the next sentence. “It is, then, my opinion”, ran the new version, “that, while the restoration of the Union in all its integrity is and must continue to be the indispensable condition in any settlement of the questions at issue in this war, we should, *as soon as it is clear, or even probable, that our present adversaries are willing to negotiate upon the basis of the immediate restoration of the Federal Union of the States*,¹⁵ exhaust all peaceable means consistent with the honor and safety of the country,

¹² In the corrected form of this second draft, the second and third sentences as quoted above were telescoped into one, to read: “It is therefore my opinion that while the restoration of the Union is and must continue to be the indispensable [*sic*] condition in any settlement of the questions at issue in this war, we should exhaust all peaceable means, consistent with the honor and safety of the country, to secure the restoration of the Union with the Constitutional rights of all the States guaranteed for all future time.”

¹³ McClellan MSS. II., vol. 21, 88343.

¹⁴ Sept. 3, McClellan MSS. II.

¹⁵ The italics are mine.

to secure that restoration of the Union, with the Constitutional rights of all the States guaranteed for all future time."¹⁶

The general's "repudiation" of his platform was now nearly ready for publication. All that remained to be done was to strike out any phrases smacking of defeatism,¹⁷ to eliminate "any word in regard to *peace*, which cd be tortured by any [one] into anything like ignoble compromise",¹⁸ to add as a separate paragraph a plank which had been inadvertently left out of the platform as reported by the resolutions committee,¹⁹ and to tone up the whole document with a "punch" sentence or so²⁰ in order that it might convey an impression of crisp, terse unionism in the candidate.²¹

McClellan, then, had shifted his ground twice. Starting with an attitude of contempt for armistice in any sense, he had adopted the idea of unconditional armistice at the risk of disunion. He then took a position on middle ground which made armistice impossible from the Southern point of view, yet did not ignore the Northern demand for potential "peace with honor". Did he change his attitude to conform with changing conceptions of the relative strength of the factions in his party? Was it due to his inability to fathom immediately the dangerous implications of his second position? Did he carry over into political life the indecision which characterized his military career? Or was he changing consciously and deliberately in an endeavor to do what he honestly

¹⁶ McClellan MSS. II., vol. 21, 88353.

¹⁷ For example, the sentence commencing "We have fought enough to satisfy the military honor of the two sections" was dropped in the fourth draft, which, from its context could not have been written earlier than Sept. 6 (McClellan MSS. II., vol. 23, 88959).

¹⁸ W. Adams to McClellan, no place, no date, McClellan MSS. II., vol. 23, 88980. This would seem to be William Adams, pastor of the Madison Square Presbyterian Church in New York. From the context of the letter, Adams had gone over McClellan's letter critically. It is possible that those interlineations in this fourth draft which are not in the general's hand, are Adams's. For example, there is the sentence: "And no peace can be permanent without Union." McClellan himself seems to have changed the wording of his key line from "so soon as it is clear or even probable that our present adversaries are *willing to negotiate* upon the basis of the Federal Union of the States" to "*ready for peace* upon the basis", etc.

¹⁹ Amasa J. Parker to McClellan, Sept. 5, McClellan MSS. II. This is the sentence in both the fourth draft and the final letter commencing, "Let me add, what I doubt not was, although unexpressed, the sentiment of the convention . . .".

²⁰ For example, the sentence "The Union is the one condition of peace—we ask no more" was added to the final letter (McPherson, *op. cit.*), but is not to be found in any of the drafts.

²¹ The success of this endeavor is reflected in the editorial opinion on the letter. See especially the *Detroit Free Press*, Sept. 10; the *Chicago Post*, Sept. 10; the *New York World*, Sept. 9; the *Columbus Ohio Statesman*, Sept. 10; and the *Missouri Republican*, Sept. 10.

thought was best for the people of the North? As in so many other cases, the records are silent as to the human aspect of the matter.

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NAVASSA: A FORGOTTEN ACQUISITION

A little known aspect of the expansion of the United States is the acquisition of certain scattered island "appurtenances" which the government has refrained from speaking of as possessions. Even before the Civil War, expansionists sought to extend American rule over non-contiguous territory and made efforts to secure Cuba, the Hawaiian Islands, a naval station in Santo Domingo, Alaska, and a zone across Panama. These ambitious plans failed, but quite incidentally, and almost without public notice, a peculiar beginning was made in the collection of islands outside our territorial waters.

In the forties and fifties of the last century, large portions of the older agricultural area of the United States showed unmistakable signs of a loss of fertility. The appearance of a new and potent fertilizer, called guano, was hailed therefore as a godsend and demands for it multiplied. The only large supply then exploited was located on certain islands off the coast of Peru where for centuries hosts of birds had been depositing this fertilizer. The Peruvian government found it a constant and convenient source of revenue and sold it only through British or Peruvian agents who charged so high a price and provided so irregular a supply that American farmers became exasperated. The State Department busied itself during the fifties attempting to arrange with Peru, Ecuador, and Venezuela for a cheaper and better marketed supply, but repeated efforts accomplished very little. Adventurous sea captains therefore were encouraged to seek out uninhabited and out of the way islands where birds might have dwelt peacefully for long periods of time. Several of these were reported, but the announcement of efforts to take off guano might lead to complications. As a matter of fact the exploitation of the guano possibilities of a small island, Aves, some three hundred miles off the coast of Venezuela had caused that republic to remember a long forgotten jurisdiction over this far away dot and to drive off the American diggers. The United States had never claimed any islands by right of discovery and had no machinery either for legalizing such claims or for authorizing the government to protect them. If a repetition of the Aves discomfiture was to be prevented it would be necessary to enact a

law providing regulations for registering such discoveries at the State Department and enabling the President to protect the rights of the discoverers by force if necessary.

Upon the urging of New York and Boston guano speculators, William H. Seward sponsored a bill in Congress which became the law of August 18, 1856. This act provided that when any American citizen "may have discovered, or shall hereafter discover, a deposit of guano on any island, rock, or key not within the lawful jurisdiction of any other government, and not occupied by the citizens of any other government, and shall take peaceable possession thereof, and occupy the same, said island, rock or key, may, at the discretion of the President of the United States, be considered as appertaining to the United States". Evidence of the formal act of taking possession and maintaining peaceable possession in the name of the United States was to be filed at the State Department together with a bond to the effect that the discoverers would sell guano only according to rules laid down in the act. When explorers had fulfilled these requirements the island, rock, or key might be proclaimed as appertaining to the United States. Trade with such places was to be regulated as coasting trade between different parts of the United States, the laws relating to acts performed or crimes committed on merchant vessels on the high seas were applied to govern these islands, and the President might use the "land and naval forces of the United States" to protect the rights of the discoverers.¹

Under the authority of this act, between 1856 and 1885 some seventy islands and groups of islands were recognized as appertaining to the United States. The first two were Baker and Jarvis Islands lying nearly on the equator southwest of the Hawaiian Islands, $0^{\circ} 15' N.$ Lat., $176^{\circ} 30' W.$ Long., and $0^{\circ} 21' S.$ Lat. and $159^{\circ} 52' W.$ Long. respectively. They were registered at the State Department on October 28, 1856, though no proclamation was issued by the Secretary until March 2, 1861. Since that time they have been occupied intermittently by American guano diggers, but in 1889 Great Britain took possession of Jarvis without any protest from the State Department. They are designated as American, British, or undetermined possessions on a variety of maps and the United States seemingly has no active interest in them.² It is with the third island to be registered that we are particularly concerned.

¹ 11 *U. S. Stat.*, 119-120. The details of these negotiations with the Latin American republics and the legislation subsequently enacted are contained in a paper "Latin American Guano Diplomacy" delivered by the author before the Hispanic American Seminar at George Washington University during the summer of 1932. It will appear in the published proceedings of those sessions.

² John Bassett Moore, *A Digest of International Law* (Washington, 1906), I, 572, 574.

On July 1, 1857, Peter Duncan, a ship captain, discovered that the island of Navassa contained guano. Navassa is a barren isle, shaped like an oyster shell, about a square mile in area, formed of volcanic limestone and so filled with holes as to have the appearance of a petrified sponge. It is situated some thirty miles west of Haiti, 18° 10' N. Lat., 75° W. Long., about seventy-five miles east of Jamaica. Captain Duncan found it unoccupied and covered with an amount of guano which he estimated at one million tons. He took possession in the name of the United States and upon his return home assigned his discoverer's rights to Captain E. O. Cooper. The latter and Edward K. Cooper of Baltimore, who seems to have been the business agent, sent John B. Lewis to the island to work the guano deposit and filed formal notice of the discovery at the State Department on December 3, 1857, without supplying either the required certificate of peaceable possession or the bond.³

Cooper had once had a partner in the guano trade, a Jamaican, Ramoth by name, with whom he had broken, as it was later reported, because of Ramoth's inefficiency. The latter had harbored a desire to get even and now saw his chance. He went to Port-au-Prince, suggested to the emperor that the island belonged to Haiti and obtained a lease of the island, contracting to give the government one-third of the proceeds of any guano sales. The new leaseholder then went to the governor of Jamaica and told him that Americans were taking Ramoth's guano. The Jamaican executive promptly gave him a letter to the emperor of Haiti supporting a request for a war vessel to protect this Haitian island from American invasion. E. K. Cooper learned of this and hastened to complete the formalities connected with filing evidence in the State Department. He presented an affidavit of peaceful possession which Lewis had made recently and on April 23 warned the Secretary of State that the Haitian government might interfere.

The emperor of Haiti acted early in June and sent two vessels to order the Americans off his island of Navassa. Cooper turned immediately to President Buchanan and Secretary Cass for protection with the result that a frigate was ordered to proceed to the scene. In spite of a second hostile expedition, the Americans stuck to their digging until Commander Turner arrived on the *Saratoga* in August. He found that the visiting officers had attempted nothing violent; nevertheless he deemed it wise to go to Port-au-Prince to give formal notice that the United States would protect American guano diggers under the law of 1856.

³ The papers relating to the discovery and early difficulties regarding Navassa are found in the State Department Archives in vol. V. of the series marked "Miscellaneous Letters Relating to Guano Islands", hereafter referred to as Guano Is. MSS. Some of these papers are printed in 36 Cong., 1st sess., *Sen. Exec. Doc.*, vol. IX., no. 37.

The Haitian government meanwhile had become acquainted with Ramoth's real motives. Under the circumstances the emperor was not disposed to get into trouble with the United States just to satisfy the contractor's revenge and even without Turner's show of force would probably have refrained from violent action. The negro potentate contented himself with filing a protest through the Haitian commercial agent in the United States, B. C. Clark of Boston. The latter claimed Navassa for Haiti on the ground that the island in question had belonged first to Spain and then to France during the colonial era and had been acknowledged to be Haitian when the French recognized the independence of their erstwhile colony.

John Appleton, assistant secretary of state, replied, November 17, 1858, that the department had proof that the island was abandoned and derelict when Duncan discovered it and that the United States intended to protect its citizens in taking guano. Appleton concluded, though, with the statement "the act does not make it obligatory upon the government to retain permanent possession of the island". Sometime later Cooper filed the required bond and on December 8, 1859, Cass at length issued the first guano island proclamation declaring that the required notice of the discovery of guano and the occupation of Navassa in the name of the United States had been filed in the State Department, and that the United States government would protect American citizens in taking guano from the island.⁴ The act of 1856 as interpreted by the State Department was not intended to invest the United States with sovereignty over any of these guano islands⁵ and the proclamation simply stated that the Secretary of State recognized the fact that the island was being occupied in the name of the United States. Presumably the legal status of the island was that of an "appurtenance" rather than a "possession".

Guano continued to be taken from Navassa in the years that followed, principally by the Navassa Phosphate Company and the United States continued to regard the island with an eye which was at least occasionally watchful. When Haiti sought to establish its claim to the island in 1872, Secretary Fish issued an elaborate denial of any such right,⁶ but no

⁴ Appleton's letter is found in the State Department Archives, Domestic Letters, XLIX., 366. The proclamation is found in the State Department Archives, Guano Is. MSS. V., and is printed in part in 137 *U. S. Reports*, 220-221. Other claimants appeared who filed affidavits of discovery for the same island but the State Department ignored them. Their papers are in the Guano Is. MSS. V.

⁵ W. R. Castle, Acting Secretary of State, to the author, Sept. 1, 1932.

⁶ Fish to Preston, Dec. 31, 1872, June 10, 1873, Notes to Haiti, I., 124, 153, State Dept. Archives.

other official attention was given the question by the department. The rather uncertain status of the island was clarified, however, by the courts as the result of a riot. In 1889 some Negro laborers attacked their white bosses, and the superintendent and several of his assistants were killed. At the request of the American consul at Kingston, Jamaica, a British war ship was sent to the island to maintain order and the U. S. S. *Kearsarge* brought the Negroes to Baltimore where they were tried and convicted of murder under the guano act of 1856. Their counsel sought to stay the execution on the grounds that the law of 1856 was unconstitutional, that the island did not appertain to the United States, and that the United States court had no jurisdiction over crimes committed on Navassa. The case passed to the Supreme Court which refused to accept these contentions and decided that "the island of Navassa must be considered as appertaining to the United States".⁷

The last link in the rather submerged chain binding the island to the United States was forged in the twentieth century. Although guano digging ceased during the first decade and Navassa was to all intents abandoned, the State Department did not admit any change in its status. In fact it was not long before this rather moribund interest in the "appurtenance" was revived. As the Panama Canal was approaching completion, Navassa assumed a new importance. The island lay in a direct sea lane from New York to Panama and was the first landfall sighted by ships sailing northward from Panama to New York. Its position made it a menace to shipping and plans were initiated to set up a warning light upon it.

General George W. Gordon, Representative from Tennessee, introduced a bill to erect a light house to serve as a monument to Matthew Fontaine Maury; it was proposed to build this structure on Navassa. In due course a congressional committee stopped to view Navassa and Representative Esch was moved to poetical expression. One of his stanzas expressed his hope:

⁷ The report of *Jones v. U. S.* is in 137 *U. S. Reports*, 202-224. See also a pamphlet *The Navassa Island Riot* (Baltimore, 1889), published by the National Grand Tabernacle, Order of Galilean Fishermen, to raise money for the defense. During the Cuban revolution Navassa was used as a base to aid the revolutionaries and an American was convicted for violating U. S. law (*Revised Stat.*, sec. 5286) thereby. In 1898 some Haitians or Dominicans were reported as occupying the island and preventing the agents of the Navassa Phosphate Company from landing. No action was taken, guano digging days were about over, and the company nearly defunct. Even the Haitians abandoned the island. When the Phosphate Company went into the hands of a receiver its rights were sold but the purchasers did not prosper. Moore, *Digest of International Law*, I. 577.

Soon may thy reign of terror end
 And welcome lights their rays extend
 To gladden the weary storm-tossed sailor's sight
 On ships that pass by in the night—Navassa.

The proposal to commemorate Maury's services was abandoned after Gordon's death but Congress provided the light. The House, under the influence of a reading of Esch's poetic plea by Adamson of Georgia, inserted the necessary appropriation and the Senate concurred.⁸ The purpose of Congress thus to light more adequately an important approach to the Panama Canal made necessary a public notice to the world. President Wilson proclaimed on January 17, 1916, that whereas the Island of Navassa was then "under the sole and exclusive jurisdiction of the United States and out of the jurisdiction of any other government", and whereas Congress had decided to build a light station thereon, "the said Island of Navassa in the West Indies be and the same is hereby reserved for lighthouse purposes, such reservation being deemed necessary in the public interests, subject to such legislative action as the Congress of the United States may take with respect thereto".⁹

In due time and after great difficulty the light house was erected and since October 21, 1917, has flashed its nightly warning to passing ships.¹⁰ To the general public Navassa is still as obscure as it always has been, but nevertheless it remains the oldest of our islands whether possessions or "appurtenances".

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⁸ *Cong. Rec.*, 63 Cong., 1st sess., 4522; Act of Oct. 22, 1913, 38 *U. S. Stat.* 224. See also *Cong. Rec.*, 62 Cong., 1st sess., 1063 and House Bill 8895, same session.

⁹ 39 *U. S. Stat.*, 1763. W. R. Castle, Acting Secretary of State, to author, Sept. 1, 1932.

¹⁰ George R. Putnam, An Important New Guide for Shipping, *Nat. Geog. Mag.*, XXXIV. 401. At first the light was tended by several keepers who lived there with their families but so isolated was the spot where mail could be received only two or three times a year that it was difficult to find any one who would take this post. In May, 1929, therefore the light was made automatic and the island is now visited but twice a year by a light house tender. At these times the light is thoroughly overhauled and the acetylene tanks refilled. G. R. Putnam, Commissioner of Lighthouses, to the author, Oct. 10, 1932.

DOCUMENTS

The Lyons-Seward Treaty of 1862

ON April 25, 1862, an Anglo-American treaty concerning the African slave trade was unanimously ratified by the Senate of the United States. Its conclusion accorded well with the general policy of the Lincoln administration. To legislate against the slave trade was an obvious way of conciliating all shades of Republican feeling in the states, without offending the Union Democrats. To conclude with Great Britain a convention of the kind she had so frequently suggested was also a means of enlisting British sympathy for the North. Until the outbreak of the Civil War the United States had always repused any proposals involving the search of American vessels by British warships engaged in hunting slavers. She now agreed to permit the practice in certain seas, but the Secretary of State was careful to let it be known that the convention had been "freely offered by this government to Great Britain, not bought or solicited".¹ Seward's statement was apparently confirmed by the treaty papers laid before Congress and Parliament,² and this version of the story has hitherto been unquestioned. Its intentional inaccuracy is, however, revealed by a study of the secret correspondence between Lord Lyons, British minister at Washington, and the British foreign office printed below.³

In the spring of 1861, the American cruiser squadron stationed off West Africa, under the terms of the Webster-Ashburton treaty (1842), had been withdrawn to assist in the Southern blockade. It became more difficult than ever to prevent the slavers, plying between Africa and Cuba, from sheltering under the American flag. As early as May 10, 1861, Secretary Seward told the British minister at Washington that he was willing to make some alternative arrangement for protecting the Stars and Stripes from this abuse. Lord Lyons was instructed

¹ Seward to Perry, U. S. Minister to Spain, Aug. 2, 1862, published on Dec. 1, 1862, 37 Cong., 3 sess., *House Exec. Docs.*, vol. I., no. 1, pt. 1, p. 473.

² 37 Cong., 2 sess., *Sen. Exec. Docs.*, vol. V., no. 57; *Parl. Papers* [Command 3160], H. C., 1863, vol. LXXI., pp. 286 ff.

³ *Infra*, pp. 516 ff. The transcripts which follow are taken from the Public Record Office, London. The almost unexplored series, Foreign Office, Slave Trade (F. O. 84) throws much light on Anglo-American relations between 1815 and the Civil War. The papers published below are from the volumes F. C. 84/1170, 1171, and 115/307.

to reply that the search and arrest of such vessels by the British squadrons off West Africa and Cuba would be the most effective method. Since Seward hoped that the Civil War would soon be over, when the recalled ships could be sent back to Africa, he at first refused the offer of a convention. But he assured Lyons that meanwhile the new administration would have "none of the squeamishness about allowing American vessels to be boarded and searched which had characterized their predecessors". He even signed with the British envoy a secret memorandum to that effect. Lyons already perceived in the Union "a desire to rally the Anti-Slavery feeling in England to the Northern Cause", and seized the opportunity to obtain what he described as "something sufficiently definite for our Cruisers to act upon with respect to American slavers".⁴ But he was rather doubtful "as to the constancy with which Mr. Seward would abide by his Memorandum and take his share of the blame if any trouble came out of it"; and the foreign office chiefs in London thought the private agreement "worth little or nothing".⁵

It seemed too dangerous to continue for long, although Seward lived up to his word. Instead of conveying the familiar recriminations of old days, the new United States minister in London actually thanks the British government for detecting American slavers.⁶ Lord John Russell felt, however, that the memorandum "would be of little avail against a popular cry founded on the indisputable doctrine of International Law that the Right of Search cannot be lawfully exercised in time of peace". At any moment "Agitation and ill-will" might be provoked "by the appearance of a British cruiser in the Port of New York with a Slave as a Prize". To obviate such a risk the British foreign secretary again put forward his former proposal, and on February 28, 1862, sent out to Lyons a draft Search treaty, already printed, and complete with Instructions for the Commissioners in Mixed Anglo-American Courts which would try captured British or American vessels accused of slave trading.⁷ By this time Seward, largely on account of his peculiar position after the *Trent* affair, was particularly anxious to keep on friendly terms with England. He refused, however, to consider signing the draft treaty sub-

⁴ Lyons and Russell correspondence, nos. 4 and 5 of May 10, Aug. 22 (confidential), Sept. 10 (confidential), Nov. 7, 13 (enclosing memorandum), 1861, and nos. 4 and 5, Feb. 28, 1862, in F. O. 84/1137, and F. O. 115/260, 307.

⁵ Lyons to Russell, Nov. 11 (private), and 15 (private and confidential), 1861, P. R. O., Russell MSS., G. D. 22/25; British Museum Add. MS. 38987, f. 395 Layard Papers, "Memorandum between Seward and Lyons".

⁶ Adams to Russell, Aug. 6, 1861, *et passim*, F. O. 84/1137.

⁷ Russell to Lyons, Feb. 28, 1862, F. O. 115/307.

mitted to him by Lyons on March 21, "unless the proposal should have the air of coming originally from the United States".⁸ Lyons, who feared that quarrels over neutral rights and the Southern blockade might disturb the existing calm at any moment, did not wait to consult the foreign office, but at once consented to Seward's subterfuge for hoodwinking the Senate and public.⁹ A formal correspondence was conducted which, as already remarked, when presented to Congress and Parliament, created the impression that the overtures came from the United States, and not from Great Britain.

It was made to appear that Seward opened the negotiation on March 22 by writing to Lyons inviting him to sign a Slave Trade treaty, a draft of which he enclosed. Actually this was the identical, printed, British draft, with the formal headings reversed in red ink. Lyons played his part by replying with an objection to a clause limiting the duration of the treaty to ten years, but did not desire "to obstruct or retard the progress of the negotiation". In point of fact this clause was the only alteration Seward had made in the British draft and he suggested that Lyons, who regarded it as unimportant, should make a show of opposing it, but eventually accept it, as if overborne by the firmness of the American government. There followed, therefore, an exchange of notes in which Seward refused to remove the clause and Lyons waived his objections: whereupon the treaty was signed by the two conspirators on April 7, 1862, with the ten year limitation left in.¹⁰

Seward's little plot manifests his keen anxiety for the success of the negotiation. Even a sympathetic Senate would undoubtedly, he foresaw, ratify a Right of Search convention proposed by America far more readily than a British project. And this treaty involved greater concessions by the United States than had ever been requested by Great Britain since she first began building up her system of search treaties in the time of Lord Castlereagh. From the American point of view the only redeeming features were the ten year clause, which Seward suggested might be eliminated in the Senate by the anti-slavery party, and the provision that the captains and crews of condemned ships were to be sent home for trial.¹¹ It was a sufficiently remarkable proof of the zeal of the Lincoln government in their campaign against the slave trade that, with

⁸ Lyons to Russell, Mar. 21 (telegram in cypher), 1862, F. O. 84/1171.

⁹ Lyons to Russell, Mar. 21 (confidential), and Mar. 25 (confidential), 1862, F. O. 84/1171; cf. Lyons to Russell, Mar. 25 (private), 1862, Russell MSS., G. D. 22/26.

¹⁰ F. O. 84/1171, F. O. 115/309, 313. These volumes contain the formal and secret correspondence between Lyons and Seward. See extracts printed below.

¹¹ Lyons to Russell, Mar. 31 (confidential), 1862, F. O. 84/1171.

the exception of Gideon Welles, Secretary of the Navy, apparently the whole administration was willing to accept this thoroughgoing treaty.¹² Lyons, for his part, was "not so sanguine" as Seward about getting it past the Senate by the latter's artifice; but the Secretary's forecast that the maneuver would succeed proved well within the mark. On April 25 Lyons was able to telegraph to London that the treaty had been ratified unanimously. Charles Sumner, who piloted it through the Senate, had brushed aside the old contention that American courts on foreign soil would be unconstitutional, and this had been the only serious objection raised.¹³

Seward was highly delighted at the success of his diplomacy. He was resting on a couch in the State Department at Washington when Sumner burst in with the news of ratification. Seward leapt to his feet, and his unpremeditated exclamation was significant. "Good God!" he cried, "The Democrats have disappeared. This is the greatest act of the administration." It was indeed an unexpectedly full approval of the new anti-slavery policy of the Lincoln government. "If I have done nothing else worthy of self-congratulation, I deem this treaty sufficient to have lived for", wrote Seward to an intimate at this time, and Sumner narrated the details of his triumph to Lord Lyons "with tears of joy in his eyes". The cold-blooded Englishman contented himself with noting that the treaty seemed "to be very generally approved".¹⁴

Over in England they were more enthusiastic than their envoy. Lord John Russell voiced the opinion of the foreign office when he wrote, "We all rejoice in it". Even the *Times*, much as it had always disliked Yankees and Abolitionists, joined in the general applause. Henry Brougham, last survivor of the original British abolitionist group of 1807, struck the same jubilant note heard on the other side of the Atlantic. He rose in the House of Lords to proclaim the treaty "in many respects the most important event that had occurred during the period of his sixty years warfare against the African Slave Trade".¹⁵ Believing that

¹² So Seward told Lyons, Lyons to Russell, Mar. 25 (confidential), 1862, F. O. 84/1171. Welles, in his unreliable *Lincoln and Seward* (New York, 1874), says "The treaty was quietly negotiated. I knew nothing of it until after its ratification, for it was not submitted for Cabinet consultation at any stage of its progress" (p. 132). Cf. Welles, *Diary*, I, 155, 163, 166, 192-193.

¹³ Lyons to Russell, Mar. 31 (private), 1862, Russell MSS., G. D. 22/26; Apr. 25, 1862, F. O. 84/1171.

¹⁴ Lyons to Russell, Apr. 25, May 2, 1862, Russell MSS.; E. L. Pierce, *Sumner* (1893), IV, 68-69; F. Bancroft, *Life of Seward* (1900), II, 345; W. H. Seward, *Autobiography* (1891), III, 85.

¹⁵ Russell to Lyons, Apr. 26, May 2, 1862, Russell MSS.; London *Times*, May 24, 1862; Hansard, *Parl. Debates*, ser. 3, May 20, 26, 1862, cols. 1957-1959, 2179-2181.

one could not have too much of such a good thing, Brougham suggested extending the zone of search to include other plague spots as well. This was done with regard to the seas around Porto Rico and Madagascar in February, 1863, when, after the intervening *Alabama* controversy had died down, British opinion, coached by the abolition societies, had begun definitely to favor the Northern cause.¹⁶ By this time the Washington treaty was in operation: the mixed commission courts had been set up, warrants issued to cruisers, and a small controversy over the interpretation of the conceded right of search settled.

Gideon Welles, the efficient American Secretary of the Navy, mistrusted Seward, and thought the British foreign office had bluffed him into surrendering the American claim to search British blockade runners off the Southern coasts. He argued that since permission to search was confined by the treaty to certain areas, American vessels furnished with warrants under it would be able within those seas to stop only vessels suspected of slave trading. The foreign office could not believe that his objection to issuing instructions was sincere; but Lyons, in order to discover what the trouble really was, entertained the assistant-secretary of the navy at dinner, and promised to declare that the powers given by the slave trade treaty were added to belligerent rights, not substituted for them. When this declaration had been officially made, Welles offered no further obstructions. Yet he continued to suspect the purity of Britain's motives in securing the convention, and long after the Civil War was over attacked his old colleague, Seward, for his supposed subservience to British interests.¹⁷

Although search warrants were issued early in 1863 to ten American warships cruising in West Indian waters, and to the solitary corvette off West Africa, the United States was unable to detach any squadron for the special work of suppression until the war was over. No objection was made, however, to British cruisers acting in its absence. This understanding was really all that Britain required to complete her search system. No flag was now immune from the attentions of her West African squadron. Even before the American warrants reached them in November, 1862, the cruisers had been instructed to arrest without

¹⁶ *Parl. Papers* [Command 3129], H. C., 1863, LXXI. 1. The concluding of the treaty had perhaps only a slight, but nevertheless valuable, influence on British opinion, but its practical success is beyond question. Cf. E. D. Adams, *Great Britain and the American Civil War* (1925), II. 90.

¹⁷ Welles, *Diary*, II. 163, 166, 192-193; 236; Welles to Seward, Dec. 2, Seward to Lyons, Dec. 3 (unofficial), Lyons to Russell, Dec. 8, 1862 (confidential), F. O. 115/312; Lyons to Seward, Jan. 26, 1863, F. O. 84/1202; Welles, *Lincoln and Seward*, pp. 132 ff.

hesitation all slavers under the Stars and Stripes.¹⁸ The effect on the Cuban traffic was at once evident. The number of slaves illegally introduced into the island between September 30, 1859, and September 30, 1860, had been computed at 30,473 persons; and during the following year the figures were still 23,964. In 1861 to 1862 they dropped to 11,254; in 1862-1863 to 7507; in 1863-1864 to 6807, of whom 3974 were rescued after landing by the Cuban authorities. Finally in 1864-1865, the last year of the Civil War, the numbers had shrunk to 143 only, all of whom were rescued.¹⁹

This striking decrease was not solely attributable to the disappearance of the American flag from the traffic. When Spain realized that the United States would no longer lend her moral support to the Cuban slave trade, she herself made a more determined effort to check it by appointing a captain-general of Cuba with a real enthusiasm for suppression and with the assistance of the home government.²⁰ Henceforward, though the traffic in men continued so long as Cuban slavery begot a demand for slaves, it was a hole and corner affair. Reforming statesmen were able to devote their attention to the internal slave trading of Africa and the Arab traffic on the East Coast. Strongest evidence of all that the Lyons-Seward treaty had achieved its object is the fact that not a single slaver was ever tried in the mixed commission courts set up under it.²¹ In 1870, two years before it was due, under Seward's clause, to expire, a new convention did away with them. By that time the transatlantic slave trade had virtually disappeared.

University College, London.

A. TAYLOR MILNE.

I.²²

Foreign Office
February 28, 1862.

My Lord,

Mr. Adams spoke to me a few days ago on the subject of the African Slave Trade. He deplored the vigour and success with which the traffic is carried

¹⁸ On the strength of the Lyons-Seward memorandum. France had her own West African squadron, but permitted the verification of a ship's nationality by British gunboats.

¹⁹ Minute by Wylde, chief of the Slave Trade Department at the foreign office, F. O. 84/1215.

²⁰ Consul Bunch to Russell, Havana, Sept. 30, 1865, F. O. 84/1236.

²¹ J. B. Moore, *Digest of International Law* (Washington, 1906), II. 467, n. C; *Parl. Papers* [Command 3490], H. C., 1865, LVI., Return of Cases tried in the Mixed Commission Courts . . . since 1860.

²² Russell to Lyons, Slave Trade, no. 4, F. O. 115/307. The original letters from Earl Russell to Lord Lyons are all in this volume of the Washington legation archives. F. O. 84/1170 contains drafts and copies kept in London. There is a draft of this letter in Russell's own handwriting.

on at Cuba, and placed in my hands a Despatch from the United States Consul at Havana, of which I enclose a Copy.

This information had previously reached Her Majesty's Government from Her Majesty's Consul at Havana.

Mr. Adams went on to say, that the Government of the United States would be glad to see our Cruizers sent to the Coast of Cuba.

I did not give any formal answer, but said, "that the difficulty lay in the Question of the Right of Search, upon which so much Correspondence has taken place".

The United States are bound by Treaty to have a Squadron with 80 guns on the Coast of Africa to intercept and prevent the Slave Trade: They have now only one vessel of 22 Guns.

I know the United States Minister excuses this non-fulfilment of Treaty, on the ground of the necessity of blockading the coast of the Southern States, and thus the Blockade of the Southern Ports, which inflicts gross and serious injury on British Commerce and manufactures, is made a Reason by the United States Government for not fulfilling their Engagements towards Great Britain in a matter in regard to which the British nation have long taken the most lively Interest.

The result is that American Cruizers are taken away from the African coast on the ground of the Civil War, while British Cruizers are kept away from the Cuban Coast in deference to American jealousy with respect to the United States Flag.

I am well aware that Mr. Seward has told you, as Mr. Adams has told me, that the American Government have no objection to the overhauling of American ships by British Cruizers, provided there exist good grounds of suspicion.

But a verbal Agreement of this kind might be of little avail against a popular cry, founded on the indisputable doctrine of International Law, that the Right of Search cannot be lawfully exercised in time of Peace.

The only alternative I can perceive, is, that the United States Government should either keep up their Squadron of 80 Guns on the Coast of Africa, with a sufficient number of Cruizers on the Coast of Cuba, or that the United States should give their Consent to an efficient Slave Trade Treaty.

I send you a Draft of a Treaty for that purpose.

It is true that the United States by agreeing to this Treaty would not be relieved from the formal obligations of the Treaty of 1842, by which she is bound to keep a Squadron with a fixed number of Guns on the Coast of Africa.

But the proposed Treaty would enable British Men of War to supply, to a certain degree, the want of American Cruizers.

In any event it would befit the United States to join in the most vigorous measures for the suppression of the Traffic in Slaves.

I am [etc.]

RUSSELL.

The Lord Lyons, K. C. B.

II.²³

Foreign Office,
February 28, 1862.

My Lord,

Your Lordship's Dispatches Slave Trade Nos. 1 and 2 of the 11th Instant, reporting the substance of a conversation which you had with Mr. Seward, relative to the search and capture by British Cruizers of American Vessels engaged in the Slave Trade, have impressed my mind still more strongly than before, with the necessity of some Agreement in the shape of a formal Convention upon this Subject.

Giving full credit to Mr. Seward for his sincerity, I cannot but feel apprehensive that upon the appearance of a British Cruizer in the Port of New York, with a Slaver as a Prize, much ingenuity would be exercised, to show that the Slaver had been subjected to search and capture, without regard to Law or Treaty.

I should be sorry to give such a pretext for Agitation and ill-will.

I hope to send you, by the present Mail, the outline of a Convention which would make the Relations of the two Countries clear, and contribute greatly to the Suppression of the Slave Trade.

I am [etc.]

RUSSELL.

The Lord Lyons, K. C. B.

III.²⁴

S. T. Foreign Office,
March 1st, 1862.

My Lord,

With reference to my despatch Slave Trade No. 4. of the 28 Ultimo transmitting to you the Draft of a Treaty between Great Britain and the United States for the suppression of the Slave Trade, I have to state to you that so much ill feeling has been created at different times by the exercise of a Right of Visit on the part of British Cruizers that Her Majesty's Government deem that it would be very inexpedient to instruct the Lords of the Admiralty to sanction any practice of overhauling American Merchant Ships suspected to be Slavers on the mere Authority of an informal Agreement with the Secretary of State of the United States.

At the same time Her Majesty's Government are fully convinced of the sincerity of the United States Government in their professions of a desire to suppress the Slave Trade. This desire is in conformity with the well known sentiment of the President and the principal Members of his Administration.

But, if such is the case, it is much to be desired that the rules of proceeding for the Men of War of the two Nations should be clear and precise.

By this means all dispute on the rights of Naval Commanders to visit and search Vessels may be avoided.

With this view I have had drawn up the Draft Treaty of which I desire you to give a Copy to Mr. Seward.

²³ Russell to Lyons, Slave Trade, no. 5, F. O. 115/307. Rough draft in F. O. 84/1170 in Russell's own handwriting.

²⁴ Russell to Lyons, Slave Trade, no. 6, F. O. 115/307.

If he is willing to entertain the subject, you can then discuss with him its various provisions.

I am [etc.]

RUSSELL.

The Lord Lyons, K. C. B.

IV.²⁵

Washington,
March 15, 1862.

My Lord, I had this morning the honour to receive Your Lordship's despatches of the 25th ultimo, marked "Slave Trade" Nos. 4 and 5, and Your Lordship's Dispatch of the 1st instant marked "Slave Trade" No. 6. I have since seen Mr. Seward and have spoken to him, in the sense of those Despatches, on the subject of the search and capture by British Cruizers of American Vessels engaged in the Slave Trade. I said to Mr. Seward that in the opinion of Her Majesty's Government the only mode of providing for the safe and lawful exercise of a power to effect such searches and captures, would be the conclusion of an efficient Slave Trade Treaty between the two Countries; and I put into his hands the Draft of such a Treaty which was inclosed in your Lordship's No. 4 already referred to.

Mr. Seward appeared to doubt its being advisable to enter at the present moment into negotiations for the conclusion of a Treaty. He said, however, that he would consider the matter. He observed that the occupation of the Coast of the Southern States by the Federal troops would, he supposed, soon very much diminish the number of ships required to maintain the Blockade and would thus enable this Government to employ an efficient Squadron in operations against the Slave Trade.

I have [etc.]

LYONS.

V.

[Confidential]

Washington. March 21, 1862.

My Lord, I have to-day had the honor to despatch to your Lordship a telegram, in cypher, in the following words:

"Mr. Seward is willing to propose to me to negotiate a Slave Trade Treaty, provided the proposal have the air of coming originally from the United States, instead of from us. I have agreed to this. It may therefore be well not to mention that we have already made a proposal. Mr. Seward says he shall propose stipulations not materially differing from those in your Draft. Washington March twenty one."

I have [etc.]

LYONS.

VI.²⁶

[Confidential]

Washington March 25, 1862.

My Lord, In my despatch of the 15th Instant marked "Slave Trade" No. 5, I had the honour to inform Your Lordship that I had placed in Mr. Seward's hands the Draft of the Slave Trade Treaty, which was transmitted to me in Your Lordship's Despatch of the 28th Ultimo marked "Slave Trade" No. 4.

²⁵ All the letters from Lyons to Russell which follow are in this volume, F. O. 84/1171.

²⁶ The reply to this letter is no. XI.

On the 21st Instant Mr. Seward told me that he had brought the question of concluding such a Treaty as that proposed before the President and Cabinet. Finding the President and Cabinet to be warmly in favour of doing so, he had proceeded to sound influential Senators on the subject.

The result was that he had been led to believe that there was at this moment a probability that the ratification of the Senate might be obtained. One point, however, he deemed essential to success. The proposal must originate with the United States. The great majority, if not all, of the present Senators were strongly opposed to Slavery and the Slave Trade. But there were no doubt many who retained the old jealousy of Great Britain on the Subject of the Right of Search. They would resist all appearance of conceding anything on this subject to pressure from the British Government. But the question would present itself in a different aspect,—if it should be Great Britain that acceded to a requisition from the United States,—if it should appear that the proposal had been made spontaneously by the American Government from its own desire to suppress the African Slave Trade.

Mr. Seward went on to say that if I was willing to receive the proposal as coming spontaneously from him, and if I considered that I had authority to enter into negotiations on that footing, he would at once make the proposal to me formally in writing, and would have a Draft of a Treaty prepared to submit to me.

I answered that I had no hesitation in agreeing that the proposal should originate with the Government of the United States. Her Majesty's Government could only regard this as conveying a more decided expression of the views of the Government of the United States, than would be given by a simple assent to a request from Great Britain. I should receive the written proposal with very great satisfaction and should immediately declare I was ready to enter upon the negotiations—of course, however, it would be impossible for me to say how far I could proceed without further instructions from Your Lordship, until I had seen and considered the Draft which he proposed sending to me.

Mr. Seward said that there were some changes principally of form which would, he thought, be necessary, but that his Draft would not differ materially from that which I had given him. He appeared to think that with a view to obtaining the ratification of the Senate it was very important to seize the present moment, and bring a Treaty regularly concluded, before that Body as soon as possible. I shall, nevertheless, be very reluctant to sign any Treaty without further instructions from Your Lordship, except one differing only in unimportant matters of form, from your Lordship's Draft. It is quite true that so favourable a conjuncture of circumstances as the present is not likely to occur again; and that it may be of very short duration. The events of the War will produce rapid changes in public opinion and in the policy of the Government on the subject of Slavery. It must be remembered that hostility to the Slave Trade is not separated, at all events by the People in general, from the advocacy of the immediate abolition of Slavery in the Country itself. If the progress of the War be slow or unprosperous, influence will be gained by the Party who desire to keep all questions concerning Slavery in the back-ground, in order to render an accommodation with the South more easy. Even at the present moment there can be little doubt that the Anti-Slavery sentiment is stronger in Congress than among the People at large. As the season of the Elections draws near, Members will become more anxious

to ascertain and to follow the feeling prevailing among their constituents. Just now the majority of the Senators are what is termed abolitionists. The opponents of abolition in the Senate are likely to endeavour to conciliate and disarm their antagonists by endeavouring to establish the almost forgotten distinction between Internal Slavery and the Slave Trade, and by making a show of zeal against the latter. This might procure several votes for a Slave-Trade Treaty which would at another time be given against one, and as it requires a majority of two-thirds to pass a Treaty every vote is of consequence. To all these considerations I may add that violent irritation against England has for the moment subsided. The publication of the Correspondence laid before Parliament has indeed produced a kind of reaction against the unworthy suspicions and violent animosity lately prevalent. But a small matter might revive these feelings and make the ratification of a Slave Trade Treaty with us impossible.

Taking all these circumstances into consideration, I think your Lordship will wish me to take advantage of this favourable opportunity, if it be possible to do so. If therefore Mr. Seward is willing to conclude a Treaty which secures the great object of establishing a mutual right to search and detain Slavers, and which does not, to the best of my judgment, contain anything seriously objectionable, I shall be ready to assume the responsibility of signing it at once, in virtue of the general Full Powers transmitted to me with Your Lordship's despatch No. 19 of the 18th July, 1859. I shall have the less hesitation in doing so because as it is the practice of the Senate of the United States not simply to accept or to reject but also to amend and alter Treaties already signed when submitted for its ratification, no offence, could reasonably be taken if Her Majesty's Government should pursue the same course. I shall not, however, affix my signature without further instruction from Your Lordship, unless I shall be convinced that any delay in submitting the Treaty to the Senate would materially diminish the probability of its being ratified.

Mr. Seward, at the conclusion of our conversation, said that he supposed no question would be raised by Great Britain on the present occasion similar to that which had been fatal to the negotiation for the adherence of the United States to the Declaration of the Congress of Paris on Maritime Law. If there was to be any question of a Declaration such as that which Your Lordship and M. Thouvenel had proposed to make previous to affixing your signatures to a convention on that subject, it would be much better not to enter upon any negotiation. I replied that I could not conceive that there could be the least cause for apprehension on this point. It was absolutely necessary at the time at which the negotiation respecting maritime rights took place, to prevent misunderstanding on a practical question which could not be avoided. The British and French Governments could not bind themselves to treat the Southern Privateers as Pirates, and it would have been a breach of good faith to leave any doubt on the subject. I could not see that any similar question could possibly arise with regard to the proposed Slave Trade Treaty. Mr. Seward said that he was of the same opinion, but that he had thought it prudent just to mention the matter.

Mr. Seward particularly requested me to consider the whole of our conversation as confidential.

I have [etc.]

LYONS.

VII.²⁷

[Confidential]

Washington March 28th, 1862.

My Lord, Mr. Seward sent to me the day before yesterday the promised Draft of a Treaty for the suppression of the Slave Trade. He accompanied it with an informal Note, of which I enclose a copy, and at the same time returned to me the Draft transmitted to me by Your Lordship which I had in obedience to your orders placed in his hands. Mr. Seward's Draft is copied verbatim from Your Lordship's. But a clause is added to the last article reserving to each Party the right of putting an end to the Treaty after the expiration of ten years, on giving a year's notice of the intention to do so.

I went to see Mr. Seward yesterday and asked what had been his object in adding this clause, and whether he attached any great importance to it. I said that certainly in my opinion the Treaty would be very much better without it; but that if he thought it essential in order to obtain the ratification of the Senate, I should be unwilling to insist so strongly upon its being obliterated, as to bring the whole Treaty into jeopardy, or even to cause any great delay.

Mr. Seward answered that for his own part he should very much prefer a Treaty of unlimited duration; and that his friends in the Senate took the same view as he did. He had, he said, inserted the Clause in order to disarm opposition, but he should nevertheless be glad that I should state my objection to it in writing. With a note from me to this effect which he could produce, he might be able to get rid of the clause. At any rate such a note would be useful to him. He would suggest, however, that I should say in it, that I did not intend in making the objection to obstruct the progress of the negotiation.

I readily agreed to write Mr. Seward such a note as he proposed. I am very desirous to do anything which may strengthen his hands in carrying the Treaty through the Senate; and my note may be serviceable in this respect, even if it be used only to conciliate opponents by showing that the Government has adhered to the limitation Clause in spite of objection.

I do not think that, so far as practical results are concerned, there will be found much difference, between a Treaty without limitation of time, and a Treaty terminable after Ten Years. At all events I am persuaded that Your Lordship will consider that a very great object will be attained if we can succeed in establishing for ten years certain stipulations essential to the success of our efforts to put down the Slave Trade. I feel confident that Your Lordship will not be disposed to blame me, if I assume the responsibility of signing a Treaty in accordance with your Draft, whether with, or without, the addition of a limitation Clause.

Mr. Seward requested me to be mindful in my written communications with him that the proposal to conclude the Treaty was to be regarded as having originated with the Government of the United States.

I have [etc.]

LYONS.

²⁷ Russell sent a note approving of Lyons's proceedings as described in this dispatch, Russell to Lyons, no. 10, Apr. 17, 1862 (confidential), F. O. 115/307.

VIII.²⁸

Washington March 26/ 1862.

Enclosure. Copy. Mr. Seward presents his compliments to Lord Lyons, and has the honour to submit to his consideration the enclosed Draft of a proposed Treaty and annexes, between the United States and Great Britain for the suppression of the African Slave Trade, which is the same as the original Draft submitted by his Lordship, with the exception of an additional Clause providing for the duration of the Treaty.

Washington, March 26th 1862.

IX.

[Confidential]

Washington,

March 31, 1862.

My Lord, Mr. Seward told me this morning that he had come to the conclusion that his best course would be to insist upon the clause limiting the duration of the proposed Treaty for the suppression of the Slave Trade. He would, he said, accordingly answer in that sense my note of the 28th instant. He thought that the correspondence would thus materially assist his endeavours to obtain the ratification of the Senate. If the Anti-Slavery Party were strong enough they might carry an amendment expunging the clause—and to this he should readily agree. On the other hand, the clause itself, and his perserverance in retaining it, might obtain votes for the Treaty from the other Party, if votes from that Party were required.

Mr. Seward's long experience of the Senate, and his well-known tact in dealing with that Body, gives his opinion on such a point so much weight, that I naturally thought it prudent to be guided by it. I therefore made no objection to his taking his own course. I do not, as Your Lordship is aware, consider the limiting Clause as likely to be of much practical importance one way or the other, and I think you would be unwilling that I should throw away a chance which is not likely to occur again of attaining the object at which we have so long aimed.

I have [etc.]

LYONS.

X.

[Confidential]

Washington April 7th, 1862.

My Lord, Since I had the Honor to address to your Lordship my Despatches of the 31st ultimo marked "Slave Trade Nos. 11 & 12" I have been in frequent communication with Mr. Seward on the subject of the proposed Treaty for the suppression of the Slave Trade. Mr. Seward has constantly urged the importance of bringing the Treaty before the Senate as soon as possible. He has expressed a very positive opinion that it would be hazardous to incur the delay necessary to enable me to receive further instructions from Your Lordship. He has stated that while confident of obtaining the Ratification of the Senate at this moment, he cannot feel so certain that he should be able to do so a month hence. He has continued to be of opinion that it is important that the Treaty should go to the Senate with the Clause making it terminable by either party, on giving notice after the expiration of ten years.

²⁸ Original in F. O. 115/309, together with Seward's formal letters of March 22 and April 24, 1862.

I am not so sanguine, as Mr. Seward appears to be, about obtaining the Ratification of the Senate now, but I am still more strongly, than he is, of opinion that the probability of doing so is greater at this moment than it is ever likely to be again. I have accordingly this morning signed the Treaty; and I have, in deference to Mr. Seward's opinion, admitted the Clause limiting the duration. In other respects the Treaty, as signed, differs very little from the Draft as transmitted to me with Your Lordship's Despatch of the 28th of February (Slave Trade No. 4).

It has been found necessary to make a slight change in the wording of Article IX. of the Treaty itself, in order to correct a grammatical error. I inclose herewith the Article as amended.

The Blank left in the Third Section of Article IX. of Annex B has been filled up with the words:

"The Judge of the United States for the Southern District of New York".

The Blanks in the Ratification article (XII.) have been so filled up that the Article provides that the Ratifications shall be exchanged in *London*, and in *six months*, or sooner if possible.

With the exception of these particulars, the Treaty which I have signed is identical word for word, with Your Lordship's Draft. I shall transmit the original to Your Lordship to-day with another Despatch.

The mode of procedure of the United States' Senate, with regard to Treaties, appeared to render it desirable to fix a rather long period for the exchange of the Ratifications, and to provide that it should be made in London rather than at Washington. For the Senate does not always confine itself to ratifying or rejecting a Treaty absolutely. It very frequently makes amendments or alterations. It appears, therefore, to be more consistent with the Dignity of the Queen, that even if Her Majesty approve of the Treaty as it stands, Her Ratification should not be given, until it is certain that the President has been authorised by the Senate to give the Ratification of the United States.

I have [etc.]

LYONS.

XI.²⁰

[Confidential]

Foreign Office,

April 10, 1862.

My Lord,

I have received Your Despatch, Slave Trade No. 7 of the 25th Ultimo, marked Confidential, reporting that the Cabinet of Washington would not be unwilling to enter into Negotiations with Her Majesty's Government for the conclusion of a Treaty for the suppression of the African Slave Trade, provided that it should be made to appear that the overtures for such a Treaty originated with the Government of the United States, and not with Her Majesty's Government; the President and Mr. Seward being of opinion that this course is essentially necessary in order to ensure the consent of the Senate to the Treaty.

I have to acquaint you, that the object of Her Majesty's Government being the suppression of the Slave Trade, it is immaterial to them, whether the Proposals for a Treaty with the United States Government to affect this ob-

²⁰ Russell to Lyons, F. O. 115/307.

ject, are made to appear as originating with the Cabinet of Washington, or, as they really did, with the Government of Her Majesty, and I therefore approve the language held by you to Mr. Seward on this subject, as reported in your Despatch.

I am [etc.]

RUSSELL.

The Lord Lyons, K. C. B.

XII.

Washington April 25th, 1862.

My Lord, I have this day sent by telegraph to Portland, in order that it may be conveyed to England by the Packet which leaves that place tomorrow, the following message addressed to Your Lordship:—

The Slave Trade Treaty signed by Mr. Seward and me on the seventh has been passed unanimously without amendment by the Senate. The Ratification of the United States will be sent to London as soon as it can be written out. Washington April Twenty five.

I have [etc.]

LYONS.

REVIEWS OF BOOKS

GENERAL BOOKS

Encyclopaedia of the Social Sciences. Editor-in-Chief, EDWIN R. A. SELIGMAN; Associate Editor, ALVIN JOHNSON. Volumes VII., VIII. *Gossen-Labor Turnover*. (New York: Macmillan Company. 1932. Pp. xxvi, 722; xxii, 713. \$7.50 each.)

THE two volumes under review contain some 668 articles written by 604 different authors. The number and the geographical distribution of the writers is impressive. As usual there are many brief biographical sketches. The historian will find particularly useful, among the longer articles, the series dealing with historiography from classical antiquity to the present and including that of China, Japan, and India. Valuable also are summaries of the characteristics of the political arrangements within the British empire and of the governments of the principal nations. Other outstanding groups of articles are those on industrialism, internationalism, and labor. There is abundant evidence that the work is maintaining its high standard of scholarship. The editing is intelligent and the proofreading conscientious.

Students of contemporary thought will find a convenient source in the *Encyclopaedia*. Revolutionary ideology is practically absent from the two volumes under review, but again and again appear emphatic statements of present perplexities regarding social and political problems accompanied by intimations of hope of evolutionary progress. A few examples will illustrate the type of thinking that finds expression in the *Encyclopaedia*. "If the transition to a new political order is to be accomplished by a process of political evolution rather than social revolution . . . the state must come to be viewed as only one of many human societies. . . . Its attitude of sovereignty must be abandoned" (article on Government). "One may doubt whether international collaboration is feasible among states some of which are democratic, some Fascist, some communist. But despite the difficulties inherent in the task new organs of international direction and control must somehow be evolved to keep pace with the triumphs of mechanical efficiency" (Internationalism). "The return of *laissez faire* is impossible. . . . It seems that industrialism has now reached the stage at which its fuller development requires above all else coherent planning and unified control from the standpoint of consumption as well as of productive technique" (Industrialism). "In some countries the prevailing trend even of the state is anti-intellectual . . . The influence of the intelligentsia upon the mass remains superficial" (Intellectuals). These selections set forth some of the more moderate ideas

of the United States and Western Europe. The ideology of Russia, of Asia, and of the Western hemisphere south of the Rio Grande finds almost no direct expression in these volumes, which deal with such inclusive subjects as internationalism, imperialism, and government. The single contributor from Latin America presents only a short biographical sketch. The article on the Kuomintang instead of being written by a Chinese intellectual appears over the signature of two Westerners from Nanking University. The long discussion of the Indian question is written by an Englishman. In such a selection of authors the volumes reflect the provincialism of Western civilization.

A familiar warning, which the editors might well have called to mind before deciding to limit their contributors virtually to representatives of Western culture, is repeated in the general article on History. "It is not purposeful distortion by the partisan disguised as a scholar which is of supreme importance, but the unconscious involuntary distortion, the distortion which the bona fide historian does not even perceive, the error committed by him at the very moment when he feels himself the most rigorously impartial of all observers." The authors of this article, Henri Berr and Lucien Febvre, have more hope than many moderns that this fundamental defect of scholarship can be overcome. "The only possible remedy consists in the progressive broadening of history, in the replacement of particular histories by the broad and salutary idea of a universal history, of which all particular histories are chapters. For the final goal of the historian is not to make known certain groups of men at certain periods, but humanity in the totality of its representatives." The ideal is stimulating and should be an objective for historians. But the authors do not explain how the individuals who attempt the final grand syntheses can escape from their own mental limitations.

Yale University.

RALPH H. GABRIEL.

BOOKS OF ANCIENT AND MEDIEVAL HISTORY

The Ephemerides of Alexander's Expedition. By CHARLES ALEXANDER ROBINSON, JR., Assistant Professor of Greek and Latin Classics, Brown University. [Brown University Studies.] (Providence: Brown University. 1932. Pp. 81. \$3.00.)

THIS book is essentially an examination into the source material used by the later historians of Alexander the Great. In comparing the place-names along the itinerary of Alexander mentioned by Arrian, Diodorus, Justin, Curtius, and Plutarch, Robinson is able to show that the five accounts are in substantial agreement for the period from the beginning of the Asiatic campaign to 327; that there is confusion in the records from 327 to the second arrival at the Hydaspes in 326; and that the several histories are again in agreement from this point until the death of Alexander in 323. The evidence

is presented in tabular form for greater ease of comparative study and interpretation. In convincing manner, Robinson argues that the evidence for the first period was drawn from the history of Callisthenes of Olynthus which was based in turn on the daily journal of the expedition (ephemerides) kept by Eumenes of Cardia and Diodotus of Erythrae. After the death of Callisthenes there was no official historian with the expedition, and even the records of the journal were burned in 326. This accounts for the divergence among later historians, who had no authoritative source for this second period. For the final period the journal records were again available, and their use explains the uniform record of the later itinerary as given by the historians. The general plan of the argument here advanced by Robinson was outlined by W. K. Prentice in *Transactions* of the American Philological Association LIV. (1923) 74-85, but Robinson has stated the case more fully and reached new determinations.

As an appendix to the book is an article entitled When did Alexander reach the Hindu Kush? which first appeared in the *American Journal of Philology*, LI. (1930) 22-31. Here Robinson rightly emphasizes the necessity of following the accounts of Strabo and Arrian, and of assuming that Alexander went into winter quarters in 330/29 just south of the Hindu Kush. He finds it impossible to reconcile this interpretation (which Strabo states as a fact) with the accepted date of the death of Darius in late July or August, 330, and Alexander's departure from the Caspian sea in October. Alexander could not have marched 1300 miles from the Caspian to the Hindu Kush between October and the beginning of winter. So Robinson questions the accuracy of Plutarch's statement that Alexander delayed four months in Persepolis in the spring of 330 and of Arrian's statement that Darius met his death in the Attic month of Hecatombaeon.

But in 330/29, the first year of a Callippic cycle, the month of Hecatombaeon fell early in the Julian year, commencing on June 29 (Dinsmoor, *The Archons of Athens*, p. 429). Since many unknown quantities and subjective interpretations are involved in making an estimate of Alexander's marches and halts in this year, it seems to the present reviewer quite possible to suppose that Alexander delayed at least approximately four months in Persepolis (Plutarch) and that Darius died early in July (Arrian). Alexander may have spent only a month in campaigns about the Caspian and so have started on his long march to the Hindu Kush in mid-August instead of October. Under such circumstances it is possible to believe that Alexander was at Candahar in November, and that in December, after the setting of the Pleiades, he reached the foot of the Hindu Kush for winter quarters.

A map reproduced from the *Cambridge Ancient History* makes the entire argument of the book easy to follow. Printing and binding have been admirably done. The volume makes a real contribution to the study of Alexander, and is well written and attractively presented.

The University of Michigan.

B. D. MERITT.

Geography of Claudius Ptolemy. Translated into English and edited by EDWARD LUTHER STEVENSON, Ph.D., Litt.D., LL.D. Based upon Greek and Latin Manuscripts and Important Late Fifteenth and Early Sixteenth Century Printed Editions, including Reproductions of the Maps from the Ebner Manuscript, ca. 1460. With an Introduction by Professor JOSEPH FISCHER, S.J. (New York: The New York Public Library. 1932. Pp. xvi, 167, 29 map plates. \$60.00.)

THIS is the first time that a full translation of Ptolemy's famous *Geography* has been made into English. There have been partial translations but these are quite fragmentary. Perhaps the task of making a full translation has heretofore proved too formidable for those who might otherwise have been interested in it; for as Father Fischer, the world's leading authority on Ptolemy, points out in his scholarly introduction to the present book, the undertaking is beset with difficulties. Fortunately these difficulties did not deter Dr. Stevenson from carrying out the work.

The *Geography* consists of eight books, to which are appended twenty-seven maps. It contains no physical description of the earth or of the countries thereof. In this respect it is inferior to Strabo's work. But Ptolemy was primarily a mathematician and astronomer and his interest therefore lay in the field, not of physical, but of mathematical geography. In Book I. he discusses his aims, principles, and methods. He tells us that his work is based on that of Marinus of Tyre, a geographer unknown to us except through Ptolemy, but he proposes to correct Marinus's many errors, which he holds were largely due to faulty methods. He asserts that the then existing methods of measuring distances and locating positions on the map, based chiefly on travelers' records, were wholly inadequate. They should be supplemented by observations scientifically made with the assistance of astronomical instruments. Books II. to VII. contain tables purporting to show the latitude and longitude of many places throughout the then known world. In Book VII. there is also a description of a map of the whole world as Ptolemy conceived it. In Book VIII. he explains further his methods and lists twenty-six regions into which he has divided the world for purposes of map-making.

The tables naturally constitute a test of the success or failure of Ptolemy's methods. Bunbury, therefore, in his *History of Ancient Geography*, criticizes him rather severely for his many errors in calculation. He says that while Ptolemy emphasized the importance of direct astronomical observations in calculating locations he was actually in a position to use but few of such observations himself. In the main he had to rely on travelers' accounts and other faulty methods used by his predecessors. Bunbury reproaches him for having given "a strictly scientific form to that which did not really rest on a scientific basis". Stevenson, however, points out in his preface that "the remarkable fact is that he was so nearly accurate in his records". And Father

Fischer avers that Ptolemy, "in Books II.-VII., has listed some 8000 locations determined with apparent accuracy down to five minutes".

In any case, whatever the defects of Ptolemy's calculations may be, "the whole of modern cartography has developed from his Atlas". It is therefore peculiarly appropriate that the Atlas should be translated by America's foremost student of cartography. In the present volume Dr. Stevenson has maintained his standards as a scholar and a producer of fine books. His translation has been made with painstaking care and with due consideration for the discrepancies in the texts of the various Ptolemy manuscripts. A certain awkwardness of expression here and there detracts but little from its general excellence. Twenty-seven maps are reproduced from the New York Public Library's celebrated and almost priceless Ebner manuscript, the maps of which are more accurately made than those of most Ptolemy manuscripts. Regarding the question whether the originals were actually Ptolemy's work, Father Fischer holds that twenty-six of them were, while the world map, the one map most generally attributed to Ptolemy, was the work of the Alexandrian geographer, Agathodämon. The whole volume is an excellent example of the bookmaker's art: paper of the best handmade quality, beautiful printing, a fine half-leather binding. For this workmanship the New York Public Library shares with Dr. Stevenson the credit. The price, it may be added, is proportionately high. But it would have been impossible to reproduce the maps satisfactorily in a cheap edition.

Ptolemy's *Geography* remains to-day a more important source for historical research than is generally realized. No careful study of the place-names mapped out by him has ever been made though it might shed significant light on important problems of Ancient history. Nor has any thorough study of Ptolemy's influence on the discoverers and explorers of early modern times yet been worked out. In the neglected field of historical geography the Atlas is an invaluable source. Scholars who choose to work along any of the lines here suggested will find Dr. Stevenson's volume a useful adjunct to their labors.

New York University.

JONATHAN F. SCOTT.

Cinq Années de Recherches Archéologiques en Éthiopie: Province du Harar et Éthiopie Méridionale. Par R. B. AZAÏS ET R. CHAMBARD. Préface par EDMOND POTTIER, Membre de l'Institut. *Texte and Atlas.* (Paris: Librairie Geuthner. 1932. Pp. xv, 348. 350 fr.)

IN 1927, while Acting Director of the American School of Oriental Research in Jerusalem, the present reviewer was fortunate in having as his guests the authors of the above work, P. Bernardin Azaïs and Mr. Roger Chambard. With their permission I published a short statement of their explorations in southern Abyssinia (*Art and Archaeology*, July, 1927). The

present volumes contain a complete account of the five expeditions. The results are presented not in a didactic form but in the form of a diary which makes the material easily intelligible for the average reader. The plates consisting mostly of photographs are beautifully executed. Several appendixes are contributed by specialists: Paul Ravaisse gives the translation of the Arabic inscriptions discovered in the Harar; P. Lester interprets the anthropological data furnished by the explorers; Jean Cottreau analyzes and classifies the fossils secured.

Southern Abyssinia is still a land of mystery, especially in as far as its prehistoric phase is concerned. It was the merit as well as the good fortune of P. Azaïs and of his companion to discover an abundance of material which was hardly expected in those remote regions and which tends to link the ancient civilization of southern Abyssinia with that of the Mediterranean Basin. The relationship seems to be beyond doubt but whether the influence has been exercised from North to South or South to North remains to be seen.

Dolmens of the same type as those found in Europe and Asia, were discovered in the region of Harar; funerary tumuli in the country of the Guraghe. In the region of the great lakes were observed menhirs resembling those found in some sections of France. In the province of Soddo, the explorers found funerary slabs roughly in the shape of human figures, some ornamented with geometrical designs and others with daggers in relief. Near Lake Margherita, they discovered several thousands of phallic pillars, very crude and realistic, many of them with solar symbols. The same type is found in various sections of Africa, for example, in the Cameroon and in the French Congo. Finally in the Orono country four statues came to light which the authors declare to be the most sensational find of the five expeditions (pp. 236 ff.). These four statues remind one of the so called Ægean Goddess, guardian and protectress of the tombs. What conclusions will eventually be drawn from these sensational finds, it is still hard to say, but this abundant material must be taken into consideration in all future prehistoric work.

Besides these data of a more archæological nature, the authors have gathered an immense harvest of first-hand information on the various tribes which they visited; their domestic, social, and religious customs and habits. Accurate descriptions of the country are given, which should prove of the highest value to future travelers, as also to geographers.

We cannot close this review without mentioning the fact that the success of the expedition was made possible by the manifold interest of Negus Tafari, then regent and now crowned emperor under the name of Hayle Sellasie I., and by the Académie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres which has encouraged and helped materially P. Azaïs in his researches.

The Catholic University of America.

R. BUTIN.

Feudal Documents from the Abbey of Bury St. Edmunds. Edited by D. C. DOUGLAS, Lecturer in Medieval History to the University of Glasgow. [The British Academy, Records of the Social and Economic History of England and Wales, volume VIII.] (New York: Oxford University Press. 1932. Pp. clxxi, 247. \$10.00.)

A long introduction to this volume of Bury St. Edmunds documents gives the latest results of Mr. Douglas's penetrating study of East Anglian society. It gives also certain important suggestions as to the general method of compilation of Domesday Book and the intent of the Conqueror in the administration of his new kingdom, and the application to it of a uniform feudal policy. It is interesting that Mr. Douglas's volume should so nearly coincide in date of publication with Professor Stenton's work on early English feudalism. The most important of the documents published by Mr. Douglas is the Feudal Book of Abbot Baldwin, contained in the Black Book of the abbey in the Cambridge University Library. The Feudal Book claims to be a description of the conditions that were in existence on the lands of St. Edmunds at the time when William I. made his *descriptio totius Anglie*, and also at the death of that king. It is, therefore, practically contemporary with Domesday, and is dated by the deaths, respectively, of William, September 7, 1087, and of Abbot Baldwin, probably January 4, 1098. It is thus established as another of those documents, contemporary or almost contemporary, with Domesday, like the *Inquisicio Eliensis* and the *Domesday Monachorum*, whose great importance was first emphasized by Round. In the case of the Feudal Book, "similarities . . . between the phraseology of the two records come from a common knowledge on the part of the compilers, both of the Feudal Book and of Domesday Book, of the original Domesday returns", namely, the returns from which our Domesday was compiled. Such documents as the Feudal Book suggest to Mr. Douglas the possibility that the greater ecclesiastical tenants in chief may have furnished private surveys of their lands preliminary to Domesday, including therein the results of *clamores*, the pleas relating to their lands, which form so important an element of Domesday. The Feudal Book thus becomes for Mr. Douglas a clue to much that is obscure in Domesday compilation—the time required for the completion of the great survey, the earlier completion of Little Domesday, the composition of the original returns.

Even more important, perhaps—if anything can be more important in early English history than light thrown on Domesday itself—is the evidence afforded by the documents with regard to the policy of the early Norman kings, and the effect of the Conquest on English society. Mr. Douglas discusses the "wedge" of new men enfeoffed on Bury lands, inserted, as it were, between the church and the older church tenants. These *feudati homines* were military tenants, bearing probably some relation to the constabulary of

the feudal host stressed by Round. They in turn constructed new military fees on their lands, sometimes enfeoffing royal nominees. Thus arose an order of men, not necessarily as yet an hereditary social rank, some of whom invite a comparison with the *ministeriales* of the Continent. On the lower classes in Bury lands, on the other hand, Mr. Douglas believes the effect of the Conquest to have been slight. The depression of peasants from the free peasants listed in the Feudal Book he would defer till the thirteenth century. Such conclusions are not, of course, applicable to other parts of England where the Scandinavian element was less strong and manorialization had progressed further. It becomes increasingly clear from the trend of modern scholarship that we can no longer speak of English society in a given century: we are concerned, rather, as Mr. Douglas remarks, "with a number of diverse social structures, varying greatly from district to district". The interest lies in seeing how uniform a policy the Conqueror tried to apply in different regions and to different conditions.

The charters in the volume are chosen because they fall in the main in the period from 1066 to 1180. Some of them have already been printed in the *Regesta* and elsewhere. They are carefully collated with the texts in the many cartularies available. Evidence is shown of the evolution of the Norman royal charter from the Anglo-Saxon writ, and the different styles of royal and private charters are discussed. The reader is perhaps unduly exigent in wishing that the editor had told us more of the great abbey itself as well as of Abbot Baldwin, but those of us who feel the charm of following dark clues to obscure origins will be grateful to Mr. Douglas for a very suggestive treatment of a restricted district at a crucial moment in its history.

Mr. Holyoke College.

N. NEILSON.

Glanvill, De Legibus et Consuetudinibus Regni Angliæ. Edited by GEORGE E. WOODBINE, George Burton Adams Professor of History in Yale University and Professor of Legal History in the Yale School of Law. [Yale Historical Publications, Manuscripts and Edited Texts, XIII.] (New Haven: Yale University Press. 1932. Pp. ix, 306. \$4.00.)

"A new edition is wanted", wrote Maitland thirty-seven years ago in speaking of Glanvill's *De Legibus*, and a new edition had been wanted for many years before. That no competent student undertook it became one of the standing mysteries of English scholarship. Professor Woodbine has at last done the thing as it should be done. That it is an excursus from his life work of editing Bracton is wholly fortunate for his very special knowledge of the later book is just the foreground needed in tracing back to the law and procedure of Glanvill's time and it crops out most usefully all through the notes. From now on we can look upon the editions of the sixteenth, seven-

teenth, and eighteenth centuries as interesting antiquities; and it is to be hoped that we can forget Beames's atrocious translation (1812) and the rather valueless edition by Beale (1900).

Of the many early manuscripts Professor Woodbine finds twenty-seven of some use in establishing a text. These quite accommodately group themselves in two families or traditions, which the editor calls *alpha* and *beta*—sixteen in the former and eleven in the latter. These trace back clearly to near 1200, or about fifteen years from the time the treatise was written; but no extant manuscript is the archetype in either tradition. There is such substantial agreement in each of the families that it is seldom difficult to work out a text for each. It is believed that the *beta* edition stands close to the text of the author. Professor Woodbine remarks:

Taking into consideration all the facts, and especially the direct and almost apologetic statement at the end of the prologue to the effect that the writer has deliberately chosen to employ the plain and crude language of court business (*stilo vulgari et verbis curialibus utens*), the explanation which seems most in accord with these facts is that *beta* follows, for the most part at least, an original version couched largely in the clear and direct English legal phraseology of the time, while *alpha* represents a more finished and somewhat expanded version, made, we have some grounds for believing, by an ecclesiastic, possibly a foreigner, who objecting to a too uncouth diction and the technical expressions of the English courts, preferred to improve his text, as he thought, by the use of explanatory phrases and some of the terminology of the ecclesiastical courts.

Yet the *beta* writer knew the language of Roman and canon law as shown by the apparently unconscious way he sometimes inserted words and phrases; he chose to use *verbis curialibus*, he did not have to. A further indication that *alpha* stands further from the original is that the one responsible for it, while conscious that only secular causes were dealt with, does not seem to have grasped clearly the point that these were only such secular causes as came before the king's court. The *alpha* version omits the list of *capitula* after the prologue and inserts rubrics in the text, while *beta* has no rubrics. As would naturally be supposed, the editor follows largely the *beta* version, but the footnotes contain whatever is enlightening in *alpha* or in individual manuscripts of either version. The traditional book and chapter divisions are kept.

The editor speaks modestly of his notes grouped at the end of the book, covering 117 pages: they "are not, and are not intended to be, a commentary on Glanvill". Their main purpose is comparison between Glanvill's statements and what may be gleaned from recorded cases of that general period. But they sometimes go beyond that; they are compact and hold much learning, clearly stated. The debt to authorities on this period, especially Maitland and Adams, is everywhere evident and fully acknowledged; yet the student of English legal history has new things to learn by going through these notes.

It has not been felt necessary to add much to Maitland's classical comments on Glanvill and the treatise which passes under his name, but Professor Woodbine does not think that the laudatory reference to Glanvill in the *Incipit* needs count much against his authorship in view of medieval psychology in such matters. The format of this authoritative edition of England's "first classical text-book" in law is worthy of it.

The University of Minnesota.

ALBERT B. WHITE.

The Cambridge Medieval History. Planned by the late J. B. BURY, M. A., F. B. A., Regius Professor of Modern History. Edited by the late J. R. TANNER, Litt. D., C. W. PREVITÉ-ORTON, Litt. D., F. B. A., and Z. N. BROOKE, Litt. D. Volume VII., *Decline of Empire and Papacy.* (Cambridge: University Press; New York: Macmillan Company. 1932. Pp. xxxviii, 1073. \$12.00.)

THE present volume covers, roughly speaking, the fourteenth century. There are twenty-six chapters contributed by twenty-two authors. Necessarily there is no rigid adherence to a strict chronological period and the various subjects begin and end at widely different dates. This was unavoidable, for there are included here the story of the Swiss Confederation to 1516, that of the Hansa to the end of the fifteenth century, of the Teutonic order throughout its history, of Wales to 1485, of Ireland only to 1315, and of Scotland to 1328, of Russia 1015-1462, and of the Jews from the beginning of the Middle Ages to the end of the fifteenth century.

The introduction, written by Professor C. W. Previté-Orton, is a thought-provoking discussion of the main characteristics of the fourteenth century. The temptation to quote at length is strong but must be resisted, and a summary cannot do justice to the author's closely compacted statements. He speaks of the "ossifying of regnant ideas which are slowly losing their vitality", yet "in their efforts to perfect and complete", he adds, "they devised much that was new and that was to be fruitful in later times. . .". However "the novel ferment in these creations strained, but did not break the feudal mould which contained them". Though "the century ends with Church and Feudalism and the accepted philosophy of life standing where they did", "yet the fourteenth century is not merely that in which the feudal age moves slowly towards its setting; it is that in which the harbingers appear of the Renaissance and even very dimly of modern times". "The soil trembles under the feudal and ecclesiastical edifice; there are fissures and sudden landslides; but the old order still keeps intact and solid, as if it had been built for eternity."

It is a truism that each age reinterprets the history of the past from its own standpoint. In reading this introduction many statements which reflect a present-day attitude are discovered. To detach these from their context may be somewhat unjust; however, materials that might be used by the

sociologist, if he could be induced to read this volume, can be indicated by a few random selections. Examples of these are: "the ossifying of regnant ideas" already quoted above; "these towns and guilds were at the last resort dependent on 'great commerce'; international exchange, which they could not control and did not understand"; "Their one remedy for failing commerce was privilege and rigid protection"; "The 'democratic' régime had ended in failure"; "the long war had acted as a forcing house for the sentiment of nationality".

The chapters on political history are good and, for the most part, present clear outlines of the main facts. Probably most readers will be more interested in other chapters. Possibly the one of most general interest is that describing Peasant Life and Rural Conditions (*ca. 1100- ca. 1500*) by Professor Eileen Power. She had a task which might well seem appalling—to describe conditions varying from district to district throughout Western Europe and constantly in flux. Nevertheless her first sentence is reassuring. "The student of medieval social and economic history who commits himself to a generalization", she writes, "is digging a pit into which he will later assuredly fall, and nowhere does the pit yawn deeper than in the realm of rural history." She also adds the caution against elaborate historical explanations that "are sometimes given for differences which were simply due to geographical conditions" (p. 716). Professor Power's picture of the peasant as a social being is made vivid by a felicitous use of medieval literary and non-legal sources; in a limited space she has demonstrated that the legal historian's view of the peasant can and must be amplified (*cf.* p. 740). One general conclusion is worthy of note: "Indeed the immobile medieval peasant, like the self-sufficing medieval manor, is something of a myth." There is a short discussion of the rising prosperity of the peasant during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, and of the less favorable conditions which confronted this class in the succeeding two hundred years. The reconstructions of life in the villages—all too brief—leave a picture very different from the 'textbook manor' where the other tenants "pay and do in all things . . . just as the said Hugh Miller". With such a storehouse from which to draw it is to be hoped that even writers of textbooks may describe the peasant as a real human being.

Professor Johnstone's two chapters on The Last Capetians and Edward I. and Edward II. are excellent. Her common sense and *obiter dicta* are equally noteworthy. Of Philip V. she says, "He was, in fact, exactly the sort of king to win the admiration of the modern historian of administrative and constitutional development, while to the warlike feudal lord of his own day, or to the conventionally-minded contemporary chronicler bent on praising the conventionally correct, he was a disappointing figure". Apropos of the differences between Lapsley and Tout, and Davies concerning constitutional questions of the year 1322 in England, Professor Johnstone affirms that "it is just possi-

ble that both interpretations are a little too subtle". Concerning the Model Parliament, she writes that "even scholars who rightly challenge much that used to be said about Edward I.'s parliaments themselves unconsciously take a tone which implies that, even to the thirteenth century, 'parliamentary origins' were of vital interest". It is a welcome relief to find events treated from the standpoint of their age and not used to prove a modern theory. This author is more interested in how the institutions actually worked than in fine-spun theories as to their origins and developments.

The contents of the chapter on Medieval Mysticism by Evelyn Underhill may be summarized in her statement that this "mystical temper profoundly influences religion and art, and instigates both religious rebellion and religious reform". Her careful analysis is an excellent statement of its importance and of its manifestations from the time of St. Romuald to St. Catherine of Genoa (died 1510), described as "a lady of the Renaissance with a genius for the spiritual life. She joins no religious Order, leads no campaign, performs no miracles. . . . In her, mystical religion completes its transition from the medieval to the modern world."

In the chapter on Italy in the Time of Dante, Armstrong had a difficult task and accomplished it in a masterly manner. His lively characterizations of individuals, especially that of Boniface VIII., may be challenged, but probably not successfully. He has handled a tangled mass of material and has presented a clear and interesting account.

The chapter on the Popes of Avignon and the Great Schism by Professor Mollat is one of the most readable. He brings out clearly "the over-centralisation and over-elaboration" of the curia, its claims to "the plénitude of power" in the secular affairs of Europe and its "supremacy in things ecclesiastical" (p. xv). "In no period of history did the Holy See exercise its powers of jurisdiction in so extreme a form" (p. 276).

"In no feature of fourteenth-century society is the working of centralising monarchy on feudal institutions and on conditions increasingly non-feudal better seen than in the development of the assemblies known as Estates." Thus Previté-Orton stresses the importance of the chapter on Medieval Estates, contributed by Professor McIlwain whose main purpose "is to make clear medieval representative institutions and ideas in general, rather than to trace their history in detail". The general opinion will be that he has succeeded. His comparison of England and France and his explanation of Esmein's "apparent paradox" (p. 711) are illuminating. His conclusion is, "whenever constitutionalism arose out of an earlier feudalism, its rise and its continuance alike were conditioned upon a corresponding appearance and participation in government of the medieval Estates or their descendants".

Space does not permit a discussion of other excellent chapters. However, the chapter on the Jews, which is the best summary we possess, is especially worthy of note, as are those on Wyclif and Ireland.

The bibliographies vary greatly in length and in excellence. Though well done, the ones on Germany, France, and England are possibly less useful than are those for other countries, or those for Wyclif, the Jews, Medieval Estates, Peasant Life, and Mysticism, where it is more difficult to find competent guidance. Under chapter XI., page 870, only two titles are given for the trial of the Templars. One of these might well have been omitted. There is no mention of Gmelin's *Schuld oder Unschuld des Templerordens* or of a number of other pertinent works. Under the chapter on Mysticism, Muzzey's *The Spiritual Franciscans* and Eckenstein's *Women under Monasticism* might possibly have been included.

There are eleven maps, three of them colored. Unfortunately, by being bound in, the middle of the double page maps is obscured and it is only with difficulty that they can be used. The usual corrigenda for the preceding volumes are found on page xxi. Tucked away at the bottom of page 975 are addenda to volume II., chapter X.

The editorial supervision has been remarkable. The reason for the two accounts of the expedition of Henry VII. is given in the preface. Caggese (p. 67), Mollat (p. 272 n.), and Underhill (p. 808) are allowed to express different opinions as to the influence of St. Catherine of Siena. The statements about taxation in France (pp. 324, 342) seem not to be in entire agreement. The question of the murder of Edward II. is left in doubt on page 432 by Johnstone, but apparently decided by Manning, page 436. A hypercritical might note other points; but it is fortunate that the editors allowed a wide freedom in matters of opinion, especially as to the character and influence of individuals.¹

Princeton University.

DANA C. MUNRO.

BOOKS OF MODERN EUROPEAN HISTORY

The Italian Reformers, 1534-1564. By FREDERIC C. CHURCH. (New York: Columbia University Press. 1932. Pp. xii, 428. \$5.00.)

THE period covered by Professor Church's book is the second generation of the sixteenth century, the thirty years lying between the accession of Pope Paul III. and the issuance of the bull *Benedictus Deus* confirming the proceedings of the Council of Trent, a time when society was deeply involved in religious discussion. The purpose of the book is to tell us of the Italian religious reformers who were active in those three decades.

Among the types of men who differed from religious orthodoxy in the Italian peninsula were mystics and rationalists. Mysticism became very influential in Italian life in the twelfth century in the person of Joachim of

¹ This review was prepared for printing by Professor Gray C. Boyce from materials found among the papers of Professor Munro.

Flora and, still more so, in the following century in that of Francis of Assisi. In the period dealt with by this book it was greatly stimulated and refined by the personality and teaching of Juan Valdés, a Spaniard of noble family, about whom gathered a remarkable group of followers in Naples. Rationalists had become increasingly numerous in the peninsula since the days of Frederick II. Among the more notable of later times were Lorenzo Valla, Luigi Pulci, and Pietro Pomponazzi. And of those considered by our author the more important are Matteo Gribaldi and Lelio Sozzini.

Mystic and rationalist alike depended upon neither priest nor book. The inner light of the one and the reliance upon reason of the other left them free to discard all external authority; and all of them were deeply ingrained with the highly individualistic humanism of their time and their country. So they were far bolder in their religious thought than either Luther or Calvin. They had nothing to gain by going over to any of the new churches north and west of the Alps. Fugitives from their native peninsula, many of them led precarious lives, found safety only in silence or in the far-away lands of the Slavic border; while several of them, at home and abroad, suffered for their heresies the penalty of a fiery death.

It is then, so it would seem, with the thought of these men that we should be most concerned. But this book, admirable as is its scholarship, deals only slightly and unsatisfactorily with their religious persuasions and opinions, and is devoted chiefly to their comings and goings, to the external and incidental things of their lives, to the political conditions by which they were surrounded. Such an abundance of biographical detail and political history would be justified were all of it necessary as the background of the thought and the religious activity of the reformers; but much of it is dispensable and has served only to usurp pages that might have been devoted to the intellectual and spiritual contributions of the reformers to the life of their time, to their religious thought and its social implications. Rare are the passages taken from the writings of these heretics; and the few given us are only brief phrases and sentences.

Several of the author's brief statements regarding the thought of these men leave something to be desired. A dozen times we are told that one or another of them believed in "justification by faith". But that phrase differentiates the teaching of nobody from that of the Catholic Church. Surely what is meant is justification by faith *alone*. Why discard the most essential word of the doctrine, the word in which resides the point of cleavage between the two major divisions of Western Christendom? To do so is, however unintentionally, to obscure the truth.

Perhaps we may hope that some day our author will give us another book, one devoted to the large and liberal theme of the teaching of these spiritual explorers, that shall do justice to their profound human purpose,

that shall reveal how close some of them were to the modern world, and shall speak a sympathetic word of the suffering and tragedy of their lives.

Stanford University.

EDWARD M. HULME.

Die Reichskirche vom Trienter Konzil bis zur Auflösung des Reiches: Darstellungen und Quellen zu ihrer inneren Geschichte. Herausgegeben von MARTIN SPAHN unter Mitwirkung von ALBERT BRACKMANN und GEORG SCHREIBER. Band I., *Das Erzbistum Trier und die Luxemburger Kirchenpolitik von Philipp II. bis Joseph II.* Dargestellt und durch Aktenstücke erläutert von LEO JUST, Mitarbeiter am Preuss. Historischen Institut in Rom. (Leipzig: Karl W. Hierse-mann. 1931. Pp. xxviii, 453. 57 M.)

THE most neglected period of Church history is, assuredly, the relatively quiet age that intervenes between the storms of the Reformation and the cataclysm of the French Revolution. We may, therefore, welcome the beginning, under Catholic auspices, of a series of studies and source-publications bearing upon the fortunes during that period of the Church of the Holy Roman Empire of the German nation.

The author and editor of the first volume has chosen his subject for a special reason. He aims to pave the way for a biography of "Febronius", John Nicholas von Hontheim, auxiliary bishop of Treves, who by a famous book published under that pseudonym in 1763, launched a movement which convulsed Germany, Italy, and the Netherlands during the next quarter of a century, a movement whose professed aim was to vindicate the liberty of the Catholic episcopate against Rome, but whose real tendency was to break up the Church into national units, each one under the domination of the civil power. In order to explain how "Febronius" arrived at this system, Dr. Just has found it necessary to study the development of church-and-state relations in that archdiocese of Treves where Hontheim had worked for thirty years before his book appeared. And since the ecclesiastical province of Treves embraced three politically quite distinct parts—one part which remained German, one which had passed to France or to Lorraine, and one (the duchy of Luxemburg) which belonged successively to the Burgundian, the Spanish, and the Austrian Netherlands—the subject is to be treated apparently in three volumes, one for each part of the archdiocese.

The present volume offers 188 pages of text, reviewing the history of the relations between the see of Treves and the civil rulers in Luxemburg from the later Middle Ages down to the French Revolution. There follow 245 pages of well chosen and carefully edited documents from the archives of Treves, Coblenz, Luxemburg, Brussels, and Vienna.

The main and very real interest of the book lies in its detailed study, in this Luxemburg microcosm, of a conflict which went on throughout the

Catholic world at that time: the conflict between the Church, ever extremely solicitous to preserve its independence but forced by the Protestant revolt and the growing religious indifference of the upper classes to seek protection and support from the state; and state governments which, even under the most ardently Catholic rulers, seemed driven on by some internal necessity to ever increasing nationalism, centralization, and bureaucratic omnipotence. For three centuries the policy of the state towards the Church proceeds in a faultlessly straight line, a line of constant encroachments. This interference at the outset may have been largely dictated by the honest desire to strengthen the Church by helping to correct abuses; but it led, by the seventeenth century, to the claim by the state of a *jus inspectionis* over the Church, and, by the eighteenth century, to a universal and exasperating supervision by state officials now largely indifferent or even hostile to religion. It may be admitted that the Church too long attempted to defend some medieval positions now become untenable: the financial and judicial exemptions of the clergy, the right of asylum, the large number of holy days, etc. But what would seem to be indefensible, according to modern notions of liberty, was the attempt of the state to maintain a veto upon all appointments to benefices; to regulate the education, the discipline, the morals of the clergy; to deny to the Church the right to acquire property or to found new religious communities; to interfere with such purely religious matters as the liturgical books to be used, the prayers to be said, or even—at times—the doctrines to be taught in the churches. Though yielding a good deal of ground, the Church never ceased resisting. The result was constant tension, frequent long drawn out quarrels, and great detriment to religion and the public peace.

From this unhappy situation a tired fighter like "Febronius" saw only one means of escape: the complete surrender of the Church to the state. A later age has usually preferred a different solution: namely, that the Church should renounce the protection or support of the state, but in exchange should gain full independence.

R. H. L.

Geschichte der Päpste seit dem Ausgang des Mittelalters. Von Ludwig Freiherrn von Pastor. *Geschichte der Päpste im Zeitalter des Fürstlichen Absolutismus.* Bände XV., XVI., 1, 2, *Von der Wahl Klemens' XI. bis zum Tode Klemens' XIV., 1700-1774.* (Freiburg im Breisgau, and St. Louis: Herder and Company. 1930, 1931, 1932. Pp. xxxvi, 819; xxi, 1011; x, 440. \$7.00, \$7.50, \$3.75.)

STILL the great history of the popes awaits completion. When, in the autumn of 1930, its fifteenth volume appeared, a reviewer seemed warranted in expecting soon the final sixteenth and in delaying his verdict on these

closing volumes till he could speak of the vast work as a whole. But the fall of 1931 brought only a "first section" of volume XVI. and the fall of 1932 only a "second section", leaving still untold the story of a quarter-century. The final section can hardly be hoped before another fall, and of what has come there is much to be said.

Even to their latest historian, indeed, the four popes whose careers fill his volume XV. leave a record of futility or of tragedy. Not for lack of personal virtues. To Cardinal Albani, scholar, statesman, administrator, accomplished writer, who as Clement XI. mounted in 1700 the papal throne at the age (early for a pope) of fifty-one and filled it for more than twenty years, Pastor ascribes every ability but that of bold decision. But this lack made him, in the wars of absolutism then shaking Europe, the mere shuttlecock of rival princes, and to the end his papal crown was "a crown of thorns". His successor, Innocent XIII., of that old Roman family which five centuries earlier had furnished in Innocent III. the mightiest of popes, was aged and sickly and lasted but three years. Next came a Dominican friar, Benedict XIII., whose ascetic saintliness made him throughout his half-dozen papal years the helpless victim of a favorite, Coscia, clever but corrupt, whom he made a cardinal, but who resorted "for the satisfying of his insatiable greed" to forgery, extortion, sale of offices. Of better hope seemed the Florentine, Clement XII., who, though nearly eighty and half blind at his accession, lasted from 1730 to 1740. But he soon lost his sight and was a prey to gout and hernia and growing weakness; and, though his easy-going reign was free from glaring scandals, it is only his free-handed patronage of art and letters that to his historian offsets the dwindling vigor of the papal power. Cleverly though Pastor explains the choice of these successive ciphers, it is hard for an outsider to quiet the old suspicion that the secular powers, whose prelate-spokesmen took now the leading part in every conclave, knew how thus to fend off a Pope Stork by conniving at the choice of a Pope Log.

But the scholar and statesman who in 1740 became Pope Benedict XIV. was neither stork nor log. Perhaps the wirepullers thought the book-worm harmless. Perhaps the six-months' conclave, longest since the Middle Ages, wore them out. Perhaps even they were won by the new pope's charm. Certainly that charm has vanquished his historian. "Taken all in all", he says, "Benedict XIV. was the incarnation of the Italian spirit at its best and most lovable." Open-hearted, upright, direct, he looked the man he was. "Of middle height, slightly corpulent, his full, fresh face under his chestnut-brown but graying hair breathed goodness and good will; from his great blue, lively eyes beamed shrewdness and spirit; about his mouth lay a trace of humor." Work was to him second nature; his pen he called his best friend. Till his death, at eighty-four, he needed no glasses. Temperate, even abstinent, simple of diet, up at five and busy till late evening, his duties were a joy. For exercise, of which he craved much, he took long walks—

through the streets of Rome or into the countryside about his Alban villa—chatting freely with those he met.

Even as pope he found time to be a scholar, and a scholar sincere and frank. Muratori, then foremost of Italian men of learning, rejoiced at his accession and was emboldened to ask for Catholic scholarship the fullest freedom. Even of the popes one must write without glozing. Of books, of authors, of miracles, of legends, sound criticism must be welcomed. "Better", he said, "to tell the truth ourselves than to hear it from taunting adversaries." "Holy Church has, thank God, no need of lies; she does not fear the truth." "God be praised for giving us a Pope who is filled with these sentiments." That such a pope moderated the censorship was less startling than that he could correspond with Voltaire himself; and at this even Pastor winces a little. But such *bonhomie* disarmed the hostility of that carping age, and with such a pope a Frederick of Prussia could negotiate. Even a Horace Walpole indited verses in his honor, and a Whig like Macaulay has called him the best and wisest of the popes.

But the hostility which Pope Benedict thus warded off from the Church and its head, flamed all the more hotly against the religious order which made itself the spokesman of reaction; and it is the struggle for the suppression of the Jesuits, unavailing under Clement XIII. (1758-1769), successful under Clement XIV. (1769-1774), that fills nearly all of Pastor's pages on these two popes. Victorious over Jansenism, enriched by the grateful gifts of the devout, and now almost sole masters of the schools, the Jesuits had made foes, too, within the Church. Pope Benedict had ruled against their Chinese and their Malabar rites and seemed to leave them in Portugal at the mercy of their foes. Under Clement XIII., despite that pontiff's loyalty, they were driven from Portugal, from France, from Spain, from much of Italy. "His eleven-year pontificate", says Pastor, "was an unbroken chain of sufferings and oppressions for the Church and of deep humiliations for the Holy See." "His worthiest purposes the princes met with stubborn resistance or with cold rejection, scarcely deigning to answer his letters or doing so with caustic bitterness." Even Catholic lands saw papal briefs burned by the hangman.

• The powers saw to it that the next pope was of their choosing; and that pope, the Franciscan Ganganelli—Clement XIV.—has remained a touchstone for the papal historian. As to no other have pens gone so asunder. As to none is it so natural to distrust the Jesuit heirs of Pastor's task. But they assure us (or the publisher does), in a note sent out with this volume, that these pages "in their outline (*der Konzeption nach*) and in their really decisive portions are wholly from the author's pen". Such as we have them they neither adore nor detest; but to their narrative the pope was a helpless tool of secular politics. "The basis of his character", we are told, "was timidity."

He paltered, but he did at last the will of the powers—wearing out his life perhaps in indecision and remorse. That he was poisoned by the Jesuits is scouted as a baseless fable.

Cornell University.

GEORGE L. BURR.

Bohemia in the Eighteenth Century: a Study in Political, Economic, and Social History with Special Reference to the Reign of Leopold II., 1790-1792. By ROBERT JOSEPH KERNER, Professor of Modern European History, University of California. (New York: Macmillan Company. 1932. Pp. xii, 412. \$4.00.)

THIS is the first comprehensive and thoroughgoing monograph on the eighteenth century period of the Bohemian part of the Austrian empire, based mostly on original researches in the archives of Prague and Vienna. As some of the material on which the study was written has since been destroyed in the street riots of Vienna, the work of Professor Kerner has received special value. The main source of the volume is the *Desideria* of the estates, which played a rôle in Austria analogous to that of the French *cahiers*. The history of the eighteenth century is decidedly of capital importance, because this was the time when under the pressure of the French Revolution, the Hapsburg Monarchy did not dare to continue its radical fight against feudalism and made a compromise with it to the detriment of the peasant, thus making the industrialization and centralization of the empire an impossibility. At the same time, the feudal forces could not create real national unity because narrow-minded class interests overshadowed their antiquated form of nationalism and made the growth of real nationalism, based on a free peasantry and a flourishing urban life, very difficult. This conflict of forces, modern and medieval, centralizing and decentralizing, Germanizing and supporting the native Czech language, imperialistic and particularistic, is ably shown by Professor Kerner in all the fields of social, economic, and political life. His work therefore will be an indispensable counterpart to the inquiries in which Professor Marczali has described the corresponding period of Hungarian development. The comparison of the two pictures is very instructive, not only from the strictly historical point of view but also from that of understanding present day political development. That the Czechoslovaks were able to establish a strong and democratic republic, whereas Hungary is still under a veiled feudal dictatorship, is intimately connected with the fact vigorously stressed by Professor Kerner that the greatest part of genuine Czech feudalism was exterminated with the Battle of White Mountain (1620), and that therefore the peasantry became far more self-reliant and prosperous ("The Bohemian peasant was a lord in comparison to the average Polish or Hungarian peasant"), whereas in Hungary the rule of the feudal nobility remained unshaken. The new

feudalism created in Bohemia by the Hapsburgs, though sufficiently strong to impede the work of unification, remained practically rootless in the country; and therefore it lost all importance in the post-war republic, whereas in Hungary the exuberant growth of feudalism remained an obstacle for a self-conscious peasantry and an organized bourgeois class. Also, by a comparison of the economic, cultural, and religious structure of the two countries, very instructive parallels may be drawn on the basis of the abundant and significant material collected with an astounding diligence by Professor Kerner. As the Hungarian and the Bohemian history of the eighteenth century hold the main key to the understanding of the Hapsburg drama, we can safely say that Professor Kerner has made a great contribution to the reconstruction of the main centrifugal forces of the former monarchy.

Oberlin College.

OSCAR JÁSZI.

La Grande Peur de 1789. Par GEORGES LEFEBVRE, Professeur à la Faculté des Lettres de Strasbourg. (Paris: Armand Colin. 1932. Pp. 272. 30 fr.)

THE "great fear" that swept over France at the end of July, 1789, has long puzzled historians. What caused it? Where did it originate? In his *avant-propos* Professor Lefebvre explains the present status of the problem and his own contributions toward its solution. Taine, he points out, who had a sense of social history, understood some of the conditions that caused the popular revolts but neglected to apply his knowledge to an explanation of the "great fear". Other historians have studied the phenomenon in restricted areas—M. Conard in Dauphiné, Miss Pickford in Touraine and Provence, M. Chaudron in Champagne, and M. Dubreuil at Evreux—but they have described only what happened. The need for a comprehensive study of the movement Professor Lefebvre attempts to fill, although he recognizes that, in view of the paucity of regional studies and the dispersion of the documentary evidence, the time has not yet come for a definitive pronouncement. He can only hope to suggest possible solutions and orient further research.

His initial chapters are devoted to an exposition of causes. These he finds, fundamentally, in the deplorable conditions of life prevalent among the lower classes. Famine and unemployment were the perennial bogeys whose frightfulness was increased by the commercial treaty with England in 1786, by the removal of the restrictions on the grain trade in 1787, and by the failure of the harvest in 1788. In the train of famine and industrial depression came mendicity and vagabondage on an unprecedented scale. By March and April, 1789, a sporadic *jacquerie* was already in progress from one end of the kingdom to the other. There was a moment of calm when the states general met, but toward the middle of July the rumor spread that a "complot

aristocratique" had been formed for the destruction of the third estate and that brigands in the employ of the aristocrats were coming to lay waste the countryside. Thence arose the "great fear", which is to be distinguished from earlier and later disturbances by the fact that it was a genuine panic, widely and rapidly propagated.

With a wealth of detailed information before him, accumulated over a period of more than a dozen years of research, Professor Lefebvre is able to trace the currents of "fear" back to their original sources and to plot them on a map with appropriate arrows. Contrary to what one would naturally expect, the panic did not radiate from Paris along the great highways, but originated almost simultaneously in half a dozen provincial localities and spread from village to village by the shortest cuts. The phenomenon first appeared at Nantes on July 20 and spread southeast. Almost at the same hour it appeared at La Ferté in Maine and spread far to the north, west, and south. Other points of origin were: in the region of Chalon-sur-Saône, thence down the valley of the Rhone, spreading east and west; at Estrées-Saint-Denis, north of Paris; at Romilly in Champagne; at Ruffec, north of Bordeaux, spreading thence over southern France as far as the Pyrenees. Certain regions, like Brittany and lower Normandy, were unaffected; and Paris, too, curiously enough, was unaffected, until waves of the panic came rolling in upon the suburbs from Estrées and Romilly.

The reader rises from a perusal of this book with a better comprehension of the French Revolution. The federations of national guards, the *levée en masse*, the familiar catchwords of "vaincre ou mourir", all have their genesis here. It is regrettable that the conditions imposed by the publisher precluded the possibility of footnotes or a detailed bibliography, but Professor Lefebvre promises to publish some day a critical edition of the documents that he has collected.

The University of North Carolina.

MITCHELL B. GARRETT.

Stein: eine Politische Biographie. By GERHARD RITTER. Zwei Bände. Stuttgart: Deutsche Verlags-Anstalt. 1931. Pp. xi, 542; 408. 26 M.)

THE centennial of the death of Baron vom Stein, the Prussian reformer, added to the interest in him and his period. This interest had been stimulated by the parallel between the years after the Prussian defeat at Jena and the present post-war period. The Germans gave proof a century ago, when Stein promoted the publication of the *Monumenta Germaniae Historica*, that more than any other people they consciously turn to their own history for inspiration and the springs of national rejuvenation. For good or evil the historian is a power in every land and in none is he a greater force than in Germany. To-day he shows how in the past the dead bones of the valley of Cheber were brought together and inspired with new life or he pieces to-

gether telegraphic dispatches to exorcise the war guilt myth and force the re-writing of the Treaty of Versailles by appeals to archives. To German readers a new life of Stein is not just another book. It may be hard reading for us but to a thoughtful German in these days it is a speaking, living voice whose message he will carry from the study to the street.

This is not written to say that Professor Ritter's two volumes, compact with facts and closely reasoned interpretation, have any purpose but those proper to a new study of Stein in a centennial year. Thirty years after Lehmann's much criticized three volume biography there was a need for a new study of the sources and the recent literature.

The fine, uncontroversial attitude of the author and his appreciation of his debt to Lehmann whose sources he has restudied with admirable independence and with substantial gains and new interpretations, the incorporation of all the material that has accumulated in a quarter of a century fully justify a task which promised little when undertaken. Yet those rewards of a scholar are not all that have kept the author to his task. "How could one, though simply a German historian, labor on the age of Stein without being constantly aware that the political problems of those times are still the problems of our day."

The first evident novelty is the shift in space and emphasis distinctly to the period of Stein's life preceding 1807, the year in which he entered on his second and great ministry which gave him his place in history. Nearly two-fifths of the whole work, including the notes, are given to ancestry, home, youth, university life, friends and associates, and his official life and labors as a Prussian official in Westphalia. The result is a more thorough examination than any previous biographer has given to the formative influence of the home and of his Göttingen teachers and associates, especially Rehberg. This section contains an independent contribution to the proper appraisal of Rehberg as a very important German political thinker at the close of the eighteenth century. No other had so great an influence on Stein as his college friend whose later career in Hanover paralleled his own in Westphalia (vol. I., pp. 39, 147). This primacy could be disputed on behalf of Heintz, Stein's superior in the early days and a model of all that a provincial administrator should be.

The bitter controversy between Lehmann and Ernst von Meier over the extent to which Stein and his later reforms were influenced by French Revolutionary thought and precedents finds but faint echo in Ritter's well-balanced and well-reasoned text. Instead of the one-sided view into which the controversialists of that day drove each other, Ritter gives due weight to the fact that Stein lived his formative years in the eighteenth century in which France had no monopoly on reform ideas or efforts. And yet no German of intelligence could shut his mind to the works of Montesquieu and the efforts of Turgot, nor be unimpressed by Brandes, Burke, Rehberg, and Justus

Möser. Stein was intelligent and exceptionally widely read. He traveled wherever he might learn the best things about his tasks in France and England. That the later excesses of the Revolution and the oppression of Napoleon earned his undying hatred should not obscure the possibility of his having thought about needed reforms in Prussia in terms that were both German and French, that is, were common in the century of enlightenment. Nor does the author ever forget that Stein was Stein and from his home, his class consciousness as an Imperial Knight, his associates like Heinitz, Brandes, and Rehberg, his experience in Westphalia, and his own ethical and moral concepts he brought to his work something that made him no pale reflection of any other man's thought.

The one gap in these earlier years, the visit to England, Ritter with all his research has not filled but he has made a shrewder guess about it than any previous biographer. The reviewer owes Professor Ritter and all those who have written on Stein recently a humble apology for not having published private archival material on this lost year, material that quite unexpectedly came into his hands after the appearance of his biography of Stein.

The author gives less than one-third of his space to the reform ministry and its measures and even less, properly, to the years from 1808 to Stein's death. One suspects that publishers were venturing much on a two volume biography and it was their wise insistence that kept the author from expanding on all his differences with Lehmann and for that we are grateful. There is enough of it in the notes.

In the approach to the reforms the author preserves the catholic judgment for which he has laid the groundwork in his study of Stein before 1807 and underlines especially the dangers of attributing to imitation what is the outcome of practical necessity. His analysis of Stein's official memoranda and reports while a provincial official and especially of the Nassau memoir is one of the most illuminating contributions that he makes to the understanding of the reform measures, especially the city ordinance of 1808. He brings out more precisely what had been done toward reform before Stein came to power and what part the Königsberg group, disciples of Adam Smith, had in shaping his agrarian and municipal decrees. He attempts no such rounded picture of the old Prussia as Lehmann drew and the needed corrections to that picture which he makes are not grouped and organized so that the reader gets the full force of the new scholarship since Lehmann and Knapf. That it is fully utilized is one of the merits of Professor Ritter's volumes. Of recent writers on economic and social conditions he is most indebted to Robert Stein's work on East Prussia and Ziekursch's on Silesia. His emphasis on the social value and integrity of the East Elbe Junkers in a chapter on the necessity of reform to which they were an insuperable obstacle until after Jena, seems like leaning over backwards in an effort to be historically just. With more justice he characterizes the *Spiessertum* and indifference to reform of

the city bourgeoisie. Frederick William III., a mediocre pedant fitted eminently for a bureaucratic post, or regimental garrison in his own kingdom, conscious of only one large thing, that he was Hohenzollern, is properly loaded with all the responsibility he shunned. The result, among others, is to rescue the able Beyme, and even his less able and less upright fellow secretaries from blame for everything before 1806. They were weak and futile and useful to Frederick William III. because in the presence of such nonentities he felt like a king. Ritter's characterization of the Epigonians of 1806 is in words that are a terrific indictment drawn equally, one suspects, against another Hohenzollern and his advisers in another national crisis.

Professor Ritter's admirable and scholarly work has proved that there was a place for another full length study of Stein and his era. It will not be easy reading for those unfamiliar with the social, political, and administrative institutions of unreformed Prussia, but it is worth the effort if one would know the best interpretation of Stein from the standpoint of recent, post-war German scholarship. It is by far the most significant study that has appeared in the centennial year.

The University of Minnesota.

GUY STANTON FORD.

Geschichte der Deutschen Revolution von 1848-1849. VON VEIT VALENTIN. Two volumes. (Berlin: Verlag Ullstein. 1930; 1931. Pp. xv, 662; xi, 770. 18; 21 M.)

AFTER twenty years of study of the first German revolution, the national movement of 1848-1849, Dr. Valentin has produced the most authoritative work upon this important subject. In 1919 his earlier researches were published under the title, *Die Erste Deutsche Nationalversammlung*. Subsequently he continued his studies in the Geheimes Staatsarchiv, Berlin, the Archiv des Bundestages und der Nationalversammlung, Frankfurt, as well as in the archives of Vienna, Stuttgart, Munich, Darmstadt, Karlsruhe, Dresden, and the Central Archive of Moscow. His invaluable bibliography of printed materials since 1850, arranged according to a novel plan of alphabetical subject headings, is conclusive evidence of a thorough knowledge of the vast and conflicting literature concerning this revolution.

• The first volume begins with a comprehensive preliminary history of the revolutionary movement, then traces its development to the end of the April revolution and the opening of the Frankfurt parliament. The narrative is indicated by the titles of the following seven chapters: the Austrian Empire, the Prussian Power, Bavaria, the Minor States, Germany, the March Revolution, and the April Revolution. The fifth chapter is a masterly portrayal of a politically divided Germany which is however united in language, literature, art, commerce, industry, and national spirit. The great influence of Treitschke is clearly seen in this treatment of cultural factors. On the other

hand the last two chapters could not have been written until the revolution of 1918-1919 enabled the present generation with the aid of solid historical documents, to restate its position toward nineteenth century revolutionary thought and particularly toward this great epoch of German national life. We are conducted in these seven chapters through the labyrinth of preparations for the revolution and then shown the first dramatic outbreak and apparent victory of the revolutionists. Throughout the entire volume we see the notable results of the author's research but also his constant effort to show the relation of the present to the movements of 1848.

The second volume is divided into nine large parts: the beginnings of the Frankfurt parliament, the German powers and the regency of the Reich, the September crisis, the counter-revolution in Austria, the Prussian *coup d'état*, the work of the Frankfurt parliament, the saving of particularism, civil war over the constitution, and "end, result, and progress". Here the author presents the constitutional work of the revolutionists, the social revolutionary and nationalistic threats to the revolution, the beginning of the counter-revolution and its eventual victory over the uprising of 1849. The final synthesis is stated in the sentence: "The German revolution of 1848-1849 stands between Freiherr vom Stein and Otto von Bismarck." Bismarck's work of unification ends the popular movement with its free national state constitution.

Extensive citations are placed at the end of each volume. References to considerable archive material might well be more precise. The author could improve the organization of his bibliography by the judicious use of cross references, and thus increase its usefulness as a guide to the chronological development of research in this field. Especially valuable for students of historiography is the critical survey of the sources and research work. The chronological tables for the general period as well as the index are to be commended. The author plans to publish in a separate source book the characteristic and rare pamphlets, flysheets, caricatures, and pictures of the revolution together with explanatory notes and a list of all private collections.

The President of the United States was the only head of a foreign government to send greetings to the first German national assembly, while American scholars early agreed that "in proportion as these extraordinary events appeared to have their origin in those great ideas of responsible and popular government on which the American constitutions are wholly founded, they could not but command the warm sympathy of the people of this country". Even during the Bismarckian era American historians appreciated and supported the viewpoint of the Frankfurt democracy. The greatness of Valentin's work lies in the establishment of this interpretation in Germany.

An English translation of this definitive work should be published in the near future. It would not be an easy undertaking. The author's German now and then defies Grimm, Flügel, and Sanders, but illustrates changes in vocabulary of a cultural nature in the revolutionary pamphleteering.

Dr. Valentin has constructed a new, clear, and readable synthesis for this decisive period of nineteenth century European history. Scholars may question his estimates of Metternich, Friedrich Wilhelm IV., and other leading personalities. The majority will however agree with his conclusion that the immortal patriotism of the Reich of 1848, in its purity and earnestness, is the future ally of the German nation.

Stanford University.

RALPH HASWELL LUTZ.

The Letters of Queen Victoria. Third Series. *A Selection from Her Majesty's Correspondence and Journal between the Years 1886 and 1901.* Published by Authority of His Majesty the King. Edited by GEORGE EARLE BUCKLE. Volume III., 1896-1901. (New York: Longmans, Green and Company. 1932. Pp. xiv, 662. \$9.00.)

"YOUR MAJESTY does not much admire Queen Elizabeth", wrote Rosebery, in March, 1900, just after Victoria had been frantically cheered from St. James's Park to Edgware Road, "but the visit to London was in the Elizabethan spirit. There was, however, this difference, that with the pride that England felt in Elizabeth there was but little love. Now the nation glows with both." Only two days before, Sir Francis Knollys had declared a telegram of the queen's rejecting any suggestion of outside intervention in the South African war, to be "worthy of Queen Elizabeth". One can find real justification for the comparison. It is not merely that Victoria, in her eighty-first and last year, half crippled and half blind, was leading her subjects vigorously and courageously through some of the blackest months of all her reign; that she was outstripping her advisers in demands for a more energetic prosecution of the war, and setting an example to her subjects in fortitude and optimism. More remarkable is the fact that the aloof and quite German little lady who appeared in the earlier volumes of the *Letters*, had come to seem as English as Elizabeth, and as able as Elizabeth had been, during Armada days, to reach her subjects' hearts. Victoria's chair or little chaise rolled up and down incessantly, not only before ranks of soldiers waiting to go overseas, but between tables spread for the women and children whom they left behind. It was no longer the welfare of the aristocracy, but that of the poorest of her subjects which principally concerned her now. She was troubled by the thought that the working classes would be forced to share the expenses of the war through taxes such as that on beer. Indeed her sympathies had the widest scope. She visited Ireland at much personal cost, in order to foster a better spirit there; and she reached the point of indiscretion in expressing her interest and indignation concerning that "poor martyr", Dreyfus. But if she seemed more kindly and more generous, she had never, in some respects, been mightier. That Salisbury considered her influence over the Kaiser "a powerful defence against danger" will surprise no one:

but it is a very striking fact that the leading British periodicals, not even excepting *Punch*, should, at her privately expressed desire, have taken a milder tone regarding Germany.

So, Victoria's figure, silhouetted sharply against the revealing light cast by the war in South Africa, passes triumphantly and graciously from the stage: and so the richest and most enticing series of personal documents that can ever be offered to students of nineteenth century British history reaches its close. As was to be expected, the high standard of editing is maintained. Whether Mr. Buckle has made the best possible selection from the papers placed at his disposal is, of course, a matter of taste and still more of surmise. Students of pre-war European diplomacy, their appetites whetted by his spicy offerings, may wonder whether he could not have gratified them still more. But they, as well as students of English history, of late nineteenth century civilization, and even of the human comedy generally, will lay down the volume with a sigh at the thought that it is the last. They will hope, too, that the editor may find another task worthy of his powers.

Wesleyan University.

HERBERT C. BELL.

Rural Russia under the Old Régime: a History of the Landlord-Peasant World and a Prologue to the Peasant Revolution of 1917. By GEROLD TANQUARY ROBINSON. (New York: Longmans, Green and Company. 1932. Pp. x, 342. \$4.00.)

PROFESSOR ROBINSON'S volume may be greeted as one of the rare books on Russia, published in America, which is based on a thorough study of literature and documents in the Russian language. Most of the recent works published here suffer from lack of historical background and Robinson's book will fill this gap, at least as regards the history of the agrarian problem in Russia. The author plans to publish another volume (or volumes) on peasants in the recent revolution, but the present work may be of even greater importance for an American reader, since it introduces him to the pre-revolutionary development of this agrarian problem.

The first four chapters give the history of the origin and the evolution of serfdom in Russia before emancipation (1861). In this part, the writer follows the best Russian historians, such as Kliuchevsky, Platonov, Diakonov, Semevsky, Beliaev, and others. He describes how serfdom in the process of evolution finally triumphed in the eighteenth century just at the time when the nobles were "emancipated" from their obligations to the state. He explains also why, during the eighteenth and the first half of the nineteenth centuries, the cultural gap between the peasantry and the landlords widened more and more.

In the next four chapters the author analyzes the emancipation of the peasant-serfs (1861) and the conditions in which the peasantry and the land-

lords were placed between 1861 and 1905. He presents quite clearly the limitations of the act of the emancipation, showing that the reform "did not effect a revolutionary change in the internal organization of the peasantry", and, what is more important, that "with the abolition of immediate personal subjection to the landlord, there was transferred to the peasant commune the bulk of the public law which the masters had formerly exercised upon their serfs". The heavy burden upon the peasantry of the redemption payments for the land which they obtained at the time of liberation is also emphasized, as well as the diminished area of peasant's holdings in comparison with what they held while serfs, particularly in the belt of the black soil. In his examination of the economic conditions of the peasantry and its evolution during these years the author seems to prefer a historical analysis of judicial acts to a thorough study of economic facts illustrated by statistical data. Such data, particularly since 1880, are abundant. Even those data which the writer includes in his study are presented in a form which would not satisfy an economist who is a statistician. Perhaps for that reason, the conclusions of the author in this field are not quite definite. He does not risk saying that the economic situation of the peasantry either improved or became worse during the fifty years after emancipation.

Mr. Robinson describes the revolution of 1905 in chapters IX. and X., and includes many other than its agrarian aspects, such as the policies of the political parties and of the government, and the causes of failure. He focusses attention, however, upon the agrarian movement, and his conclusion is that this movement was caused mostly by the economic condition of the peasantry rather than by the propaganda of the revolutionary parties. The revolutionary parties followed the spontaneous movement of the peasants rather than led it.

The two final chapters are concerned with an analysis of the agrarian policy of the government and of the conservative Russian groups during the decade between the first and the second revolutions (1905 and 1917) and of the economic condition of the peasantry and the landlords on the eve of the revolution of 1917. The author says that "this intervening decade was a period of change so rapid and so profound as in itself to constitute a kind of revolution". He recognizes that during this period the ties by which the peasants had been bound to their households and their commune before the revolution of 1905 "were greatly weakened, sometimes dissolved entirely, in favor of a far more individualistic order". The analysis of the principles of the so-called Stolypin agrarian reform and its great importance are well set forth. The author says that "it seems possible that there had been some improvement in the material condition of the majority of the peasants". He states also that during the last years before the war (1910-1914) there was a marked decline in the local agrarian disturbances, though the industrial strike movement in Russia mounted steadily. He recognizes even that "it is

possible that by reason of the economic and legal developments . . . the likelihood of a general uprising of the peasants against the landlords was diminishing”.

The bibliography covers a fairly large list of Russian publications used by the author, but omits many relating to the economic analysis of the pre-revolution agrarian question in Russia.

The work may be commended to American readers as a study impartial in character and founded on a thorough analysis of literature and documents. The author constantly shows his sympathy with the peasant class in its struggle against the landlords and the Russian czarist government, but at the same time he mentions also the efforts of the government, particularly since 1905, to solve the problem.

The University of Michigan.

V. P. TIMOSHENKO.

Documents Diplomatiques Français, 1871-1914. Série 2 (1901-1911), tome III., 3 Janvier-4 Octobre, 1903. Série 3 (1911-1914), tome IV., 1 Octobre-4 Décembre, 1912. [Ministère des Affaires Étrangères, Commission de Publication des Documents relatifs aux Origines de la Guerre de 1914.] (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale. 1931; 1932. Pp. xxviii, 640; xxxviii, 668. 60 fr. each.)

TEN of the admirable volumes of French pre-war diplomatic documents have been published, three in each of the first two series, and four in the third series from 1911 to 1914. As the editors now estimate that there will be altogether some 45 or 50 volumes, and as they appear at the rate of four or five a year, one may hope to see the collection complete in less than a decade.

During the first nine months of the year 1903, the Morocco Question, as so often, dominated French foreign policy. M. Delcassé at Paris and M. Saint-René-Taillandier at Tangier wished to consolidate French influence in the sultan's empire, but without seeming to intervene unnecessarily or to change the status quo, in order not to antagonize the other great powers. Exclusive French loans urged upon the impecunious and spendthrift sultan, with hints at railroad concessions and the employment of French technical advisers in return (pp. 12, 18, 21, 522 f.), energetic protection of the Algerian frontier (p. 386), and the sending of French naval forces equal to those of England into Moroccan waters (pp. 268, 326, 423 ff.), seemed to be the most effective and least alarming methods of securing French interests.

Germany appeared likely to give little trouble. Bülow hoped that the status quo would be maintained, and had spoken of German interests in Morocco as "insignificant up to the present" (p. 31). But the French noted with some uneasiness that German trade in Morocco was growing with alarming rapidity, though the statistics regarding it varied greatly (pp. 56-59, 70). Also the attitude of Mentzingen, the German minister at Tangier, was

much less cordial and intimate than that of his English colleague, Sir Arthur Nicolson (pp. 170 ff.).

Spain and England, however, were insistent on protecting their respective interests in Morocco, and with them France carried on protracted negotiations. Spain, suspecting that Morocco might eventually lose its independence or be divided into protectorate zones, wanted to make sure that she should secure control of a generous slice on the northern coast opposite Spain; France was willing to accept the idea of allotting something, and so amicable relations between the peoples across the Pyrenees were preserved by the firm and friendly tact of M. Jules Cambon, at that time French ambassador at Madrid. The British cabinet also gradually made up their minds to accept French predominance in Morocco in return for a free hand for themselves in Egypt. M. Delcassé, in spite of French public opinion, was quite ready for such a bargain, and so began upon his visit to London in July, 1903, the discussions which ultimately led to the Anglo-French Entente of 1904, the details of which are already familiar from the British documents.

Whether this rapprochement with England was liable to weaken Franco-Russian intimacy and enable Willy's intrigues to seduce Nicky caused some concern to the French (pp. 501f., 520ff., 527f., 546-551). On the whole, the French concluded, there was no serious danger of this. Delcassé was careful to assure St. Petersburg that the Russian alliance still formed the keystone of French policy and persistent fidelity. Count Benckendorff, the newly-arrived Russian ambassador in England, whose portrait and whose timidity in making reports to his government are delightfully pictured by M. Paul Cambon, was flattered by being accorded a long interview with Delcassé in London; this gave Benckendorff the welcome basis for a long report to St. Petersburg, "which was for him like a refreshing draught in the political Sahara" (p. 521). Franco-Russian joint military plans continued to be discussed very intimately and cordially through General Pendezeć's visit with the Russian chief-of-staff, General Sakharov (pp. 540-542, 605-614). And Delcassé, together with the French ambassadors in London and St. Petersburg, considered how they might advantageously use their influence to bring about more friendly relations between their Russian ally and their new English friends. This was a great change from the year 1901, when France and Russia were discussing a possible naval convention to supplement their military convention of 1894 and to provide for the coöperation of the French and Russian navies *against England* (pp. 601-605).

There were, however, some rifts in the Franco-Russian lute. One was caused by Count Lamsdorff's touchiness and by the indiscipline of the press in both countries. Lamsdorff, who with Goluchowski of Austria had drawn up a program of reform for Macedonia, felt that "he had acquitted himself conscientiously of the mission which he had conferred on himself" in the matter, and regarded "every initiative other than his own as an inopportune

intervention and a misunderstanding of his own preëminent rôle" (p. 138). Unfortunately the Paris *Matin* intimated (incorrectly) that France also might have proposals for reform, whereupon Lamsdorff complained forcibly to the French ambassador and there was an outburst of Pan-Slav attacks against France in the Russian press. Delcassé in turn felt aggrieved: in France, because of the very liberal press laws, "the newspapers are beyond all control and repression, so that as a consequence the government is not to be held responsible for the violent articles of a few editors. But it is not the same in Russia, where the press is placed under strict surveillance." So he was astonished that "articles giving a most disobliging and false color to French policy seemed to enjoy a quite unaccustomed license on the part of the imperial censor" (p. 232).

The year 1903 was also of decisive importance in two other matters in which French and Russian policies were not in complete harmony. Germany had acquired the concession for the Bagdad Railway, wanted the participation of foreign capital for its construction, and was willing to make arrangements which had the appearance of giving an equal control to each of the proposed participating powers. The British cabinet at first approved participation, but under a storm of English newspaper criticism quickly reversed its attitude (pp. 233-235, 260-265). Russian ministers were at first in disagreement among themselves, but quickly decided against participation. Witte even stated that, far from providing a single ruble for participation, he would consider favorably, if requested, making the sacrifice of funds to *prevent* the construction of the Bagdad Railway (p. 179). Rouvier, the French minister of finance, and the French bankers were strongly in favor of participation, and Delcassé was at first willing, provided that France was accorded absolute equality with Germany in the management (pp. 27, 46, 102-104). But in view of Russia's absolute disapproval and of his own suspicion that France was being accorded equality only in form and not in reality, he eventually turned against the project, and also against a proposal for consolidating the Ottoman debt, which he feared would liberate Turkish funds which might be used for the Bagdad Railway. In a long memoir read to the French cabinet, he successfully combatted the views of Rouvier and the bankers (pp. 450-454, 469-471, 479-480, 487-492).

In 1903, also, Russian action in Manchuria aroused protests in England, the United States, and especially in Japan. France was disturbed, particularly after her rapprochement with England, but was unable to exercise a moderating influence at St. Petersburg, because the czar's autocratic ukase of August 12, appointing Admiral Alexieiev as viceroy in the Far East, had completely eliminated poor Lamsdorff from any control over the situation and had contributed to the dismissal of the pacific Witte. Under these circumstances, ought France to make a new loan to Russia? Here again a

difference arose between the French foreign and finance ministers, because Rouvier approved the Russian loan without consulting Delcassé as to political conditions (pp. 240, 413).

The other volume, covering only nine weeks, but momentous ones (Oct. 1-Dec. 4, 1912), is naturally filled chiefly with the peace efforts of the great powers and their fears, suspicions, and vacillations in the face of the first Balkan War: Sazonov's alarm and eleventh hour effort to back water after having contributed to a very dangerous situation which he could no longer control, and his fear that Pan-Slav excitement might sweep Russia into war as it did in 1877; Berchtold's dismay at a hostile Balkan combination which might extend Serbia to the Adriatic and turn against Austria after defeating Turkey; Grey's hesitancy in putting too much pressure on the sultan for fear of antagonizing the millions of Mohammedans in India; Kiderlen-Waechter's policy of watchful waiting to see how events would turn out; Poincaré's sincere efforts to prevent and then to end a war which threatened French investments as well as peace between the great powers; and at the same time his solicitude not to offend the Balkan states whose alliance he recognized as a great potential asset to the Triple Entente. After long negotiations the great powers finally agreed on a formula urging the Balkan Allies not to attack Turkey, and warning them that, even if they did so, it would profit them nothing, because the great powers would not recognize at the end of the conflict any change in the status quo in the Balkans. The formula was presented to Montenegro at 11 A. M. on October 8. But at 9:30 that same morning Montenegro handed the Turkish ambassador his passports stating that the Montenegrin declaration of war was being delivered at Constantinople. Within three weeks, with the first military successes of the Balkan Allies, the great powers found themselves faced with a *fait accompli* which made them all abandon completely their "non-recognition" policy. It is a precedent which hardly augurs success for President Hoover's similar non-recognition policy in regard to Manchuria.

The conflict over the Austro-Italian desire for the creation of an autonomous Albania and the exclusion of Serbia from the Adriatic; Sazonov's disturbing reticence and vacillation as to his real aims; and the Grey-Cambon exchange of notes tightening the Anglo-French Entente are all indicated in detail, though the main facts have already become familiar through the German and Austrian published documents and the memoirs of Grey and Poincaré. Noteworthy, however, are the reports (indicated in the excellent analytical table of contents) on the fears in Belgium that France and England might not respect her neutrality, and that she must therefore be prepared to protect it herself by reorganizing the Belgian army.

Harvard University.

SIDNEY B. FAY.

Mémoires du Maréchal Joffre, 1910-1917. Deux tomes. (Paris: Librairie Plon. 1932. Pp. 491; 465. 36 fr.)

The Personal Memoirs of Joffre, Field Marshal of the French Army.

Translated by Colonel T. BENTLEY MOTT, D.S.M. Appendices by Colonel S. J. LOWE, D.S.O., O.B.E. Two volumes. (New York: Harper and Brothers. 1932. Pp. viii, 324; vi, 657. \$6.00.)

JOFFRE's *Memoirs* offer a welcome contrast to others which have appeared in recent years. They are neither an off-hand commentary, nor an apologia, nor an impersonal *précis* of office files; and even a first glance makes clear that they are in every sense his own work. Joffre realized clearly what the task implied and was willing to devote to it the time and labor necessary: begun in 1922, the book was finished only in 1928. No space is wasted in discussing familiar events outside Joffre's field of responsibility, but the matters he takes up are discussed without haste or the common failing of crowding for the sake of brevity. The book shows throughout the characteristic traits of order and method, and a singular gift of selecting and stressing the essential point; one result is to brush away completely the post-war caricature which portrayed Joffre as an impassive figurehead carried along by the brains of subordinates at G. Q. G. The text has not been padded out with documents already in print (even those which would have served to bring out his personal rôle most effectively have been sacrificed to this general rule), but a large number of new documents are presented. Among these are papers from a *dossier strictement personnel*, which are often particularly illuminating.

The book is in no way an autobiography. It opens with Joffre's appointment to the *Conseil Supérieur de la Guerre* in 1910, and in the sixth sentence we find him at work. The first section (nearly half of volume I.) deals with the huge task of army reform in the years just before 1914, a field heretofore familiar chiefly as a stage background of post-war controversies. Joffre offers a more factual approach; he brings out for the first time the surprising condition into which the army had fallen, and it is typical of his matter-of-fact attitude that the politician is not made the scapegoat for all the shortcomings of the army and the ministry of war. Plan XVII. first appears in its true light: *i.e.*, a drastic recasting of defective mobilization and railway arrangements which had hitherto condemned the French deployment to a peculiarly helpless defensive. More than one defender of the general staff has denied the charge that the intervention of German reserve divisions was not foreseen by the staff in 1914; Joffre settles this controversy by explaining that exactly this error was made. Very characteristically, instead of avoiding it as a painful topic he takes it up in some detail with the same objective interest as in other matters of happier recollection.

The subject-matter of the war chapters is much too full (and too important) for comment in a brief review. Broadly speaking, they form what may

be termed a contemporary narrative rather than a retrospective historical survey: the author (most fortunately) sets forth in turn the specific problems he had to deal with as they were seen and understood at the time. What results is only a part of the whole panorama, but it is an actual and real part—not an artificial composite put together in the light of later knowledge. The narrative of 1914 is very detailed: the Marne campaign is dealt with day by day. The second volume brings a change of scale and a far wider field. Covering 1915 and 1916, it takes up not only the campaigns in France but also Joffre's part in the conduct of the war on other fronts; the unending difficulties of bringing allies into some common line of action; and the ever increasing pressure of parliamentary opposition in France. The mere record of these simultaneous complications impinging from every quarter fairly makes the head swim: nothing brings home more convincingly to a reader the clarity of mind and solidity of character which made it possible to carry so overwhelming a burden. As yet Joffre is in a sense an unknown figure: his true reputation will arise only gradually, as the vast scale of his task and his achievement comes to be appreciated.

Colonel Mott, an experienced hand, has produced a readable and competent version of a text bristling with difficulties for the translator. The American edition however omits at least one section and relegates others (including four entire chapters from volume I.) to a brief summary printed as an appendix; the student will turn to the original edition.

Cambridge.

T. H. THOMAS.

Weltkrieg ohne Waffen: die Propaganda der Westmächte gegen Deutschland, ihre Wirkung und ihre Abwehr. VON HANS THIMME, Dr. Phil. und Mitglied des Reichsarchivs. (Stuttgart: J. G. Cotta'sche Buchhandlung Nachfolger. 1932. Pp. viii, 294. 6.80 M.)

THIS work is one of the most interesting and scholarly studies of war propaganda which has yet appeared. Like most of its predecessors it traces the development of propaganda both in organization and in method. The slow unification of various agencies in the different countries of the Entente is treated in some detail as well as the ingenuity of the subterranean devices employed to get propaganda material into German hands. The work also includes chapters on the efforts of German emigrants in Switzerland and Holland to overthrow the German monarchy—efforts largely futile because of their suspected, if not actual, affiliation with French interests.

The special significance of the book, however, lies in its emphasis not on the methods but on the successful results of enemy propaganda on the German front. According to Herr Thimme Germany failed to perceive in time the danger of the propaganda or to take adequate measures of defense. The reasons for the success of the Entente powers he finds in the good psychology of their appeal, the use they made of the differences of opinion in Germany

and even more in certain vulnerable aspects of German political philosophy. The opposition of Bavaria to Prussia, the autonomist interests in Alsace-Lorraine, the anti-monarchical and anti-militaristic feeling, the rising tide of democracy, and incipient class warfare were all played up to the utmost. It is to be noted in passing, however, that the Allies were cautious in their attacks on the Kaiser—the direct assault in England did not begin until 1918—and even more cautious in regard to Hindenburg. At the same time the pessimism in German philosophy and its glorification of the state were made much of. "The reverence toward the state was represented in these polemics as idolatry, the high value placed on the individual was pictured as 'primitive clannishness', the teaching of the necessity of evil as a shameless attack on morality." On the other hand, the political philosophy of the Allies or what, for the time being, they supposed their political philosophy to be, with its insistence on democracy, freedom, and self-determination, and its optimistic belief in their duty and their power to spread these ideas abroad in the world, formed a most effective appeal.

To check this propaganda which was being poured out in floods upon the soldiers at the front as well as upon neutrals, the German government sought in vain, trying successively punishment and then reward; but punishment was difficult to enforce and the promise of reward only whetted curiosity and increased the very thing the government was endeavoring to prevent. As for positive propaganda to take its place, "What", asks Herr Thimme, "had Germany really to offer? The natural aim of the war on the part of Germany—to secure a part in world affairs proportionate to her strength—could scarcely be expected to appeal to the sympathy of neutrals." Here then lay the reason for Germany's ultimate failure, not in propaganda alone but propaganda dropped in exceedingly fertile soil and with no effective defense.

For what seems to him the utter breakdown in the Versailles treaty of the alleged ideals of the Entente as well as of some of the falsifications involved in the war propaganda, Herr Thimme has nothing but scorn. But at the same time he recognizes the sincerity of many of the efforts of the Allies and although he leaves the impression that what German propaganda there was, was defensive rather than aggressive, his work on the whole is marked by moderation and detachment.

His statements concerning official efforts on the part of the German government to meet enemy propaganda at the front are supported by evidence in the form of official documents, a number of which he gives in an appendix. Specimens of Allied propaganda by means of cartoons are also included, as for instance, one sent by balloon into Germany in the summer of 1918 which represents the Kaiser marching along in military array between haggard hordes and followed by his six sons. The legend below reads, "A family which has not lost a single member".

Vassar College.

ELCISE ELLERY.

Traditions et Politique de la France au Levant. PAR ANDRÉ BRUNEAU, Docteur en Droit. Préface de M. CH. GUILHAUMON, Député, Vice-Président de la Commission de l'Armée. (Paris: Félix Alcan. 1932. Pp. xii, 445. 45 fr.)

IN this impressive volume M. Bruneau is concerned with what he regards as the perceptible diminution of French influence in the Levant. France once wielded an extensive sway, originating in the traditions of the Crusades and friendship with the Ottoman empire. Recently, what with the downfall of the Ottoman régime, the rise of nationalism, and British imperialism, this dominion has been undermined. The Syrian mandate is the remaining vestige of French influence. Therefore, this author holds, in order that France, in whose hands the execution of Syria's historic mission has been placed, may perform that function in keeping with her traditions and cultural dominance, the present mandatory relation should be replaced by an "act of guarantee". Thus the Third Republic would be in a position "to preside at the new evolution of the Eastern Question", namely, the Question of Asia.

For some years M. Bruneau was in the service of France in the Levant. He writes as a "good" Frenchman, out of full knowledge of a complex situation, and not without some detachment. Unfortunately his volume is not particularly convincing, however valuable it may be as a complete presentation of a fairly moderate view of France's mission in the East.

In the first place the volume lacks balance. The emphasis upon French tradition in the Levant (running to five chapters and nearly 250 pages) seems out of proportion to the few tantalizing pages devoted to the proposed "act of guarantee". None can dispute the origins of French culture in the East, however great may be the disagreement as to its extent and vitality. Yet about the "act of guarantee" there are many things we should like to know. M. Bruneau does little to satisfy our curiosity.

Again, in attacking Britain as a principal cause of the weakening of French influence in the East, emphasis is placed upon a subordinate factor. French influence is probably jeopardized, but so is British, and American, and that of Western civilization generally. And for the same reason: the expansion of Western civilization has been imperialist and the East is in revolt against it.

Finally, M. Bruneau's analysis of "civilizations" and "civilization" in chapter VI., preliminary to his defense of France's "civilizing mission", ignores completely the essential problem of standards. Cultures recommend themselves to their respective adherents for different reasons; the standards of measurement are never the same. Few Frenchmen need to be persuaded that French culture is superior to all others. But the mere assertion of this conviction (and this author's position amounts to little more) is hardly sufficient to enlist the political sympathies of Druses or Bedouins.

In the aggregate these things detract considerably from the value of the book. At the same time, however, its worth probably lies in the very point of view which has just been criticized. For this reason it is well worth the time of all those who have a serious interest in the contact of "civilizations".

Williams College.

DONALD C. BLAISDELL.

Pan Chao, Foremost Woman Scholar of China, first century A.D.: Background, Ancestry, Life, and Writings of the Most Celebrated Chinese Woman of Letters. By NANCY LEE SWANN, Ph.D., the Gest Chinese Research Library, McGill University. [Published for the American Historical Association.] (New York: Century Company. 1932. Pp. xix, 179. \$6.00.)

THIS is one of two outstanding studies by American sinologists whose works were published by the American Historical Association in 1932. Pan Chao was a woman scholar of *ancient*, not modern China—a slight ambiguity which, however, is rectified on the inner title-page by the addition of the words "first century A. D." We have here for the first time a definitive study of a gifted Chinese woman of antiquity, and at the same time a vivid portrayal of the social and intellectual background of the age in which she lived. There is brought together in concise and well-documented form practically all the known data concerning this historian, poet, teacher, and moralist who came from a family in which the father, Pan Piao, and the two brothers, Pan Ku and Pan Ch'ao, were equally distinguished. The documents at the authors's disposal were not too numerous to be effectively handled. The translations are conscientiously done; the annotations adequate and judiciously supplemented with Chinese characters, and the index is complete. One wonders, however, whether Miss Swann's rendering of *shêng-jên* as "Holy Men" does not convey to Westerners religious overtones which make the more usual rendering "sages" still preferable. It might have been profitable, also, to trace the fortunes of the Pan family, or rather of the Pan cult, down to more recent times—particularly as these have come down to us in the district topography of Fu-fêng (Shensi) which most records agree was the Pan family's ancestral home. A shrine to Pan Chao long stood on the East street of that city, and in 1815 a new one was erected adjoining the temple to the God of Literature (see local gazetteer of 1818, ch. 6). As late as 1619 a reputed descendant of the family, Pan Tzŭ-chiang, and three sons, (also named) are reported to have eked out a precarious existence near the home site (Lan t'ai or Pan-chia-t'ai) southwest of the city. In that year a monument was erected on Fei-fêng-shan, south of the city, stating that funds had been collected to restore to these descendants twenty acres (130 *mu*) of their ancestral lands, "together with a dwelling and seed and oxen (for planting crops) in order that the children might be adequately reared and the [Pan]

family name enlarged" (ch. 8). The tenacity of these local traditions may be imagined from the fact that the tomb of Pan Ku is designated as "beside the post road" six miles (18 *li*) east of Fu-fêng (ch. 7); and that late in the sixteenth century a shrine was erected to Pan Piao and his two sons, on the afore-mentioned Fei-fêng-shan, to which the name of the daughter, Ts'ao Ta-ku, *i.e.*, Pan Chao, was also admitted in 1718 (ch. 6).

The Library of Congress.

ARTHUR W. HUMMEL.

BOOKS OF AMERICAN HISTORY

Atlas of the Historical Geography of the United States. By CHARLES O. PAULLIN, Carnegie Institution of Washington. Edited by JOHN K. WRIGHT, Librarian, American Geographical Society of New York. (Published jointly by the Carnegie Institution of Washington and the American Geographical Society of New York. 1932. Pp. xv, 162, 166 Plates. \$15.00.)

THE *Atlas* is a large folio with sheets approximately eleven by fourteen inches. This format, which is one of its most important features, permits the reproduction of maps on a reasonably large scale in a volume which can be easily handled and which will not cause a complete disarrangement of bookshelves. The editors are to be congratulated on a fine solution for a most difficult problem. The first half of the volume is given up to explanatory material including a statement concerning sources, relating to each of the maps which follow. These textual comments vary from very brief statements to long discussions (in the case of boundary problems) including quotations from documentary material. Between the two parts of the volume is an excellent index.

The first group of maps deals with the natural environment: topography, soil, physiographic divisions, forest cover, and climate. The climatic maps are outstanding. There follows a collection of reproductions of famous or significant old maps under the heading of cartography. Most of these are sufficiently large and clear to make them usable. The selection, which includes the inevitable Behaim globe and the Cosa map, embraces forty-two items and makes a valuable and useful group. Next comes an interesting Indian series, starting with the usual presentation of linguistic areas and tribal locations. This map helps to perpetuate the inappropriate name, Wampanoag, for the Pokanoket group of tribes in eastern Massachusetts. The four maps which mark "Indian battles" from 1521 to 1890 show no "battles" in New Mexico since 1694. Such an omission hardly does justice to the Navajos and the Apaches. The conflicts between those tribes and the whites subsequent to 1694 have been many. It is to be regretted that the editors did not include a map of the Mound Builder culture area showing

sites and another showing the expansion and contraction of the Pueblo culture area. The conventional exclusion of Indian history from American history is becoming increasingly difficult to defend.

Three maps are devoted to exploration, presenting Spanish, French, and American explorations in the West. The latter two show the routes of the explorers in their relations to relief; the first omits relief and as a consequence loses much in value. Such inconsistencies of method occur more than once in the *Atlas*. Very useful and illuminating is the section devoted to "Lands" which contains much information not easily available.

The great contributions of the *Atlas* are the maps presenting the distribution of different religious denominations at various dates, the series dealing with boundary disputes (including both international and state boundaries), the series showing the geographical distribution of votes on a considerable number of important federal enactments, and the section devoted to social legislation and educational progress in the several states. In these sections the *Atlas* is outstanding. They are of the greatest value to the historical scholar and teacher.

The maps relating to economics are grouped into seven subdivisions: manufacturing, transportation, exports and imports by customs districts, agriculture, distribution of wealth by states, banks, and federal income taxes by states. These maps are useful although they contain little not easily available. Following the economic maps is a group of reproductions of old plans of cities, such as the L'Enfant plan for Washington. The usefulness of the collection would be enhanced if it included selected plans for cities proposed by important city planning commissions. It may be argued that such plans represent only ideals which have never been realized. They are, however, an important item in American intellectual history. Their omission from this historical atlas is unfortunate. The military maps which conclude the volume approach the ridiculous. They are scarcely equal to common textbook maps. The *Atlas* gives the same space to the military and naval operations of American forces in the World War as that allotted to the boundary between the United States and Canada in the Bay of Fundy. Military operations are closely adjusted to topography, highways, railroads, and food-producing or industrial areas. In only one map, that of the St. Mihiel offensive, do topography and transportation routes appear. If the editors were not willing to do the military maps in any but a perfunctory way, they would have been well advised to have omitted them completely.

Yale University.

RALPH H. GABRIEL.

The Harkness Collection in the Library of Congress: Calendar of Spanish Manuscripts concerning Peru, 1531-1651. (Washington: Government Printing Office. 1932. Pp. x, 336. \$3.25.)

THIS beautifully presented volume places the student world in possession of the vast array of facts contained in the historical documents which were given to the Library of Congress by the splendid generosity of Mr. Edward S. Harkness in 1929 (through the friendly suggestion of Dr. A. S. W. Rosenbach). As Dr. J. F. Jameson justly observes in his preface, the Harkness Collection richly supplements that other precious series of documents which is in the Henry E. Huntington Library at San Marino, California, this being a collection known to students since 1925, when it was admirably calendared by Messrs. Maggs Brothers, of London. In the volume now under review, the Harkness Collection, comprising 1405 folios of manuscript material, has been arranged and its substance set forth with masterly skill by Miss Stella R. Clemence. The volume is, so we are told, the first of a series of three, the others being a volume of transcriptions and translations (also prepared by Miss Clemence), and a calendar of the documents referring to Mexico.

The arrangement of the material is strictly chronological, the earliest document in the calendar being dated at Coaque (Ecuador) on April 19, 1531, and the penultimate document being dated at Guamanga, February 23, 1651. The last document of all is a letter from the Viceroy Marquis of Villagarcía to the Cabildo of Guamanga and dated at Lima, September 16, 1740. The bulk of the collection here calendared is made up of 1004 folios of notarial instruments, and the rest consists of royal cédulas (8 folios), vice-regal decrees (166 folios), and two *libros de cabildo* (Chachapoyas and Guamanga) of 227 folios.

A large proportion of the documents in the Harkness Collection bears upon business matters in Colonial Peru—lawsuits, administration of property, slaves, loans and merchandising, and many other affairs. Not only does this afford us many intimate details of colonial life, but often the documents throw light on the doings and whereabouts of important persons at important dates. Particularly valuable are three documents (p. 17) dated at Santiago de Quito on August 26 and 27, 1534, in which Pedro de Alvarado sold to Pizarro and Almagro all his rights as a discoverer and conqueror in the South Sea, and also one *galeon*, three *naos*, and two *navios*. The price to be paid was 100,000 pesos for which Almagro makes himself responsible.

At the end of the volume are two excellent indexes, the one of persons mentioned in the two *libros de cabildo*, the other of all the people mentioned in the *Calendar*. This last constitutes, incidentally, a register of a large number of Spaniards who took part in the conquest and settlement of Peru. By using it wisely, the student will be able to obtain information, through the documents in the *Calendar*, about almost every important Spanish settler in Peru during the sixteenth century and later.

No one can doubt that this sightly volume and the great collection of documents which it describes will permanently and increasingly serve all who study Peruvian colonial history. No library which claims to possess

Latin-Americana and no student of Latin American history can well neglect it. To Mr. Harkness, the generous donor, and to Dr. Jameson and Miss Clemence who have prepared, with patience and skill, the material in the *Calendar*, the student public is deeply indebted.

Paris.

PHILIP AINSWORTH MEANS.

Dissolution of the Virginia Company: the Failure of a Colonial Experiment. By WESLEY FRANK CRAVEN, Ph.D., Assistant Professor of History, New York University. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1932. Pp. vi, 350. \$3.00.)

IN this study the author has done more than discuss the dissolution of the Virginia Company of London. He devotes two of his ten chapters to an outline of the settlement and early years of the company. Then in five chapters he reviews the reforms introduced by Sir Edwin Sandys between 1618 and 1620, and the business procedure followed by the company in its attempt to build up investment and to stimulate colonization. It is really in the last three chapters that he traces the failure and bankruptcy of the corporation leading to the royal investigation of 1623 and the resultant dissolution.

Mr. Craven has performed a difficult but extremely valuable task. He has not only analyzed the court books (published in volumes I. and II. of the *Records of the Virginia Company of London*), but has painstakingly searched through some eight hundred documents that constitute the records, both official and unofficial, between 1618 and 1624, and that will appear in the forthcoming third and fourth volumes of that work now being issued by the Library of Congress.

Over and over again, and properly, Mr. Craven emphasizes the fact that the company "was primarily a business organization with large sums of capital invested by adventurers whose chief interest lay in the returns expected from their investment". To quote further: "The true *motif* of the company's history is economic rather than political." "The first organization had to be partly in the nature of government, but it was primarily an administrative organization for economic purposes." "In any attempt to judge the record of the Virginia adventurers, it should not be forgotten that they were truly adventurers in a new and uncharted field of commercial speculation with little in the way of previous experience to guide them." Mr. Craven interprets the colonial movement on the same basis: "To attribute to them [the London adventurers] any idea of creating a body politic either politically or economically independent of the company and of England is to credit them with an idea that is compatible neither with contemporary theories of colonization nor with reason." "To him [Sir Edwin Sandys] the success of Virginia was measured by the degree in which it served the interests of English trade. . . . With characteristic energy and ability he mapped out a

program that in its scope and embodiment of current ideas on the place of a colonial venture in the mercantile scheme of the mother country presents an unusually valuable study of the purposes and hopes which motivated seventeenth century adventurers." This interpretation of the principles upon which the officers and council of the company proceeded is one of Mr. Craven's most valuable contributions.

One other service rendered by this study should be especially noted. To write a history of the corporation, based on the minutes of its proceedings, has led to but little comprehension of the real struggle between the Warwick and the Sandys factions. It is only from the supplementary documents that the true basis of this conflict can be discovered. And this Mr. Craven has done. Out of the tangled mass of scribbled notes, memoranda, drafts of projects, and incriminations found in the Manchester Papers and the official, semi-official, and personal correspondence that constitute the Ferrar Papers, he has unraveled and clearly and concisely presented the situation. To those who have admired the Southampton-Sandys-Ferrar administration of the company, and have been horrified at the Smith-Warwick-Rich calumnies, the author's clear analysis of the contending forces comes as a startling surprise. But it would be difficult to disprove his conclusions.

The study presents a clear statement of the procedure of the company and of its acts, secured from evidence scattered through many pages of difficult manuscript and based on conflicting records. And here also is a careful analysis of the intricate accounts, the varied and numerous joint stock ventures, and especially of the unfortunate business methods and plans of the company. After enumerating a number of these ventures, Mr. Craven continues: "For more expensive projects it was necessary to fall back upon an extension of the practice of subsidiary joint-stocks." But, it "was a hopeless situation. Tobacco alone was produced in sufficient quantities to offer any possibility of payment for these supplies, and its poor quality together with marketing conditions at home offered little prospect of profit. The only hope seemed to be in other commodities, and yet the company was not able, except through this trade of which Sandys wrote, to provide the supplies and conditions of life in Virginia necessary to their development."

The story of the Tobacco Contract as told in chapter VIII. reveals the problems and difficulties the company and its planters faced. It constitutes the concluding history of the Virginia Company. To one who knows the unrelated and confused mass of records forming the source from which the narrative of the tobacco monopoly is drawn, this presentation is a cause of great gratification. Mr. Craven certainly has rendered conspicuous service in his clear, careful, and accurately documented study of this significant chapter of our economic history.

Bryn Mawr College.

SUSAN M. KINGSBURY.

Roger Williams, New England Firebrand. By JAMES ERNST. (New York: Macmillan Company. 1932. Pp. xiv, 538. \$4.00.)

ALTHOUGH the reputation of Roger Williams has been steadily on the rise for a number of years, this is the first effort at a full-length study. The author, who was trained in the liberal tradition of the late Professor Parrington, finds in his subject an admirable opportunity for a vigorous espousal of the radical cause—as against Stuart divine right and the policy of “thorough”, and against Puritan theocracy and the policy of persecution. In general, the author is moderate; but occasionally he reveals curiously unguarded flashes of a furious liberalism (pp. 424, 441 ff.).

The early chapters, covering Williams’s youth, are of note for their inclusion of material from the Egerton Manuscript. The subsequent sections on Williams’s relations with the Bay Colony make a praiseworthy effort to examine both sides. The author believes the cause of banishment was less a matter of Williams’s subversive opinions than of his insistence upon “a public venting of them” (pp. 135–136). The significance of Williams as a Civil War pamphleteer, long ago recognized in Masson’s *Milton*, receives further substantiation. Incidentally, the author has found an anonymous tract of 1652, *The Examiner Defended*, which he attributes to Williams. For the later years, which have never been adequately treated, the author emphasizes Williams’s life-long leadership in the colony of his own founding.

The book limits itself to a factual survey of the public career of Roger Williams. Unfortunately, despite the detailed treatment, one misses a sense of close contact with the inner, human side of Williams himself. Nevertheless, the inclusion of so much material has produced, by sheer cumulative effect, a new and larger portrait of one of the notable figures of the seventeenth century.

Defects of organization and method unfortunately mar the book’s usability, and even reliability. The somewhat flamboyant chapter headings rather mystify than inform. The combination of chronological and topical arrangement is, possibly, a necessary evil. But why must one wait for an exposition of Seekerism until nearly the end of the book? The author omits a bibliography of the conventional sort. Footnotes he uses sparingly and virtually never for the purpose of scholarly substantiation of crucial points. Direct page references to the sources of quotations are almost invariably lacking. These omissions, while hardly a disadvantage to the general reader, nevertheless render the book of slight service to the student as an aid to his own research.

In taking the view, in itself highly debatable, that Williams espoused the full principle of religious liberty prior to banishment, the author resorts to a device which is open to serious objection. He selects quotations from *The Bloudy Tenent*, published in 1644, and even from Williams’s writings of

1652, and makes use of them as though they represented Williams's position in 1635, prior to banishment (pp. 94-96, 113-114). This is hardly a scrupulous application of the historical method.

The combined achievements and deficiencies of the book point to both the possibilities and perplexities which still remain. There is obvious need for a consideration of Williams from the literary side. In the opinion of the reviewer, much that is puzzling would become more understandable if the institutional germinations and peculiar vicissitudes of Roger Williams's experiment were studied with reference to the powerful forces of frontier radicalism. One would like also more light on the development of Williams's early "Fellowship" into the proprietorship; the struggles over the suffrage; the relation of the separation of church and state to the peculiarities of the Rhode Island land system; the difficulties of a federal system of government; and the social fermentations and intellectual climate in the colony of radicals and outcasts.

Wesleyan University.

S. H. BROCKUNIER.

Increase Mather: a Bibliography of his Works. By THOMAS JAMES HOLMES. With an Introduction by GEORGE PARKER WINSHIP, and Supplementary Material by KENNETH BALLARD MURDOCK and GEORGE FRANCIS DOW. Two volumes. (Cleveland: Privately printed. 1931. Pp. xxxii, 711.)

THIS bibliography, prepared by the librarian of the William G. Mather Library, Cleveland, makes its appeal both to the bibliophile and to the historian. It aims, as the introduction states, to show "what manner of person Mather was, what he accomplished and what he stood for". It is a catalogue of Mather's own works, not of books about him, and it is in addition a compendium of the various editions of his many publications. The compiler presents, for the sake of those who can have access to the original texts, a careful, painstaking list of Mather's writings with facsimile title-page for most of the first editions and descriptions of the variations in later ones. For those who cannot use the originals, there are extracts which are designed to give the significant parts of each production, and notes which are often of essay proportions. The works are arranged alphabetically under first words in the titles, a somewhat cumbersome method for those unfamiliar with the material; for example, an interesting disquisition on dancing is listed under "Arrow", simply because the title is "An Arrow Against Profane and Promiscuous Dancing".

From the standpoint of the historian, perhaps the most valuable feature of the bibliography is the collection of vignettes written by the author under each title. They give in brief form the background of the times, the share of the author in the events of the day, and his purpose in writing the tract or

sermon. Among them one of the finest is that on witchcraft, somewhat concealed from the lay eye by the title, "Cases of Conscience Concerning Evil Spirits". In nineteen pages the compiler sketches the history of the strange phenomenon focussing on Mather's responsibility in sweeping "the superstition of witch-hanging out of New England's courts forever".

These little essays show Mather a man of many crusades, against sin in general, against witchcraft, against certain tenets in the Congregational Church, against what he considered the "oppression" of the mother country. For this reason, much of the material listed in the bibliography is controversial in character. In commenting on works of this type, the compiler has not always succeeded in preserving his neutrality. This is particularly true of the political subjects, which tend to present the point of view of the older New England historians of the school of Palfrey. For the period of 1686-1693, in the latter part of which Mather played so important a rôle as agent at court for Massachusetts, the compiler has used chiefly that prejudiced material by which the New Englanders justified their revolt against Andros, accessible in such collections as the Andros Tracts, to the exclusion of valuable official sources like the governor's commission and instructions, the Dudley and Andros *Records*, the Dominion laws, and the wealth of official correspondence in the Public Record Office. The old point of view is presented in such statements as the following: "It was this same Episcopal Church, which, now forced arbitrarily upon the colonists, became the symbol of the rest of the oppressive acts of Governor Andros, his vacating of titles to land and the imposing of high charges for new patents to the old properties, and the raising of burdensome taxes." It is difficult to see, in the phrases of the governor's commission "that liberty of Conscience be allowed to all persons and that such especially as shall be conformable to the Rites of the Church be particularly countenanced and encouraged" any ground for the statement that the Church of England was forced arbitrarily on the colonists. They were neither required to attend its services nor to support it financially, a freedom which the Puritans themselves did not accord dissenters from Congregationalism in the period of the old charter. Nor is it easy to condemn the taxes as burdensome, when a comparative study of the levies shows that they were lower under Andros than for several years preceding or following his administration. One could cite in answer to the compiler's charge about vacating land titles, the statement of Deane the historian, in 1720, that the new charter confirmed "Titles to their Lands, once [under Andros] for want of some Forms of Legal Conveyance contested".

This bibliography, the most complete which has yet appeared on the subject, is an impressive testimony to the fertility of Mather's mind and to the strength of his religious and political leadership among his contemporaries. One cannot rise from reading the careful notes contained therein, without "admiration for the old Puritan's intelligence, his honesty, and his ability".

Living as he did in an age of religious and political controversies, he could not have escaped participation in them. But he was no petty partisan. To this day he is a subject of controversy, but neither the present nor his contemporary conflicts have succeeded in decreasing the intellectual stature of this "foremost American Puritan".

Mount Holyoke College.

VIOLA F. BARNES.

The March of Democracy. By JAMES TRUSLOW ADAMS. Volume I, *The Rise of the Union.* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1932. Pp. xvi, 428. \$3.50.)

MR. ADAMS has been lured by the popularity of *The Epic of America* into writing a still more popular work, one which shall be more a narrative of events than a philosophical interpretation, "tell as accurately and impartially as possible the story of the rise of our nation, touching on as many aspects in as much detail as space permits", and correcting the "faults of omission" that characterized "the old type of history of a generation or two ago" without going to the other extreme of "stressing too much one or another of the factors, such as the economic one, which are rightly considered to be of great influence", and without substituting for "the old 'drum and trumpet' merely the voices and motives of the market place or a picturesque account of manners and arts and thought".

The recurring need of such a book is obvious, but it cannot be said that Mr. Adams's first volume, which comes down to the eve of the Civil War, attains any special distinction in either form or substance. What it offers is, for the most part, straightforward narration of the accustomed chronological kind, much more political and personal than economic, but broken here and there by interesting observations on manners and ways of living, the beginnings and progress of literature and the arts, religious matters, and other non-political topics. Of the "march of democracy", considered as anything more than the well-known procession of events, there is no marked trace, nor does the narrative show any novel grasp of the period as a whole. A suggestion of haste appears in the repetition, at page 286, of Jefferson's epitaph already quoted at page 235, and the text is not wholly free from minor errors. The general proportions, however, are fair, and the reader who does not mind Mr. Adams's prejudices, or his habit of using some incident or situation as a peg on which to hang an expression of opinion about another matter, will find the book readable and informing. The illustrations outdo any recent book of the kind in number, variety, and appropriateness.

Mr. Adams cannot easily let slip an opportunity to criticize New England both during and after the colonial period. The founding of Harvard College, he thinks, "tended to increase the provincialism of New England by encouraging it to keep students at home" (p. 26), while of the "distinguished

group" which included Ticknor, Prescott, Motley, Palfrey, Parkman, Hil-dreth, and Bancroft, he remarks that "it is odd . . . how little they were concerned for the most part with American history outside of their own provincial section" (p. 333). Colonial coöperation with England in the inter-colonial wars, on the other hand, seems to him to have increased "the sum total of irritation between British subjects on the two sides of the water" (p. 50), and he properly emphasizes the differing British and American psychology which developed under colonial conditions, the disfranchisement of various classes of early frontiersmen and the political dominance of a few families, and the effect of the change from the theory of commercial to that of territorial imperialism after the French wars.

Hamilton is severely censured for his attitude toward Adams's cabinet, and Jefferson's political ideas, although not all of his policies, are commended. There is the traditional high praise for the character of the Supreme Court, and John Quincy Adams is acclaimed as "the greatest Secretary of State we have ever had" (p. 277). For the Abolitionists, Mr. Adams has scorn and denunciation. By 1860 the northern Abolitionists "had reached a pitch of fanaticism akin to insanity", and were "neither statesmen nor genuine humanitarians but madmen bent on burning down the whole national structure in a conflagration of hate in order that their own brand of fanaticism might be made to prevail" (p. 404).

A few slips are to be noted. Not all the colonial charters of Charles II. were modeled on the bishopric of Durham (p. 33); the Pennsylvania charter used the manor of Windsor. The Boston Port Act did not in terms close the port to coastwise trade in fuel and provisions (p. 100), and the Administration of Justice Act permitted accused persons to be tried in another colony as well as in England (p. 102). Genêt, who had been in the diplomatic service at London, Vienna, Berlin, and Russia, can hardly be said to have been "ignorant of other nations" (p. 179).

New York City.

WILLIAM MACDONALD.

A History of American Economic Life. By EDWARD C. KIRKLAND, Frank Munsey Professor of American History, Bowdoin College. [Crofts American History Series, Dixon Ryan Fox, General Editor.] (New York: F. S. Crofts and Company. 1932. Pp. xv, 767. \$3.75.)

It is now more than a half century since the pioneer works of J. Leander Bishop (*A History of American Manufactures*, 1868) and Albert S. Bolles (*The Industrial History of the United States*, 1878) began the writing of American economic history. Better works followed these. Scores of articles, dissertations, special studies came to pave the way for a new synthesis of American economic life. Professor Kirkland has taken advantage of a real opportunity, and has done exceedingly well. His critical bibliography alone

will stimulate further work in the field. He divides his book into three parts: The Colonial Age, The Agricultural Era, and The Industrial State. It is refreshing to see an American historian write of the British mercantile policy in a dispassionate manner, void of the old cant inherited from the Revolution. Students of agricultural surpluses will find the colonial legislative efforts to regulate the production of tobacco interesting (p. 71). Two or three questions are raised by the treatment of the colonial era. Is not Northern industry more generously treated than its counterpart in the South? Did the Indian have quite the negligible influence on colonial life he is here assigned? Why should the Stamp Act, which was never enforced, be given space and the Molasses Act of 1764, which was in effect for ten years, be ignored? I am disposed to criticize the meager attention given the new colonial policy after the French and Indian War. Either it disturbed the economic life of the colonies or the colonists had little justification for a revolt. In either case it would seem to be a vital portion of the course of colonial economic life.

The terminus of the Agricultural Era is placed "somewhere between 1850 and 1865". Again, as in the first part, the author's effective literary style, wealth of illustrative details, and soundness of judgment are impressive. This is particularly true of his treatment of the problems connected with the struggle for foreign commerce in the first decade of independence. He faces frankly the realities of the situation of the United States. But did he not momentarily slip, when, writing of Jefferson's restrictive policy, he says "this policy lasted until its only feasible alternative, war, was declared against Great Britain in 1812" (p. 219)? Does the old British war-guilt theory still hold? Or were not responsibilities fairly well divided? The handling of slavery in the Old South deserves commendation.

The hardest task that confronted the author was a satisfactory account of recent economic life. Here he has been less successful both in organizing his materials and in maintaining a detached point of view. He exhibits a tendency to yield to the "urge of criticism". He allows himself at times to become a satirical partisan, generally in criticism of policies unpopular with the so-called liberals of to-day. Big business tends to be "predatory", labor never. He refers to the Caribbean policy of Roosevelt, Taft, Wilson, Harding, and Coolidge as one maintained in an "atmosphere of subterfuge and hypocrisy" (p. 697), a sweeping indictment that fuller knowledge may or may not justify. It would be well to suspend judgment on many aspects of recent history until much more spade work has been done.

Western Reserve University.

ELBERT J. BENTON.

Diplomatic Correspondence of the United States: Inter-American Affairs, 1831-1860. Selected and Arranged by WILLIAM R. MANNING,

Ph.D., Division of Latin American Affairs, Department of State. Volume I, Argentina. Documents 1-387. (Washington: Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. 1932. Pp. xxxvi, 789. \$5.00.)

"THE publication of which this is the first of probably ten, or possibly more, volumes is a sequel to that of three volumes entitled *Diplomatic Correspondence of the United States Concerning the Independence of the Latin American Nations* which was published in 1925, under the same auspices. The earlier compilation . . . covered the period 1810 to 1830, and was confined rather rigidly to the one subject, independence. . . . The present publication, beginning with January, 1831, and extending through three decades to December, 1860, is designed to include all of the documents in the Department of State which have a bearing upon the international relations of the Latin American nations", excepting (1) certain formal, polite, and perfunctory documents; (2) most of the materials relative to pecuniary claims; and (3) a great bulk of documents dealing with commercial controversies and the conclusion of commercial treaties. Correspondence regarding claims is included when such controversies threatened to interrupt harmonious relations, and the same procedure was followed with reference to commercial matters when the question of special favors was involved (preface, p. ix). "No documents have been omitted because of a confidential or indiscreet character or because, if contemporaneously published, they would possibly have given offense or have damaged" reputations. "Not infrequently the subject of an omitted portion has been indicated in a footnote [preface, pp. ix-x]. . . ."

The present volume deals entirely with Argentina. Some of the subsequent volumes will include correspondence with two or more countries. And it is probable that the Mexican materials will require at least two volumes. While most of the documents will doubtless appear in print for the first time in this large collection, many of them have already been published either in the public documents of the United States or in those of the other countries concerned. Such as have already been printed are not readily accessible, however, nor has Dr. Manning found it practicable to indicate where the printed documents may be found.

Such is the general nature and scope of the work of which the volume now under review is the first to appear. That it will be of major importance to all students interested in American diplomacy cannot be questioned. It will constitute a valuable source for the study of this subject, and it will also cast much light upon internal conditions in Latin America during its turbulent formative period. Moreover, it will suggest the urgent need for further investigations in the archives of Latin America, England, France, and Spain. Indeed, the reviewer ventures to express the conviction, based upon considerable research in London, that for the period 1808 to 1860 the British Public Record Office contains a bulk of materials more significant for the

history and diplomacy of Latin America than is to be found in the State Department in Washington.

Part I. of the first volume of Dr. Manning's work consists of sixty-two pages and contains communications to Argentina. Part II., which consumes the remainder of the volume, contains communications from Argentina. The important subjects dealt with are as follows: (1) the Falkland Islands controversy; (2) the intervention of France and England in the Rio de la Plata area; (3) disagreements and rivalries between Argentina, Paraguay, and Brazil with reference to the area; and (4) political disorders in Uruguay and Argentina. While considerable information is presented with reference to such leaders as Rosas, Urquiza, Rivera, and Oribe, the work is somewhat disappointing in this respect. Incidentally, the correspondence does not give a very favorable impression of the diplomats sent by the United States to the region during the period.

The list of documents published at the beginning of the volume gives no indication of the contents of the numerous letters printed. The index, however, is excellent and the footnotes numerous and valuable.

Duke University.

J. FRED RIPPY.

The Purchase of the Danish West Indies. By CHARLES CALLAN TANSILL, Professor of American History, American University, Washington, D. C. [The Albert Shaw Lectures on Diplomatic History, 1931, under the Auspices of the Walter Hines Page School of International Relations.] (Baltimore: the Johns Hopkins Press. 1932. Pp. xiii, 548. \$3.50.)

THE story of the attempt by the United States to purchase the Danish West Indian islands from Denmark begins properly with William H. Seward's occupancy of the post of Secretary of State. As soon as the outcome of the Civil War was clear, and while the European complications that had threatened were still fresh in his mind, Secretary Seward began to prepare for the negotiations with Denmark which culminated in the ill-fated treaty of October, 1867. Not until half a century later, when the United States was preparing to intervene in a European war, did Seward's original plan reach a successful culmination. This curious chapter in American imperialism has now been revealed in all its labyrinthine ramifications in Mr. Tansill's exhaustive study. On the basis of a minute and searching examination of official documents, unpublished correspondence in Washington, in Copenhagen, and elsewhere, newspaper dispatches, books and articles by participants in the various episodes along the meandering path, the author has presented the history of the purchase with convincing clarity. A host of prominent figures enter into the story at one stage or another. Among them are Henry Cabot Lodge and his friend Henry White, A. T. Mahan, Admiral

Dewey, political leaders and publicists on both sides of the Atlantic, as well as adventurers like Niels Grön and Captain Christmas. Seward's objective had, by the time of Theodore Roosevelt's presidency, become the official policy of our government. But Denmark's case, as Mr. Tansill conclusively shows, was different. The Danish national resurgence following the loss of Schleswig in 1864, the hope that Germany would some time authorize a plebiscite in north Schleswig, and the attitude of the great powers, were among the factors influencing Danish public opinion. The man upon whom fell the task of striking the bargain at the opportune time was Maurice Francis Egan, minister to Denmark from 1907 to 1918. Dr. Egan has described his own part in two most interesting volumes of memoirs dealing with his diplomatic experiences, *Ten Years near the German Frontier. Recollections of a Happy Life*. The author has used these accounts with excellent discrimination and has filled in the gaps with valuable bits drawn from other sources, such as certain "confidential" and "strictly confidential" letters in the Woolsey manuscripts. The reviewer recalls Dr. Egan's remark to him, made in the course of a visit to the American legation in Copenhagen in the autumn of 1912: "Why, I was sent over here to buy those islands"; and the King of Denmark's joking advice to the writer proffered some months later, that he "write an accurate history, so that when America gets ready to grab the islands, she will know what she is doing!" The minister lived long enough to carry out his mission, and fortunately the United States did not have to resort to a policy of 'grab' in order to acquire them. The oft-repeated assertions of German intrigue to prevent the sale of the islands to the United States, for which the author finds no supporting evidence whatever, were held tenaciously by men like Henry Cabot Lodge and Henry White; so when war with Germany became imminent, both government and people were prepared to pay a huge price for a few square miles of mountain ranges that represent but fragments of the Lesser Antilles.

The University of California at Los Angeles. WALDEMAR WESTERGAARD.

Development of the League of Nations Idea. Documents and Correspondence of Theodore Marburg. Two volumes. Edited by J. H. LATANÉ. (New York: Macmillan Company. 1932. Pp. xv, 480, vii, 483-886. \$8.00.)

THESE two substantial volumes are the record of an American movement for a league for peace. They represent the recognition on the part of certain Americans of the importance of something more than the old formula of treaties at the close of a war, that there shall be "eternal and lasting peace" between the contracting states, even if that formula were extended into a collective treaty embracing a large number of countries. There must be an organization and there must be some way of guaranteeing peace. It is inter-

esting to notice that the group, which in January, 1915, began the movement, resolved "that it shall be the function of the League to guarantee that no dispute to which any member of the League is a party shall be settled by other than amicable means under penalty of the employment against the offending nation of the united forces of the League" (p. vii). The statesmen, publicists, and university men in the group had such wide relationships abroad that it was not difficult for them to form contact with similar-minded groups of people in other countries, particularly those of the leading Allies in the Great War, and to help crystallize the growing sentiment that the world could not be allowed to drift along the path that led to Armageddon.

The book is made up of extracts from letters and memoranda passing between the principal actors in the American group and between them and Europeans. It is an interesting story of the international development of an idea. The figures that move through the pages are those of men who have molded opinion. Among those in the United States who shared in the effort are notably Presidents Taft and Wilson, Colonel House, Hamilton Holt, A. Lawrence Lowell, Lyman Abbott, Oscar Straus; in Europe, Lord Grey, Lord Balfour, Sir Eric Drummond, Sir C. A. Spring-Rice, and Lord Bryce; Aristide Briand, Léon Bourgeois, Hymans of Belgium, Christian Lange of Norway.

No movement, however, can advance far without having behind it some one or two men who act as its moving force and who centralize the energies, otherwise disparate, of the group. In the case of the League to Enforce Peace, this person was Mr. Theodore Marburg, at one time United States Minister to Belgium, whose devotion to the cause and whose insistence on the principles of the league, make him deserve the place which he holds.

Varied were the developments of the way force should be used. Mr. Marburg on December 30, 1914, found that the American group were not willing to advocate force to sustain the opinions of the World Court, although he comments that there was "almost no dissent when we argue the need of a Court" (p. 12). In a talk with Sir Edward Grey, however, in 1916, that statesman told Mr. Marburg that he thought that if there had been some plan like that of the League of Nations in existence "when the present war threatened, Germany would have been forced to consent to a hearing and there would have been no war". Grey even said that he was ready to stand for the execution of the judgment, provided the people would back him up, and it is interesting to see how very strongly the point was made of the importance of bringing the disputants in a quarrel before a council of conciliation before they go to war. James Bryce wrote in 1915: "War against recalcitrant Power beginning hostilities is easier than war to compel obedience to award of tribunal. It is also easier than war to compel Power to go to arbitration" (p. 76).

The letters continue through the heated period in the United States when

the Senate was considering the Treaty of Versailles. They illustrate the different points of view of those who were pushing for the approval of the treaty and the Covenant, and letters from Europeans reflect the disappointment in that continent over the final refusal of the Senate.

The task of making these selections from Mr. Marburg's great mass of correspondence has been so done by Professor Latané that every extract bears on the main thesis of the volumes.

Columbia University.

J. P. CHAMBERLAIN.

The United States and the League of Nations, 1918-1920. By DENNA FRANK FLEMING, Ph.D., Associate Professor of Political Science in Vanderbilt University. (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1932. Pp. ix, 559. \$5.00.)

EVERY citizen of the United States should read this book, for the great decision of 1918-1920 is operating daily upon the nation's life, and will operate in perpetuity. If Wilson "kept us out of war", his enemies have kept us out of peace! The momentous discussions at Versailles and in the Senate of the United States constitute a supreme landmark in world politics.

The author's sympathies are with Wilson and the League. He condemns the ultranationalists who opposed. Indeed, he discovers that many of them, including Roosevelt, had previously expressed much interest in world federation until partisan considerations dictated another course. Hence the congressional election of 1918 is portrayed in all its nakedness as an unscrupulous bid for power. Illuminating chapters analyze the increasing boldness of the opposition in unleashing their campaign of fear among the people. Also, the *dramatis personæ* are rounded out, the chief actors speaking for themselves, with Porter J. McCumber among the few to rise above partisanship to a concept of the League as a world movement. The opposition gained fresh ammunition from the Shantung Affair and the supposed surrender of the President. It gained, besides, a budget, with Henry C. Frick and Andrew W. Mellon as the financiers of propaganda. Meanwhile, the adventures of the treaty in the Senate revealed the deep lines of cleavage, with unqualified acceptance, mild and serious reservations, and implacable hostility, the chief reactions both in the Senate and in the press.

As the treaty is followed in committee and in the amendments which were offered in August, the drama grows intense. Henry Cabot Lodge continues as the villain, John Sharp Williams as his keen antagonist; the President expounds the treaty, while sensing the fresh dangers that confront it. A sympathetic chapter covers Wilson's Appeal to the People, until "Like the staunchest of men who had served under him, he had fought on until his last ounce of strength was spent, and, like the countless legion of maimed men whose sacrifice he had sought to make supremely fruitful, he was to

spend the rest of his days as a wounded veteran of a great cause". For the prolonged discussion continued throughout the illness of the President, and led to fresh reservations in November and to an abortive effort at a compromise.

The "solemn referendum" in November elicits dignified but ironic comment on the ambiguous position of left-wing versus right-wing Republicans, though justice is done ex-President Taft as placing principles above party. Indeed, Taft appears consistently to excellent advantage, in contrast with Roosevelt, whose selfish motives are revealed with search-light clearness. A brilliant chapter of antithesis completes the portrait of Wilson and Lodge, and the work concludes with some suggestions Toward the Future.

The author chose a scientific rather than a literary presentation. His work becomes a source book, none too easy in the reading. The wealth of quotation, direct or indirect, gives the reader an unusual sense of authenticity, while depriving him of any great æsthetic satisfaction. It is chiefly in the chapter openings and conclusions that one appreciates the temperate judgment of the author and his profound sorrow that the opposition won.

Purdue University.

LOUIS MARTIN SEARS.

Archibald Cary Coolidge: Life and Letters. By HAROLD JEFFERSON COOLIDGE and ROBERT HOWARD LORD. (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company. 1932. Pp. xiv, 368. \$4.50.)

A younger brother of Professor Archibald Cary Coolidge of Harvard, himself a graduate of the same college and its Law school, has shared the labors of producing this book with Father Lord, also a graduate of Harvard, a teacher in its department of history from 1910 to 1927, with a full professorship for the last three years, and now, a priest of the Church of Rome, professor of Church history at St. John's Seminary, Brighton. It is strange that the Harvard background of these collaborators did not save them from the slips of designating (p. 11) Boies Penrose a classmate of A. C. Coolidge, of the Class of 1887—Penrose having graduated in 1881—and of alluding (p. 61) to "Archy" as "Class Poet in 1887", which he was not. There are other minor points which invite question—whether the initials A. C. C., frequently used for Coolidge's name in the text, should have been allowed to stray beyond the authors' notes, and whether, in the imposing list of Coolidge's "Travels" from 1884 to 1926 it was quite amusing enough to enter opposite 1913: "Gore Hall, Cambridge, to Randall and Widener Library, back and forth."

These are indeed minor points, and the major points, so often the substantive merits, of the book are better worth noting. It is, in the first place, the record of a remarkable personality and career. Of excellent New England and Virginian ancestry, with Thomas Jefferson for one of his great-

great-grandfathers, and with ample resources to do as he would with his life, he elected to make it laborious and widely useful. The teaching of history at Harvard was his first objective, but while he was still pursuing in Europe the more advanced studies which fell between his Harvard A. B. (*summa cum laude*) and his Freiburg Ph.D., he wrote to his father (p. 18): "After all it is a great thing to be a Harvard instructor, but it is not the only thing in the world. I want to be that, but I want also to be more, a man of experience and cultivation, a man of the world in the broadest sense of the term." That is precisely what he became.

Travel, a lifelong interest with him, was one of the chief means of achieving this end. In 1921 he wrote to his father from Moscow (p. 281): "By the time you get this it will be almost Christmas. In the course of my life I have spent Christmas in Paris, Berlin, Vienna, St. Petersburg, Calcutta, Santiago (Chile), and various places, so Soviet Moscow will not feel particularly strange even if I do not hang up my stocking." All this wandering, merely suggested by his Christmas memorandum, did not preclude, indeed it only supplemented—for it was highly intelligent travel—the studies of a scholar and the teaching of history at Harvard through a period of thirty-five years. To the enlarging influences of travel and scholarship Coolidge could add the advantages of extraordinary contributions to public service. Besides seeing and considering there was also doing—as "acting secretary", while still young, of the United States Legation at St. Petersburg, as a member of "The Inquiry" during the World War, as a "Special Assistant to the Department of State", with a special mission to Vienna, as an expert attached to the American Commission to Negotiate Peace through the final stages of its work, and as a "general political guide" to the staff of the American Relief Administration in Russia in 1921 and 1922. Besides these activities abroad there were the directorship of the Harvard University Library from 1910 till his death in 1928, and the editorship of *Foreign Affairs* through the last six years of his life. What he did for the Harvard Library alone, through his energy, foresight, and generosity, would have constituted a memorable contribution from one man to the enlightenment of his own time and of the future.

On his work in all these relationships his *Life and Letters* throws a flood of light. His letters reveal him faithfully in the varied capacities of son, brother, friend, scholar, and international publicist, and a man of ceaseless, fruitful activity, directed to clearly conceived objects, effectively achieved. A smaller number of letters and a more vigorous abridgment of many that are used might have wrought the same revelation, and more tellingly. It might be argued, moreover that such inclusions as the three letters from the American consul at Archangel about Russian conditions in 1918 (pp. 184-191)—only one of which communications is addressed to Coolidge himself—and the long letter he received from General Bliss on the subject of disarmament (pp. 262-264), valuable as they are in themselves, are not strictly ger-

mane to either the *Life* or the *Letters* of the subject in hand. Coolidge's own letters during and after the war are excellent, and illuminate both the period and the man, together with his interests; and the man himself was just such "a man of the world in the broadest sense of the term" as he aspired early to become.

Boston.

M. A. DEWOLFE HOWE.

SHORTER NOTICES

The Discovery of the Ancient World. By Harry E. Burton, Professor of Latin in Dartmouth College. (Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1932, pp. 130, \$1.50.) This useful little book is written for the layman, as well as for the professional geographer and classicist. It traces chronologically the extension of geographical knowledge in antiquity from the Egyptians, Cretans, and Phœnicians through the Greeks and Romans down to the time of Ptolemy in the second century A. D.

All controversial matter is excluded, such as the stories of strange lands and peoples told by the ancient writers and their interpretation by modern scholars, which forms the basis of a larger work long under way by the reviewer. A bibliography (pp. 113-119) of works listed in order of publication partly makes up for this, but the index (pp. 123-130) is inadequate, since it contains only the names of geographical localities, but none of geographers and explorers, ancient or modern, who are mentioned in the text.

As the book is largely concerned with statements of fact, it contains little with which one might differ. There is, however, no valid reason for denying the circumnavigation of Africa in the time of Necho, or the attempt over a century later by the Persian Sataspes, both mentioned by Herodotus, and a third attempt made in the first century B. C. by the Greek Eudoxus. Nor is there solid ground for declining to believe that the first two at least may have been known to the Portuguese navigators, either through the Arab schools of Spain, or at least by 1450 when a Latin translation of Herodotus appeared. It is known that Pedro de Covilhao, sent by John II. of Portugal in 1487 to the Levant and contiguous parts of Asia and Africa in search of an overland route to the Spice Islands and the land of Prester John (Abyssinia), reached a point on the east coast of Africa as far south as Zanzibar. This was just before Diaz, in seeking the same countries by sea, discovered the Cape of Good Hope (1488). While in Cairo, Covilhao showed an Arab map of the eastern coast to two Jews who had been sent to find him, and the map was taken to Portugal by one of them. This proves that the Arabs of the Eastern Mediterranean had long been familiar with voyages to the South Cape, and their interest in discovery there may have come ultimately from Greek sources. Thus the first modern circumnavigation of Africa by Vasco da Gama (1497-1498) may well have had its impetus in Herodotus's account of the voyage of Necho.

The University of Pennsylvania.

WALTER WOODBURN HYDE.

The Third and Fourth Dura Hoards. By Alfred R. Bellinger. [Numismatic Notes and Monographs, no. 55.] (New York, The American Numismatic Society, 1932, pp. 85, 20 plates.) The excavations being conducted by Yale University and the French Academy of Inscriptions and Letters at Dura-Europos on the Euphrates are proving of great importance to the history of the Hellenistic-Roman period. The campaign begun in November, 1930, yielded from the Priests' House, among other things, two jars of Roman silver coins, the third and fourth hoards thus far discovered at Dura-Europos. These, like the first two hoards, are now described by Professor Bellinger. The coins, over 400 in number, probably constitute a single hoard, since the jars were found near each other and the limits of the series are practically the same (Nero and Diadumenianus, Vitellius and Macrinus), but Bellinger has wisely treated them, for the sake of accuracy, as two separate hoards. The hoards were probably buried in 218, in connection, no doubt, with the confusion produced by Elagabalus.

The description of the coins, which are generously illustrated, is a careful and scholarly piece of work. Bellinger's chief task, indeed his most important contribution, has been to distinguish between the issues of the Antiochene and Roman mints—a difficult matter, since this can be done on the basis of style only. But Bellinger has been able to show that the denarii from the eastern mint have three chief distinguishing marks: (1) the large, rough, and uneven lettering; (2) the clumsy treatment of the eye; (3) the bad proportions of the standing figure, which is usually too short. The Roman coins, on the other hand, show more refinement.

Mints, types, the frequencies of occurrence for the various emperors and other matters are important for the historian as well as for the numismatist. The third and fourth Dura hoards contain some interesting points which are well brought out by Bellinger.

Brown University.

C. A. ROBINSON, JR.

L'Empereur Constantin. Par André Piganiol, Chargé de cours à la Sorbonne. (Paris, Rieder, 1932, pp. 246, 25 fr.) Piganiol's book is a brief but attractively written sketch of Constantine, which in spite of its small dimensions is remarkably compendious. It contains a certain amount of documentation, though occasionally one could wish for more. The biographer's chief interest is in the personality of the sovereign, and a considerable space is devoted to a review of Constantine's legislation, which is quite interesting and well set forth. In a subject so controversial as the career of the first Christian emperor it is natural that the reader should not always agree. M. Piganiol's discussion of Constantine's conversion seems to make the matter unduly complex by postulating a pagan vision *ca.* 310, afterwards worked over by the Christian historians. The break with Licinius does fall about 319/320, but the inscription from Syria of 319 (pp. 129-130) is of a heretical group, as

Harnack pointed out, and thus confirms the statements of our sources that Licinius first showed his estrangement from Constantine by favoring the non-orthodox sects. One misses a mention of the real problem of primacy in Egypt which underlay the Arian conflict, as to who should control the back-country bishops, which Eduard Schwartz elucidated so brilliantly. The impulses behind the Donatist upheaval are not given, nor is the synod of Antioch in 324 properly evaluated. In general the ecclesiastical side of Constantine's activities is less well set forth than his secular activities. A set of eight well-chosen plates increases the attractiveness of the book, which forms an excellent introduction to the study of its hero's life.

Harvard University.

ROBERT P. BLAKE.

Das Schlagwort vom "Finisteren Mittelalter". Von Dr. Lucie Varga. [Veröffentlichungen des Seminars für Wirtschafts- und Kulturgeschichte an der Universität Wien, herausgegeben von Alfons Dopsch, no. 8.] (Vienna, Verlag Rudolf M. Rohrer, 1932, pp. 152, 13 M.) The extent to which the word medieval is used to-day as a synonym for backward, benighted, or besotted, by newspaper reporters, politicians on the stump, preachers, and reforming pedagogues, who know substantially nothing about the Middle Ages, has long been noticed without equanimity by this reviewer. In her little book Dr. Lucie Varga makes clear how "medieval darkness" has become a cliché, a commonplace, which records the results of a millenium of polemics. She traces the history of the conception from its early origin down to the *Aufklärung* and the dawn of Romanticism. The early medieval critics of the medieval Church began it and the Italian humanists extended it to things cultural. The Lutherans took over the broadened idea, incorporated it in their school programs, and pushed it along as part of their warfare against the old Church. The natural "scientists", exalting direct observation, in turn helped the depreciatory conception forward, as did the deists. The *Aufklärung* added the element of political and social stupidity to the gloomy picture in their fight against the Old Régime. The Positivists softened the antagonism somewhat with Comte's thesis that the theological was a necessary stage in the inevitable evolution of mankind, but even Goethe could not completely emancipate himself from the derogatory view. Dr. Varga's scholarship is broad and penetrating. She has read widely and wisely in the original sources and the modern literature, and her "quotational" exposition of the opinions of the great men of the past on the darkness of the Middle Ages illuminates many a corner. Her chapter bibliographies will be found useful even by professional medievalists. The *Fachleute* in all lands will not overlook this clearly-written, unambiguous work of the presumably young Viennese scholar.

G. C. S.

Geschiedenis van de Noord-Nederlandsche Geschiedschrijving in de Middeleeuwen. Bijdrage tot de Beschavingsgeschiedenis. Door Dr. Jan Romein. (Haarlem, H. D. Tjeenk Willink and Son, 1932, pp. xxxi, 248, 7.50 fl.) It is perhaps not surprising that the northern Netherlands, which have produced very few historians of international fame, should likewise have lagged behind in the science of historiography. The very first work dealing with the writing of history in the Low Countries north of the Rhine appeared in 1932: it is the book now under discussion. It is true that an attempt was made about the year 1830 to prepare such a work, but this production was never completed. Early in the present century there appeared the excellent guide by L. D. Petit, of which the third volume was published in 1928; but it is no more than a list of books and articles, although it deserves to be more widely known in this country than Pirenne's bibliography.

We have at last been favored with a Dutch work on bibliography as well as historiography that will stand the test of scholarship and historical research. It covers the period from 800 to 1500; let us hope that a similar work will appear in due time for the modern period. The ten chapters into which this book has been divided are devoted to eight groups or schools of historians and two types of chronicles. The first group is called the Utrecht School (800-1350), the second the Egmond Circle (1125-1325), the third the Frisian Circle (1200-1300), the fourth the Holland-Utrecht Circle (1350-1480), the fifth the writers of Holland from 1350 to 1490, the sixth the Gelderland Circle (1420-1515), the seventh the Frisian writers from 1400 to 1517, the eighth the Circle of the *Devotio Moderna* (1440-1517). The two groups of chronicles are those dealing with the nobility and the cities.

Perhaps this arrangement may be deemed somewhat arbitrary, but it almost has to be, because so little of this kind of work has ever been done before in The Netherlands. For example, twenty-four out of ninety-four numbers or sections have been reserved for the *Devotio Moderna*, and almost one-fourth of the whole book. Less than ten years ago this would have seemed ridiculous to practically all Dutch historians, since this movement had scarcely been regarded as a part of Dutch history. Pirenne paid some slight attention to it and Fruin and Blok practically none. "The history of historiography", so writes Mr. Romein, "is in The Netherlands a neglected subdivision of history." His task was difficult because very few had led the way, but his industry and the assistance of learned archivists and librarians enabled him to prepare a manual which will be indispensable to anyone who is seriously interested in the history of the Low Countries during the Middle Ages.

The University of Michigan.

ALBERT HYMA.

Recherches sur les Tribunaux de Châtellenie en Flandre avant le Milieu du XIII^e Siècle. Par François L. Ganshof, Professeur à l'Université de Gand.

[Universiteit te Gent, Werken uitgegeven door de Faculteit der Wijsbegeerte en Letteren, 66° Aflevering.] (Antwerp, De Sikkel, 1932, pp. 103.) For many years after the appearance of L. A. Warnkoenig's *Flandrische Staats- und Rechtsgeschiede* little was written about the political and judicial organization of the county of Flanders. This is remarkable because the development of trade and industry and the growth of towns were more rapid and extensive within its borders than in any other medieval European principality north of the Alps. Professor Pirenne's work is of course known to all historians. In recent years excellent monographs have appeared such as H. Nowé's study of the count's bailiffs of Flanders (1928), W. Blommaert's work on Flemish castellans (1915). This little study by Professor Ganshof, Professor Pirenne's successor at the University of Ghent, deals only with the courts in the castleries of Flanders before 1250. Data for the earlier period studied were difficult to find, simply because most of the documents have disappeared. For the later period much more information is available. The author has prepared an excellent study in spite of great limitations. A most imposing mass of documents scattered in many books or still reposing in archives has been studied. Chronicles and monographs have been used wherever possible. Each castlery is treated in detail. In some castleries the judicial tribunal was composed of a simple bench of *scabini*. In others, two tribunals, the bench of *scabini* and a feudal *curia* functioned together. In another category only a feudal *curia* and no *scabini* existed. The author holds, without doubt correctly, that these *scabini* are lineally descended from the territorial *scabini* of the Carolingian age. The existence of a feudal *curia* either alone or with a bench of *scabini* is difficult to explain. The number of free men was quite limited and it is thought that the *scabini* were more and more recruited from them and that the feudal *curia* originally was a bench of territorial *scabini*. A section of the book discusses the competence of the courts, procedure, place of session, time of meeting, and other points of interest. A map of the county showing the castleries is added.

The University of Washington.

H. S. LUCAS.

The Parliamentary Representation of the English Boroughs during the Middle Ages. By May McKisack, M. A., B. Litt., Lecturer in Medieval History in the University of Liverpool, late Scholar and Fellow of Somerville College, Oxford. [Oxford Historical Series.] (New York, Oxford University Press, 1932, pp. xii, 180, \$3.50.) "This book", the author tells us, "is concerned with one limited aspect of English parliamentary history. It is an attempt to correlate some of the evidence bearing on the representation of the towns in the medieval parliament, to discover how the citizens and burgesses were elected, paid, and taxed, what their function in parliament was, and what type of men they were." The statement is clear and accurate—like the rest of Miss McKisack's essay.

The opening chapters assemble statistics concerning borough representation and so introduce the "problem of attendance". Miss McKisack shows that there was no great falling off in the number of represented towns during the fourteenth century, and that in the fifteenth the average was considerably increased. She finds no evidence to warrant the belief that the boroughs were reluctant to send deputies and commonly evaded their responsibility. And she cites municipal records to refute the argument advanced by Mr. Pollard and others that but few of the burgesses elected to Parliament ever appeared there.

The later chapters present much interesting detail with regard to local methods of electing and paying members, the persons chosen, and their manifold duties. Significant facts are brought out concerning the nature and influence of the burgess estate as a whole. In the House of Commons the burgesses were not so thoroughly subordinated to the knights as has been thought. Neither the official rolls, which continued to be inspired by the tradition of Parliament as a court of justice, nor the chroniclers, who were preoccupied with doings of the great, give an adequate account of burgess activity in Parliament. To correct the picture we must turn to borough records. We know that the support of the towns was indispensable for efficient taxation and the regulation of trade, and that these matters were of increasing importance to the English government in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. It was apparently the borough members who were chiefly responsible for the mercantile and fiscal policy of Parliament.

Miss McKisack has attempted no thorough discussion of the greater problems involved in parliamentary history, but she has clearly recognized that such problems exist. Furthermore, she has definitely proved that, before they can be solved, neglected materials in borough archives must be taken into careful account.

Cornell University.

CARL STEPHENSON.

Peter Abailard. By J. G. Sikes, M. A., Sometime Scholar of Jesus College, Cambridge, Lecturer at St. Augustine's College, Canterbury. With a Preface by the Reverend A. Nairne, D. D., Regius Professor of Divinity in the University of Cambridge. (Cambridge, University Press; New York, Macmillan Company, 1932, pp. xvi, 282, \$4.00.) The author's aim, as stated in the preface, is to make a "study of Abailard's life and thought"; in reality it is his *thought-life* that is under consideration. Even in chapters I. (Abailard's Career to the Council of Sens) and IX. (The Council of Sens and After), human interest and individual personalities are eclipsed by painstaking analysis of theological ideas and dialectical processes. Throughout, Abailard's logical and theological development holds the center of the stage. There are chapters (II. to VIII.) on Faith and Reason, Use of Pre-Christian Writers, *Sic et Non*, Logical Theories, The Doctrine of God and Creation,

The Trinity and the Person of Christ, and Ethical Theories and the Atonement; all of them substantial in thought. Its pages are packed with detailed quotations, paraphrases, and analyses of Abailard's ideas and methods of reasoning. The appendixes and footnotes are also laden with citations, criticisms, and excerpts from the original Latin.

Throughout 275 closely printed pages, Mr. Sikes emphasizes the predominantly conservative trend of Abailard's thought. To him, Abailard was a Defender of the Faith and "no rationalist in the Voltairian sense". On the whole he seems to manifest too keen a tendency to deflate the traditionally radical Abailard. He insists, quite rightly, that "he cannot now be said to have been so important in the history of scholastic method as critics once thought". Most scholars will agree that he was not the originator of the scholastic disputation; it had been employed informally by earlier scholars, and was not formally established until after his time. Likewise, canonists for some time had been using the *sic-et-non* method and it was probably Alger of Liège, rather than Abailard, who influenced Gratian. So far, so good. But Abailard's reputation is reduced to the vanishing point when he is made only "negatively influential in the development of mediaeval theology". His only innovation, according to Mr. Sikes, was "a preoccupation with the value of quoting the opinions of authority". Even this dubious praise is qualified by the explanation that it was Peter Lombard who popularized this method.

The final impression of this reviewer is that Mr. Sikes has, in a scholarly manner, accomplished his main purpose of setting forth Abailard's thought-life. But, advertently or inadvertently, he has also performed a drastic work of destruction; he has completely demolished Abailard's reputation as an innovator, not only of theological ideas, but also of logical methods. Whether such deflation is deserved or necessary, is perhaps an open question.

The University of North Carolina.

L. C. MACKINNEY.

A Brief Summe of Geographie. By Roger Barlow. Edited with an Introduction and Notes by E. G. R. Taylor, D.Sc., F. R. G. S. [Works issued by the Hakluyt Society, volume LXIX, second series.] (London, printed for the Hakluyt Society, 1932, pp. lvi, 210, £1 11s. 6d.) The original of this work, produced in 1540-1541 in an unsuccessful attempt to secure royal support for the opening of an all-English trade route to the East Indies via the Arctic Ocean, has lain in the British Museum, almost untouched for generations, as Royal MSS. 18. B. xxviii. Its neglect has been due, in part, to the fact that it is not a narrative of discovery but rather a historical geography describing the then known world, coast by coast, as a practical handbook for explorers. Likewise, because it consists quite largely of a translation of Martin Fernandez de Enciso's well-known *Suma de Geographia*, students have tended to ignore it.

Its interest arises from its being the earliest account of the New World in English and from its author, Roger Barlow, long in the Spanish trade at Seville and a supercargo on the Spanish South Sea expedition commanded by Sebastian Cabot in 1526, being the first Englishman to visit the Paraná basin when loss of the flag ship and rumors of a wealthy native state to the west (the Inca empire) brought about the abandonment of original plans.

Its chief value lies in the original matter supplementing Enciso's *Suma*, notably a lengthy account of the La Plata country, based on Barlow's personal experiences there. This of itself amply justifies publication of the whole. As the manuscript bears no title, the editor supplied the one used from a phrase employed by the author.

The volume suffers from the usual poor binding and abominable indexing marring Hakluyt Society volumes.

The George Washington University.

LOWELL JOSEPH RAGATZ.

History of Russia from the Earliest Times to the Rise of Commercial Capitalism. By Professor M. N. Pokrovsky. Translated and edited by J. D. Clarkson, Ph. D., Assistant Professor of History, Brooklyn College, and M. R. M. Griffiths, M. A. (New York, International Publishers, 1931, pp. xvi, 383, \$3.50.) The late M. N. Pokrovsky was the recognized leader of the Marxist historians in Russia and the American student who wishes to become familiar with the prevailing tendency of the present-day Russian historiography should welcome the publication of Pokrovsky's work in English. The present volume, first published before the World War, does not reflect the later development of his methods, nor those of his associates. The Marxist point of view as expressed in this book appears in its pre-war aspect and not in the recent Moscow version. While Pokrovsky's *History of Russia* is certainly an outstanding work of scholarship, the first part of it (which alone is as yet available in English) is less valuable than the second which deals with the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

The special preface to the American edition is an illustration of the later methods used by Pokrovsky and his associates, which are hardly favorable to the development of historical science. It is utterly unfair to characterize, as he does, all of the Russian non-Marxist historians as "landlord historians" who have "treated contemptuously the Muzhik". This is certainly a stupefying statement in view of the fact that generations of Russian historians directed their research to the study of the history of the Russian peasant and that they were moved in their work not alone by the pure scientific spirit, but by their profound sympathy with the peasant class in Russia. It was the same peasant problem which had usually attracted the attention of those Russian scholars who studied the history of countries other than Russia. It is characteristic that the Russian Uspensky was a pioneer in the study of the

history of peasants of the Byzantine empire and that another Russian, Kareev, was a leading authority in the problems of the history of French peasantry.

Yale University.

GEORGE VERNADSKY.

Oliver's Secretary: John Milton in an Era of Revolt. By Dora Neill Raymond, Ph. D., Professor of History, Sweet Briar College. (New York, Minton, Balch and Company, 1932, pp. xiv, 341, \$3.50.) For the greater part of his life Milton was known, not as a poet, but as a brilliant pamphleteer in the cause of the Puritans in the English revolutionary era. This has provided Mrs. Raymond with the main theme of her book. Although the book is an account of Milton's life including his poetical career, the author's chief interest is in an analysis of his political controversies and services and in the development of his political, social, and ethical ideas. Mrs. Raymond is a gifted writer and to her subject she has evidently given mature reflection. The result is a biography of Milton written with a fine understanding—a book with many brilliant passages full of acute observations and sage comments.

Mrs. Raymond's study seems to confirm the view that Milton was not a political theorist of the first order like his contemporary Hobbes, for he did not deal with some of the theoretical questions necessary to a complete political system. He was, however, a profound thinker on certain political and social problems. Into those problems which touched him most closely, such as divorce and freedom of the press, he had the deepest insight. He was an eloquent exponent of the view that liberty is not so much an inalienable right as a privilege to be earned. On this and other questions Mrs. Raymond makes it clear that he speaks directly to modern times. For, although he is linked with the Puritans in his intense seriousness and his reverence for Scripture, the sheer virility of his mind breaks through the restraining disciplines of his age. In his great poem he is not really interested in the immutable decrees of God but in the conflict of reason and passion. And his greatest poetical creation is the figure of Satan.

But Mrs. Raymond has not concealed from us the vigor of his prejudices. At least two of his deepest convictions are distinctly limiting to his vision. These are his vehement and relentless anti-feminism and his contempt for the masses, that "inconstant, irrational and hapless herd, begotten to servility". But when we have rejected his narrow views and discounted some of the vituperative language natural to a seventeenth century controversialist, there remain in Milton's political writings ideas which have not ceased to deserve the matchless expression he gave to them.

Mrs. Raymond carries her discriminating observations into the period of the Restoration when Milton had achieved a calm of mind without having spent his passion. He could no longer serve the state but he could use his statesman's experience in writing his poems. On this subject Mrs. Raymond

shows herself to be a competent literary critic as well as a student of history and political ideas.

The reviewer found few slips or misprints. In the footnotes are included valuable bibliographical comments.

The University of Rochester.

WILLSON H. COATES.

The Secretaries of State, 1681-1782. By Mark A. Thomson, M. A., D. Phil., Assistant Lecturer in History, University College, London. (Oxford, Clarendon Press; New York, Oxford University Press, 1932, pp. 206, \$3.00.) This small book takes up the story of the secretary of state where Mrs. Higham left it and is a useful addition to our knowledge of eighteenth century British administration. One must not be misled by the fond assertion on the jacket, that it offers a detailed survey of "the relation of the Secretaries of State to the King, the First Lord of the Treasury, and Parliament". Dr. Thomson set himself narrower limits. He has lifted about as completely as it could be done the office of secretary out of the rest of the government. He is interested in the quality and political fortunes of the men who filled it, in the relation between the secretary for the northern department and the one for the southern, and in the attitude of both towards any diminution of their powers and emoluments by the creation of a third secretary for Scotland or for the colonies. Most of the documents in the appendix bear on this last point. Very dubious at times seems to have been the adherence to that fine definition that there is but one office of secretary, no matter how many secretaries there may be. A good chapter on internal organization shows the staff as the secretary's personal employees and not public officials—a practice lingering on from the days when he himself was the king's private servant. The bulk of the book deals with the varied functions of the office and describes better than has been done before the skeleton outline of the system, the bewildering multiplicity of tasks in Scottish, Irish, colonial, military and naval, foreign and domestic business. Much documentary evidence is presented, with the gaps clearly stated. The student fitting together his own picture of king, cabinet, ministers, and Parliament will find here something to help him, but to draw that picture himself was evidently not the author's plan.

Yale University.

S. M. PARGELLIS.

The Heavenly City of the Eighteenth-Century Philosophers. By Carl L. Becker, John Stambaugh Professor of History in Cornell University. [The Storrs Lectures at Yale University] (New Haven, Yale University Press, 1932, pp. 168, \$2.00.) In this little volume Professor Becker throws up in grand perspective three systems of thought: medieval, eighteenth century, and modern. After a few words on the nature of opinions and arguments, he quotes a summary passage from St. Thomas to the effect that "all things

subject to Divine Providence are ruled and measured by the eternal law". Then against that neatly polished conception, he sets the fundamental idea of the *Philosophes*. He shows of course and quite properly that the *Philosophes* were in reality not philosophers at all. They did not write heavy treatises on epistemology to display a talent for the passionless pursuit of passionless truth, but were optimists with faith in the on-the-whole beneficence of nature and nature's God and they had a reforming message to deliver. Having planted the eighteenth century idea firmly on a pedestal of authentic documentation, Professor Becker erects in another corner of his museum the conception of modern physics, commenting laconically that "it has taken eight centuries to replace the conception of existence as divinely composed and purposeful drama by the conception of existence as blindly running flux of disintegrating energy". Thus it would appear that, viewed in correct perspective, Voltaire and St. Thomas are to be bracketed together as cheerful believers in an excellent universe which modern physics has condemned by the second law of thermodynamics.

In respect of this age-long controversy Professor Becker takes a neutral position. Well aware of the tricks which have been played with history, he does not propose to be caught red-handed manufacturing a false theory of his own or committing himself whole-heartedly to any modern version of optimistic faith. He therefore closes with a question: Is mankind marching by stages toward perfection or stumbling around in a circle?

Such is the dilemma to which the relativity of the modern historical school inevitably leads. As Kurt Riezler says, in his essay on *Idee und Interesse in der Politischen Geschichte*, an escape, if there is one, must be through another form of attack: "Der Knoten, der nicht zu lösen ist, muss durchhauen werden" (*Die Dioskuren*, 1924, p. 5). But until the knot-cutter has arrived, Professor Becker's statement of the problem will remain a classic—a beautifully finished literary product.

New Milford, Connecticut.

CHARLES A. BEARD.

La Constitution Britannique devant l'Opinion Française de Montesquieu à Bonaparte. Par Gabriel Bonno, Ancien Élève de l'École Normale Supérieure, Agrégé de l'Université. (Paris, Champion, 1932, pp. iii. 317, 50 fr.) As a collection of opinions regarding the British constitution expressed in French (whether written in France or not) between about 1748 and 1789, M. Bonno's book is quite thorough. A careful index of authors makes it as easy to consult as a catalogue; and it is rendered easily intelligible by a convenient arrangement into periods—1748 to 1756, when French opinion was predominantly Anglophile; 1756–1763, when war made it predominantly Anglophobe; 1763–1778, when admiration tempered by criticism became the characteristic note in French discussions of English institutions; 1778–1783, when sympathy for the American colonies displaced Anglomania; and 1783–

1789, when Britain's constitution, and particularly its system of justice, regained lost esteem. The years from 1789 to 1799 are not so satisfactorily canvassed. Secondary works as pertinent as Aulard's *Histoire Politique de la Révolution Française*, Redslob's *Staatstheorien der Französischen Nationalversammlung*, and Liljegren's *A French Draft Constitution of 1792 modelled on James Harrington's Oceana* do not seem to have been consulted; contemporary periodicals are only sparsely cited; contemporary writings as relevant as Marat's *Chaines d'Esclavage*, Clermont-Tonnerre's *Analyse Raisonnée de la Constitution Française*, and Condorcet's several Revolutionary pamphlets receive little or no consideration. In this section, too, the author falls more often into the easy tendency to attribute to "influence" mere similarities that may have had no direct causal relationship.

There are, however, two distinct weaknesses that characterize the book as a whole. In the first place, M. Bonno's *literati* move in altogether too rarified an atmosphere. One would never guess that eighteenth century writers were frequently subsidized by persons with ulterior motives, or ever expressed opinions not strictly dictated by intellectual conviction; propaganda, politics, and class interests are mentioned only casually, if at all. In the second place, M. Bonno's republic of letters is altogether too democratic, for he makes no effort to apportion space according to the relative significance of the writers discussed. Why should writers like, for example, Pierre Caze, himself an Anglophobe, receive more attention than Helvetius, Dupont, Condorcet, Brissot, Marat, and other critics of the English constitution? The book has several minor errors, some of which a list of errata rectifies.

The University of Chicago.

LOUIS GOTTSCHALK.

Saint-Just, Apostle of the Terror. By Geoffrey Bruun, Ph.D., Assistant Professor of History in New York University. (Boston, Houghton Mifflin Company, 1932, pp. 168, \$2.50.) It is singular that until the publication of the brief sketch here reviewed, there has been no account in English and no recent or satisfactory life in French of one of the most important and dramatic figures in the Revolution. The work of Saint-Just as political theorist, practical politician, eloquent orator, fiery representative at the front, one of the two or three chief men in France at the height of the Terror, has never been adequately studied. Toward the filling of this gap, Mr. Bruun has given us an excellent condensed summary of the essential facts, written in a graceful, pleasing style. The method is in general factual rather than interpretative. In the reviewer's opinion there are certain gaps in the treatment, which may be accounted for in part by the fact that the book does not purport to be a definitive biography. On the other hand, the reviewer is in general agreement with the position taken by the author toward his subject and has very little quarrel with his narrative of the facts. A few points are open either to definite criticism or to a difference of opinion. Doubt as to the

authenticity of the physician's letter in connection with the silver robbery was not expressed by Saint-Just's mother (p. 7), but by D'Evry in a letter to the police, September 29, 1786. The pamphlet referred to on page 16 criticized the assembly for a decree refusing to declare definitely that the Catholic Church was the state religion, not for confiscation of Church property. The point of the Scaevola legend is missed (p. 17); the tale was circulated that Saint-Just held his hand in, not over the fire, though the latter was what really happened. Carnot did not bury himself in his bureau, "half-ignored by his colleagues" (p. 60); his signature is to be found on decrees of every description. Saint-Just was not concerned chiefly with constitutional legislation in the second committee of public safety (p. 61), but with military and police matters. In the reviewer's opinion, the author understates Saint-Just's connection with the military successes in the North (p. 118). A number of slips are probably due to the proof reader; Thuillier is always given, even in the index, as Thullier; Coucy as Courci. The bibliography and index are good and the book is well documented. The author has managed to include a great deal of material in a very compact form; he has produced a scholarly and well-written study.

Goucher College.

EUGENE N. CURTIS.

Sir Robert Wilson, a Soldier of Fortune in the Napoleonic Wars. By Giovanni Costigan, Associate Professor of History, University of Idaho, Southern Branch. [University of Wisconsin Studies in the Social Sciences and History, no. 16] (Madison, 1932, pp. 277, \$2.00.) Wilson was what a soldier hero should be: tall, handsome, high-spirited, dashing, courageous; possessing great charm and the happy faculty of making friends. An associate described him as "one of the most harum-scarum fellows that ever lived; yet there is an immense deal of good in him and much sound judgment. . . . Better tempered it is hardly possible to be." His charm attracted royalty itself. While attached to the Prussian mission in 1806 he met the Czar Alexander, who "putting all formality aside, liked nothing better than to hear Wilson rattle on with his flow of anecdotes and joke away as with a fellow trooper". After a stirring experience in the Peninsular War, Wilson appears in varied missions, as military adviser to the British ambassador at Constantinople, in St. Petersburg for the Russian campaign of 1812, and at Leipzig, where victory was chiefly due, Schwarzenberg, the Austrian commander declared, "to the intelligence and able dispositions of Wilson". After the war a venture in English politics was fraught with unfortunate results to his personal interests. Because of his liberal attitude, his foreign decorations were recalled, and when he championed the cause of Queen Charlotte, he was cashiered. But, as with other romances, all ended well. Restored to the army with high rank, and his decorations returned, he spent his last years happily as governor of Gibraltar, where "resplendent with decorations he lorded it over his infant court".

Mr. Costigan has done an excellent piece of work and has told his story well.

The Library of Congress.

A. R. BOYD.

"1830": *Études sur les Mouvements Libéraux et Nationaux de 1830*. Publiées sous les Auspices du Comité Français des Sciences Historiques et par les Soins de la Société d'Histoire Moderne. (Paris, Rieder, 1932, pp. xi, 226, 25 fr.) These studies make no attempt to treat the revolutionary movement of 1830 comprehensively. Of the seventeen papers, six are devoted to the revolution in various provincial cities of France, three concern Belgium, and two are on Poland. Catholic Emancipation and the Reform Bill of 1832 in England, and the German and Italian movements of the period are omitted entirely, which is surprising considering the title of the book.

The study of most general interest is the first, 1830 dans l'Évolution Constitutionnelle de l'Europe, by B. Mirkine-Guetzévitch. The author shows that the political life of the Restoration in the states that had written constitutions centered in the conflict between the new system of parliamentary government and the administrative personnel who clung to the ideas and practices of the *Ancien Régime*. The significance of the revolutionary movement of 1830 lies chiefly in these two results; that it everywhere clarified the prevailing ideas of the nature of ministerial responsibility, and that in France it brought in a new administrative personnel. The French Charter of 1814 as modified in 1830 and the Belgian constitution of 1831 embodied these changes, and in the succeeding decades both documents had a great influence throughout the Continent. This influence is dominant in the following constitutions: of Spain (1837), Portugal (1838), Greece (1844), Naples, Rome, and Holland (1848), and of Roumania (1866). This same study contains a number of other interesting observations on the political movements of the early nineteenth century on the Continent, and is perhaps the best brief commentary available on the significance of the revolutions of 1830. The studies of the Belgian and Polish movements are valuable contributions, particularly that of M. Handelsman on L'État Actuel des Études relatives à l'Histoire de 1830-1831 en Pologne.

Oberlin College.

FREDERICK B. ARTZ. •

L'Expédition de Chine de 1860: Souvenirs du Général Cousin de Montauban, Comte de Palikao. Publiés par son Petit-fils, le Comte de Palikao. (Paris, Plon, 1932, pp. 450, 40 fr.) In November, 1859, Napoleon III. appointed General Charles Cousin de Montauban to be commander-in-chief of the French expedition which was being assembled for the renewal of the Anglo-French war against China. After 1871 General de Montauban—then Comte de Palikao—applied himself to the task of compiling, from his private papers and the official documents in his possession, an account of the year and

a half covered by his Far Eastern tour of duty. Now, fifty-four years after the general's death, the third Comte de Palikao presents the world with an intelligently edited and decidedly readable volume of his grandfather's recollections.

The student of Far Eastern history will find in the volume little cause for altering, in its main aspects, the traditional account of the 1860 expedition. Especially in those parts devoted to the purely military phases of the allied undertaking, Montauban's story differs only slightly from that provided by the British sources upon which we have hitherto been so largely dependent.

The account of the actual campaign, however, occupies but a comparatively small portion of the volume. At the time of his appointment General de Montauban had suggested that, in addition to being made commander-in-chief, he should also be vested with full diplomatic powers. Although this proposal was rejected by the French emperor, various circumstances made impossible a complete dissociation of diplomatic and military functions. Throughout his service in China, therefore, Montauban continued to feel himself responsible, diplomatically as well as militarily, for the Far Eastern interests of his country, and his dispatches to the minister of war deal quite as fully with his views on diplomatic matters as with the military operations entrusted to him. The encouragement of French commerce with China, the improvement of the national prestige at Shanghai, the strengthening of the protectorate over Catholic missions, the advantage to be taken of the Taiping Rebellion, and the need for improving France's position in Japan are all discussed at great length. But most important of all, in Montauban's opinion, was the necessity of securing for France the island of Chusan as a base of operations and as an offset to Britain's foothold at Hongkong. This conviction, amounting almost to an obsession, pervaded his dispatches to the war office, inspired him with an increasing anglophobia, and eventually brought him to the verge of an open break with the French plenipotentiary, Baron Gros.

Simmons College.

G. NYE STEIGER.

Le Bureau du Roi, 1848-1873: le Comte de Chambord et les Monarchistes. Par Marquis de Noailles. (Paris, Librairie Hachette, 1932, pp. 277, 12 fr.) To the Marquis de Noailles, editor of *Le Comte Molé, 1781-1855: sa Vie, ses Mémoires*, the second and third volumes of which were reviewed in this journal (XXIX. 598; XXX. 360), we are indebted for additional valuable notes and papers of Comte Molé throwing light upon the attempts at fusion of the two monarchist parties, Legitimist and Orleanist, during the Second Republic and the first years of the Second Empire. In this volume, Noailles includes also interesting notes and papers of his great uncle, the Marquis de La Ferté-Meun, a member from 1850 to 1870 of the *Bureau du Roi*. The organization, with a headquarters in Paris, was founded to protect

the interests of the Comte de Chambord and work for his return to the throne. It broke up in despair after his manifesto of July 5, 1871, ending "*Henri V ne peut abandonner le drapeau blanc d'Henri IV*". On the basis of these papers and other evidence, the editor believes that fusion was wrecked in 1850 by the obstinacy of the Orleans princes who refused to join their cousin, although France would have welcomed the restoration of the older Bourbon line with its trappings and its absolutism. The success of the plebiscites which followed a year or two later showed the country to be favorable to a slightly limited autocracy. In 1871, on the other hand (but not in 1873, it was then too late), the situation was reversed. The Comte de Chambord, deluded by a romantic mysticism, could not grasp the fact that again France would accept him, but only as a parliamentary ruler.

Both sets of papers, now printed in full for the first time, include many letters to and from the exiled Bourbons and notes of talks with them and other exalted personages. While no markedly new facts are revealed, the sad story becomes clearer with its successive chapters of misunderstandings and blighted hopes. Students of the history of nineteenth century France will thank the Marquis de Noailles for the publication of the documents and for the scholarship and grace with which he has edited them.

Princeton University.

HENRY R. SHIPMAN.

La Population de la France pendant la Guerre: la Guerre et la Vie Sociale. Par Michel Huber, Directeur de la Statistique Générale de la France. [Economic and Social History of the World War, James T. Shotwell, Ph.D., LL.D., General Editor, Série Française.] (Paris, Les Presses Universitaires; New Haven, Yale University Press, 1932, pp. xii, 1025, 165 fr.)

Die Einwirkung des Krieges auf Bevölkerungsbewegung, Einkommen und Lebenshaltung in Deutschland. Von Dr. Rudolf Meerwarth, Dr. Adolf Günther, Dr. Waldemar Zimmermann. [Deutsche Serie.] (Stuttgart, Deutsche Verlags-Anstalt; New Haven, Yale University Press, 1932, pp. xv, 474, 22 M.)

The Cost of the War to Russia: the Vital Statistics of European Russia during the World War, 1914-1917. By Stanislas Kohn, Assistant Professor of Statistics, Russian School of Laws, Prague, formerly Assistant Director, Russian Agricultural Census. *Social Cost of the War.* By Baron Alexander F. Meyendorff, D. C. L., formerly Vice-President of the Duma, Reader in Russian Institutions and Economics, University of London. [Russian Series.] (New Haven, Yale University Press, 1932, pp. xv, 215, \$3.25.)

Die Industrie Oesterreichs während des Krieges. Von Richard Riedl, Ehemaliger Generalkommissar für Kriegs- und Uebergangswirtschaft. [Oesterreichische und Ungarische Serie.] (Vienna, Hölder, Pichler, Tempsky; New Haven, Yale University Press, 1932, pp. xxiii, 374, 12.50 M.)

Taxation during the War. By Sir Josiah Stamp, G.B.E., LL.D., D.Sc., Sc.D., F.B.A. [British Series.] (London, Humphrey Milford; New Haven, Yale University Press, 1932, pp. xiv, 249, 10s.) Three of these books are devoted chiefly to showing the influence of the World War upon the vital statistics of France, Germany, and Russia, respectively. Deaths rose and births fell in all of these countries as hostilities were prolonged. Nevertheless in some provinces of Russia, if we may trust the records, these tendencies were reversed by the unwonted prosperity of the peasants. Furthermore, despite the wholesale slaughter of Russian troops reported in battle bulletins, the czar's armies seem to have lost fewer men in proportion to the number mobilized than did those of either France or Germany. In this respect France was the worst sufferer of the three.

An appendix to the French work, estimating the sum total of private incomes in that country before and after the war, indicates that, allowing for the changing value of money, their aggregate increased between 1913 and 1928. Simultaneously the ratio of large incomes to small and medium incomes declined. More elaborate calculations of the movement of wages, middle class incomes, and standards of living during the war itself occupy the second and last thirds of the German volume. These have rather special interest for the war historian, and also afford an excellent starting point for research into contemporary social trends in Germany. A concluding section of the Russian survey, containing a study of the social cost of the war by Baron Meyendorff, of the University of London, analyzes within brief compass the economic and psychological currents that carried the nation towards revolution. This is a readable and suggestive presentation of facts and interpretations that should not be neglected by students of Russia's great transition.

Austria's industries during the war form the topic of a book that has something of the style and set-up of a competent official report. It deals exhaustively with the organization, vicissitudes, and accomplishments of the country's major manufactures during that critical period, and is to be recommended for reference rather than for casual entertainment. The last of these five volumes, upon Great Britain's war taxes, by Sir Josiah Stamp, will have more than historical interest for the publicist and financial specialist, and contains hints worthy of current consideration in America. Although it deals mainly by example with the theory and administrative technique of national finance, it might well be embraced within the collateral reading of candidates for a political science degree. The English handle their taxes, and write about them, very well indeed.

The Library of Congress.

VICTOR S. CLARK.

Contemporary Roumania and her Problems: a Study in Modern Nationalism. By Joseph S. Rouček, Ph.D., Professor of Social Science, Centenary

Junior College. (Stanford University, Stanford University Press, 1932, pp. xxv, 422, \$4.00.) Observers of the Balkan scene will be interested in Professor Rouček's volume dealing with Roumania's recent history. The author traces briefly the political and economic history of the country from ancient Dacia to the present. His work is divided into four major parts: Historical development to 1914; Post-war political life; Constitutional and Administrative system; Economic Roumania. Part V. makes up the conclusion. There are interesting chapters on Roumania's internal development, her post-war foreign policy, and the problem of the minorities.

Dr. Rouček's volume is well furnished with illustrations and statistical tables which enhance the value of his history. There is an excellent bibliography of works dealing with Roumanian history.

Miami University.

HARRY N. HOWARD.

Nationalism and Education in Modern China. By Cyrus H. Peake, Lecturer in Chinese in Columbia University. (New York, Columbia University Press, 1932, pp. xiv, 240, \$3.00.) This excellent study includes, first of all, a brief history of the changes in education in China from 1860 to the present time. Within less than a hundred pages the author has compressed in clear and readable form a vast amount of information concerning the most far-reaching revolution in educational organization and content that the Chinese have ever known. We have often had summaries of this movement, but no short one of which the reviewer is aware surpasses this one for comprehensiveness and sense of proportion. The second part of the book is a treatment of the training in nationalism given by the textbooks of the modern Chinese government schools. It includes a summary of the chief tendencies and shows, as might be expected, a deliberate use by educators of curricula and textbooks to arouse in students a nationalistic spirit. The appendix contains descriptions and condensations of the pertinent material in forty-eight of the frequently used texts. The book preserves an admirable objectivity and is buttressed with extensive footnote references to the literature in both Chinese and Western languages.

Yale University.

K. S. LATOURETTE.

Disarmament and Security since Locarno, 1925-1931: being the Political and Technical Background of the General Disarmament Conference, 1932. By John W. Wheeler-Bennett. With an Introduction by Major-General Sir Neill Malcolm, K.C.B., D.S.O. (New York, Macmillan Company, 1932, pp. 383, \$4.00.) The author has given the historical background to the Disarmament Conference treating in detail the whole movement since 1925. He reveals the experience of the League commissions that disarmament and security cannot be treated separately. Provisions of security, such as the Soviet system of neutrality and non-aggression, designed to localize military action

and avoid entanglements in a general conflict, in direct contrast to the French demand for general guarantees of security, are portrayed. In a final chapter there is set forth a series of events all tending toward the aggravation rather than the amelioration of the European situation. The main impression left by Mr. Wheeler-Bennett's book is that every attempt at international understanding is blocked by national rivalries. Security in last analysis depends on a spirit of confidence which is only made possible by international agreement. Mr. Wheeler-Bennett concludes his long account of disarmament efforts with the question: "Can the nations of the world renounce war with their minds as well as with their lips and pens, subconsciously as well as consciously?"

It should be noted that the book is not entirely a new work since about two hundred pages have been reprinted from the *Bulletin of International News* and from Mr. Latimer's book, *Naval Disarmament*. It is to be regretted that more references are not made to League of Nations documents rather than to former works of the author and to secondary material, yet the historical research student will find the book valuable.

American University.

WILLIAM E. ARMSTRONG.

Pedro de Alvarado, Conquistador. By John Eoghan Kelly. (Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1932, pp. viii, 279, \$3.50.) This work is an attempt to present a complete biography of Pedro de Alvarado, whose interesting career in Mexico and Guatemala was unsurpassed by few of the conquistadores. The account of the brave, daring, impetuous, and ambitious first lieutenant of Hernán Cortés will appeal strongly to the imagination of many readers.

The first part of the work treats the period of preparation when Alvarado took part in the conquest of Mexico. The story is largely that of Hernán Cortés, interspersed by the exploits of Alvarado, as depicted by Prescott and Bernal Díaz del Castillo. The author maintains that the conquerors were not unnecessarily bloodthirsty but, when acts of cruelty were committed, it was because odds were against them. There is practically nothing new in this part of the narration, nevertheless the material is condensed, presented in a better style than by most writers on the conquest of Mexico, and the attention of the reader is held until the end.

In the second part, Alvarado, who was trying to plant the outposts of empire for Charles V. in Central and South America, emerges as a conqueror in his own right. This is by far the best part of the book, since Alvarado is the principal actor and the author makes some contribution as he had access to material in Central America unknown to earlier writers. In the appendix a translation is given of some of the most important material. Two long letters of Alvarado to Cortés are translated in the text; it would be better if they were also in the appendix.

The author still believes in the jumping abilities of Alvarado, for, during the Spanish retreat from the Aztec capital, he says that Alvarado seized a pike, planted it in a piece of wreckage in the water, and jumped across the canal to safety (p. 91). In the *Proceso de Residencia* Alvarado stated very clearly how he got across the canal on that memorable night: "They [the enemies] wounded me badly and killed my horse. . . . It was a miracle that I could escape, and I could not have done it had it not been for a horseman, who was in another part; it was Cristobal Martin de Gamboa who took me on the haunches of his horse and brought me across" (J. F. Ramirez, *Proceso de Residencia*, p. 68; also see G. Werner's doctoral thesis on Pedro de Alvarado, University of California, 1923).

Alvarado has waited long, but he has now been presented in a judicious, interesting, and scholarly biography.

Oklahoma College for Women.

LILLIAN ESTELLE FISHER.

William Penn, Quaker and Pioneer. By Bonamy Dobrée. (Boston, Houghton Mifflin Company, 1932, pp. vi, 346, \$4.00.) Bonamy Dobrée, the British author of *Lord Chesterfield* and *John Wesley*, has presented in his *William Penn, Quaker and Pioneer*, not only a picturesque biography of the Quaker leader and founder of Pennsylvania but also a vivid portrayal of English and colonial life during the last half of the sixteenth century and the first two decades of the seventeenth. Appearing, as it does, on the occasion of the two hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the landing of William Penn in America, this volume is especially timely. The materials contained in it supplement those found in M. R. Brailsford's *The Making of William Penn* (1930), which deals largely with Penn's life and work prior to the founding of Pennsylvania, and in Arthur Pound's *The Penns of Pennsylvania and England* (1932), which is concerned not alone with William Penn but with other members of his family as well. The volume is written in a pleasing style, the organization is excellent, and the character of the data used indicates that the author has consulted with more or less care most of the secondary materials on his subject and has delved somewhat into the sources. Unlike many biographers of William Penn, Mr. Dobrée foregoes extreme eulogy and is mildly critical. Admitting that Penn was "undoubtedly a man of stature", that he "accomplished great things", and that he "was a good man", he states frankly that he was not always "a wise man". "With the roughness smoothed, the idiosyncracies placidly accepted, the errors glozed over", he declares in his preface, Penn "becomes less interesting, less lovable, and in the end less great." At the same time, however, Mr. Dobrée by no means neglects the constructive and wholesome aspects of his life. Although the book contains comparatively little information new to the scholar, the author has compressed into a single volume an interesting and well-rounded record

of the life and achievements of the founder of Pennsylvania, selected and arranged for the general reader rather than for the special student of American colonial history.

Pennsylvania State College.

ASA E. MARTIN.

The Letters of Eleazar Wheelock's Indians. Edited from the Originals by James Dow McCallum, Professor of English, Dartmouth College. [Dartmouth College Manuscript Series, no. 1.] (Hanover, Dartmouth College Publications, 1932, pp. 327, \$4.00.) Eleazar Wheelock's "grand design" for the conversion of the Indians has been known chiefly through the narratives which he caused to be published between 1763 and 1775. In this handsome volume we may now read in the words of his Indian pupils themselves—and in Wheelock's occasional letters of admonition and counsel—some of the successes and not a few of the pitiful failures of his plan for training up Indian missionaries and teachers to lead their brethren out of heathen darkness. It is the first of a new Dartmouth College Manuscript series. Other promised volumes will contain more of Wheelock's letters, and also the life and letters of Samson Occom, and of John Ledyard, missionary diaries, and the diaries of early Dartmouth students and residents of Hanover.

Most of the letters here printed are from students trained by Wheelock at Lebanon, Connecticut, between 1754 and his removal to the New Hampshire wilderness in 1770. They are very human documents, indeed, in their simple piety, but disconcerting in the evidence they furnish that few of Wheelock's hopeful band ever quite assimilated that compound of Puritan theology and ethics with a smattering of classics which was imparted at Moor's Charity School. Few lived as blamelessly as young Joseph Woolley, the schoolmaster of Onohoquaga, who triumphed over "Carnal effections" to fall a victim of tuberculosis, and was mourned by an Iroquois council as "a very Sober Man, a very good Teacher". Most had sometime to confess to sins of drunkenness and backsliding, to rebellion against work and discipline. The record is one of Indian maladjustment to the white man's way of life and, inevitably, of failure in the main purpose of the scheme.

The arrangement of the letters under the names of the authors somewhat obscures their historical as against their personal interest, though place is found for such topics as News of the School, The Brothertown Settlement, etc. An introduction by the editor, Professor McCallum, provides a sufficiently full account of the origin and transformation of Wheelock's plan, of his relations with his financial backers, his conflicts with the S. P. G. and with Sir William Johnson, and the withdrawal of the Iroquois pupils. The appendixes include a list of all known Indian students in the school between 1754 and 1779, notes on missionary societies of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and a bibliography.

The University of Michigan.

V. W. CRANE.

Archives of Maryland. Volume XLVIII., subseries 8, *Journal and Correspondence of the State Council of Maryland, 1781-1784.* Volume XLIX., subseries 4, *Proceedings of the Provincial Court of Maryland, 1663-1666.* Edited by J. Hall Pleasants. [Published by Authority of the State under the Direction of the Maryland Historical Society.] (Baltimore, Maryland Historical Society, 1931, 1932, pp. xii, 581; xxxi, 610.) As in the case of its predecessor in the series (see this journal for October, 1931, p. 169) the materials in volume XLVIII. relate to the manifold activities of the state in the performance of its part in the conduct of the war and in the adjustments necessitated by the aftermath of the war. It is particularly significant that the materials for the year November, 1783, to November, 1784, amount to only about one-tenth of the whole. To such an extent did the cessation of the war reduce the activities of the state. Moreover, the states were to a degree losing interest in the union, with a consequent limitation of their activities in great measure to matters of internal concern.

Bulking large among the proceedings of the council are orders on the treasury for payments to individuals for services and supplies, with careful specification of the kind of money to be used; for there were the old Continental (although by this time about as dead as money could die), the new Continental (not much of which had come into circulation), the state issues (the "red" and the "black"), and finally there was, occasionally at least, "hard money" of various kinds. The problem of keeping the state's delegates in Congress supplied with funds sufficient even for the bare necessities of living, taxed the ingenuity of both the council and the delegates.

An especially valuable feature of the volume on the Provincial Court is the editorial exposition of the intricate history of the early courts of Maryland. The proceedings themselves bring into strong light the color and texture of the life of the time. Petty lawsuits were so numerous as to lead the editor to marvel that so small a population could indulge in so much litigation. Debts, naturally, furnish the basis for a large proportion of the cases, and imprisonment for debt was a common occurrence. There are even a considerable number of admiralty cases among these records.

Division of Historical Research,

EDMUND C. BURNETT.

Carnegie Institution of Washington.

The Ratification of the Federal Constitution in North Carolina. By Louise Irby Trenholme, Ph.D., Assistant Professor of History in the University of Missouri. [Studies in History, Economics and Public Law edited by the Faculty of Political Science of Columbia University, no. 363.] (New York, Columbia University Press, 1932, pp. 282, \$4.25.) In this volume Mrs. Trenholme gives a complete study of the politics of ratification in North Carolina. The most important feature of the book is the discussion of the various interests involved in ratification. She shows that the real ob-

jection to the constitution came from western agrarian groups in opposition to eastern commercial interests. Race was a minor factor in determining the attitude of the state, but religious differences constituted a more important line of cleavage, western Baptists and Presbyterians opposing union, while eastern Episcopalians favored it. Yet, as Mrs. Trenholme says, it was primarily the sectional rather than the denominational interest which conditioned their attitude. The economic status of the delegates to the first convention likewise was of slight importance. In general the federalists were of the wealthy classes, but antifederalists held extensive land grants in the west and many were large slaveholders. In summary she says that the decentralization of an agricultural state and the ignorance of national affairs, resulting in local sensitiveness, prevented ratification. The change in the second state convention she explains by the economic pressure of the first Congress of the United States in the form of tariff and navigation laws, which convinced the antifederalists of the interdependence of agricultural and commercial interests, the need for protection from a strong central government against the Indians, Federalist propaganda, and the proposal of amendments by Congress, which resolved some of the antifederalists' doubts.

It is a sober, straightforward, and well organized treatment, giving evidence of much painstaking and intelligent work. The proofreading is unusually well done, and the index is good, further proof of conscientious effort.

Agnes Scott College.

PHILIP DAVIDSON.

George Morgan, Colony Builder. By Max Savelle, Assistant Professor of History, Stanford University. (New York, Columbia University Press, 1932, pp. xiv, 266, \$3.25.) The author of this excellent monograph avows as his purpose the telling of Morgan's life in such a way as to illustrate various important aspects of that period dealing with the "emergence of the United States from its colonial childhood into the maturity achieved with the establishment of the Constitution". This aim has been largely accomplished. Mr. Savelle has produced an interesting narrative about a little-known person who deserves wider fame.

Born in Philadelphia in 1743, of Welsh and English stock, George Morgan was sent by a mercantile firm, in 1765, to the Illinois country to exploit the Indian trade. He became eventually one of the promoters of the "Indiana Company" whose claims against Virginia made it, with *Chisholm v. Georgia*, a factor in evoking the eleventh amendment. After some service in the Revolution, lured by the "vision of empire", he established, under grant from Spain, the city of New Madrid, Missouri, in 1789. (This chapter appeared in the *Mississippi Valley Historical Review* for June, 1932.) Morgan's great-grandson, a Confederate midshipman, burned New Madrid in 1862. Colonel Morgan removed to Morganza in Washington County, Pennsylvania. Here he was visited by Aaron Burr, in 1806, as a result of which Morgan sent

Jefferson the first news the President received of Burr's probable nefarious plans. Morgan died in 1810.

This book is based largely upon manuscript sources, and is the result of careful research, here and abroad. Only one serious error appears. On page 131 Guy Johnson is named as the *son* of Sir William, instead of his *son-in-law*, and the impression is given a hasty reader that Guy strove to keep the Iroquois neutral. Actually he did his utmost to carry the entire Six Nations into the British camp. Only the influence of Samuel Kirkland prevented this.

Hamilton College.

MILLEGE L. BONHAM, JR.

General William Eaton: the Failure of an Idea. By Francis Rennell Rodd. (New York, Minton, Balch and Company, 1932, pp. xi, 314, \$3.50.) An Englishman has in this very readable and well illustrated biography attempted to obtain fuller recognition for a once prominent but now virtually forgotten, American. Mr. Rodd has not, he frankly admits, been greatly interested in the first thirty-three years of Eaton's career, and has allotted to them only twenty-one pages. This brief treatment of Eaton's earlier activities and immediate environment is rather surprising in view of the fact that during this period Eaton obtained his formal schooling, served as a soldier in the American Revolution, fought Indians in Ohio under "Mad Anthony" Wayne, and, as an army captain in Georgia, obtained a large amount of experience regarding Creek Indians and Yazoo land companies.

Eaton, of course, performed his greatest work in Africa. While representing the United States in a diplomatic as well as consular capacity at Tunis, he for years courageously and ably protected American interests along the Barbary coast. It was in 1801 that he became the leading exponent of the idea to the history of which the greater portion of Mr. Rodd's book is devoted. That idea, briefly, was that the United States could obtain an early and permanent peace with Tripoli by aiding Hamet Karamanli, exiled brother of Yusuf Karamanli, the reigning pasha, to overthrow and to succeed the latter.

The plan failed through no fault of Eaton's. For years he sought to secure its adoption at Washington, and when partially successful there, he displayed great resourcefulness in attempting to execute it. In the face of almost insuperable obstacles he ultimately recruited a small army in Egypt, marched it across the Libyan desert, and, in 1805, seized the Tripolitan town of Derne. But his hopes were soon dashed by Lear's precipitate treaty. Eaton's later years, deeply marred by this incident, are passed over briefly in this book.

Mr. Rodd's personal observations regarding the region through which Eaton marched in invading Tripoli constitute a useful supplement to what has previously been written about this fascinating African campaign. The author has, however, failed to use certain sources which are indispensable to a thoroughly exhaustive study of even that portion of Eaton's career upon

which he has concentrated his main effort. Most noteworthy of these sources is the splendid collection of manuscript material relative to Eaton in the Department of State. The biography contains some confusing inconsistencies in the spelling of titles or names of certain individuals. James (not "John") Leander Cathcart was the person from whom Eaton acquired the "idea" that failed.

New York University.

RAY W. IRWIN.

Jason Lee, Prophet of the New Oregon. By Cornelius J. Brosnan, Professor of American History, University of Idaho. (New York, Macmillan Company, 1932, pp. x, 348, \$3.00.) This book possesses real merit as a piece of careful research, producing for the first time a thoroughly documented story of the Oregon Mission as headed by Jason Lee. The author has uncovered hitherto unknown sources of real value, as in the Fisk-Lee correspondence, and he has exploited the known sources with praiseworthy assiduity. His work, on the factual side, may be accepted as definitive, though he could have profited in some minor particulars from Merk's *Fur Trade and Empire* had that work been available to him.

On the side of the critical evaluation of his sources and the interpretation of history through them one is compelled to make certain reservations. A careful reading of the evidence accumulated in this work will prove that Lee's mind, from first to last, was foggy with reference to his objectives. He could assert roundly: "The exclusive object of the mission is the benefit of the Indian tribes west of the Rocky Mountains" and in the same paragraph justify a colonizing enterprise because it would make possible the necessary "extensive manual labor schools for Indian children and youth". He could, in the same connection, insist as a first condition, upon a government guarantee that "the land we take up, and the improvements we make upon it shall be secured to us". In another connection he could declare to the Methodist Missionary Board "that the growth and spread, and rise, and glory and triumph of Methodism in the Walamette Valley is destined to be commensurate with the growth and rise and prosperity of our now infant, but flourishing and rapidly increasing settlement. . .".

Mr. Brosnan has demonstrated Lee's superiority, almost genius, as a missionary agitator and financial agent; but he has failed to prove him other than a somewhat confused opportunist in his planning and administration, or that the board was wrong in supplanting him after he had expended \$120,000 with little more to show for it than some valuable land claims bound to be a community grievance as soon as the American settlers became strong enough to challenge the missionary forces.

A few errors have eluded the author's vigilance, but on the whole the book is well done. And notwithstanding its plethora of quoted matter, or possibly because of it, it reads interestingly.

The State Historical Society of Wisconsin.

JOSEPH SCHAFER.

A Frontier Lady: Recollections of the Gold Rush and Early California. By Sarah Royce. With a Foreword by Katherine Royce. Edited by Ralph Henry Gabriel, Professor of History in Yale University. (New Haven, Yale University Press, 1932, pp. xiv, 144, \$2.00.) We have been told that the leveling force of the old frontier was indiscriminate in its application. Peoples and creeds and customs and habits all were invariably modified by its influence. "In short", said the late Professor F. J. Turner, "at the frontier the environment is at first too strong for the man." But it did not affect Sarah Eleanor Royce and her brand of Puritanism. To the end she remained a Frontier Lady, and desperate situations and shocking, immoral conditions merely deepened her faith and strengthened her resistance. She brought civilization into the midst of a frontier environment and as long as she remained, that environment gave way. The Puritanism which she represented was too strong for the savage conditions of even a mining frontier. Indeed the first point of interest which this little volume contributes to the literature of Western history is the challenge it gives to the old thesis on the influence of the frontier. The second is the straightforward narrative itself which grips the attention of the reader—a narrative relating the experiences and reactions of a cultivated woman while crossing the plains in an ox-drawn wagon, while living in a frontier mining camp in California, and finally while seeking habitable accommodations in San Francisco during the hectic days of the early fifties.

Mills College.

CARDINAL GOODWIN.

Joe Bailey, the Last Democrat. By Sam Hanna Acheson. (New York, Macmillan Company, 1932, pp. xvi, 420, \$2.50.) This book will command the attention of most people who remember the career of Joe Bailey, for it is well written and is abundantly documented. Whether the ghost of Bailey would approve a picture that is not attractive is problematical, but probably it would, for the original was honest and must have known that no artist could make him attractive. This is not denying that he did "attract" men to him, but the picture of the man's life is not one of which the country can be proud.

What are some elements of his record? Early in life Bailey reached the conclusion that the railroads should be brought under control and he deserves credit for his share in shaping and passing the Elkins Act of 1906. He opposed the "Cleveland heresy" of free raw materials (which did not originate with Cleveland), and fought for an income tax. He was an anti-imperialist when Texas was calling for annexation. On the other hand he initiated Bryan into free silver, which was a great "heresy", and fought him most of the time on other issues, such as the initiative and referendum, prohibition, and votes for women. He helped materially to bring on a useless war with Spain. Because he failed to get a political friend appointed to office, he thereafter de-

nounced Cleveland and declared that the civil service was a "colossal humbug". He opposed legislation in Texas to protect farm tenants and laborers, yet supported "Ma" Ferguson.

Few men have occupied the front of the political stage as prominently as he did and yet left as little impress upon history. In another ten years his record could be blotted out and historians would hardly know the difference. When he died the chief things that the newspapers found to say about him were that, while a man of political courage and marvelous personality, he was to be remembered for his strong arguments reinforced by his fists, his denunciation of Woodrow Wilson as a "socialist", and his own connection with the oil scandals.

The reviewer has noticed few errors and omissions. In a biography one expects to find when the subject was born and when he died. By implication the reader will infer that Joe Bailey was born on October 3, 1863, but only the year of his death is given. Self-control is something which Bailey often lacked and one would like to know just how he behaved when he spoke with "deadly self-control".

The University of Arkansas.

DAVID Y. THOMAS.

American Foreign Policy in Mexican Relations. By James Morton Callahan. (New York, Macmillan Company, 1932, pp. x, 644, \$4.00.) Professor Callahan has crowned a long career of investigation into the foreign relations of the United States by this first comprehensive work on the relations between the United States and Mexico from 1824 to 1931. In spite of certain habits of style which make the book hard reading, it will perform a useful service as an encyclopædia of United States-Mexican relations. For the period before 1907 his researches are based upon the manuscript archives of the Department of State; from 1907 to 1920 he relied principally upon the published volumes of *Foreign Relations*; and since 1920 upon government reports, congressional documents, and newspapers.

The scope of the work is best indicated by a summary of the chapter contents: early American interests in Latin America, and the policy of recognition; Poinsett's mission; Texas and the claims negotiations under Jackson and Van Buren; Tyler and Texas; Polk and California; Tehuantepec transit negotiations of 1848-1853; the Gadsden Purchase; Buchanan's policy; Seward's policy—the Maximilian incident; border depredations of the seventies and eighties; the recognition of Díaz; the invasion of Mexico by American capital during the Díaz régime—railroads, agricultural colonies, mining and smelting; manufacturing; cattle, and oil; the Wilson-Bryan diplomacy; and the last decade of adjustment—chiefly the work of Dwight W. Morrow.

The treatment intends to be objective to the point of colorlessness. Professor Callahan has a sympathetic appreciation of the difficulties that have always

beset Mexican diplomacy, especially with the United States (p. vi). Sometimes one suspects that he does not quite approve the policy of a particular administration—even that of President Wilson. But he contents himself with analyzing the documents and letting the facts which they allege speak for themselves. Here, perhaps, he is from the weight of his sources slightly less than fair, for he is much more familiar with the case of the United States, which is usually the plaintiff, than he is with that of Mexico, the defendant. But one cannot doubt the conscientious effort to present the Mexican point of view.

The book seems to this reviewer to be an important contribution to its subject. While many monographs have been written on phases of Mexican-United States relations and many others will be written—some suggested and facilitated by this book—as a survey of the whole field it is not likely soon to have a rival.

The University of Texas.

EUGENE C. BARKER.

The Cuban Situation and Our Treaty Relations. By Philip G. Wright. (Washington, D. C., Brookings Institution, 1931, pp. xiv, 207, \$2.50.) This volume deals with the effect that Cuba's treaties with the United States have had on its economic development. The growth of the island's fundamental industry, sugar culture, is explained as primarily due to three factors: the influx of American capital following the adoption of the Permanent Treaty; the benefits derived from the reciprocity treaty of 1903; and the war, which in dislocating the world's sugar trade, created a strong demand for Cuba's product. In estimating the past and present influence of the two treaties the author has made an important contribution, convincingly proving that the reciprocity agreement was at first distinctly valuable but has, with the elimination of Cuba's foreign competitors from the American market, become little more than a nominal concession, neither beneficial nor harmful.

The effect of the Permanent Treaty, embodying the articles of the Platt Amendment, has also been considerable but less direct. The willingness of American capital to enter Cuba is attributed largely to the high degree of political stability which the treaty assured. Concerning the propriety of continuing it in force in the face of the opposition it arouses, the author is non-committal. He concludes, however, that the ultimate solution of Cuba's economic problems depends not upon the maintenance or abrogation of its treaties with the United States, but upon an improvement in the price of sugar or a diversification of industry. Given the views on tariff that prevail today, the latter development would probably serve the island and its people best.

The study is a careful and timely appraisal of an extremely delicate situation. It is presented in a clear and concise manner and supported by intelligible charts and statistics. Unfortunately its value to the student of interna-

tional relations and international economic policies has been lessened by the failure to include either adequate footnotes or a bibliography.

New York University.

LEO J. MEYER.

America in the Pacific: a Century of Expansion. By Foster Rhea Dulles. (Boston, Houghton Mifflin Co., 1932, pp. xiii, 299, \$3.50.) In this timely volume the author of recent books on *The Old China Trade* and *Eastward Ho!* traces the successive steps by which the United States established its position in the Pacific, and presents the development of interests which have determined America's present responsibility and influential policy there. It was the early Yankee trade with China which first awakened American ambitions; this trade, also, the author believes, by the necessity for ports and harbors, was the basis and origin of the earliest American claims to territory on the Northwest coast. After the triumph of the continental expansion in 1848, the course of empire still pointed westward, and, though in the face of a strong minority opposition, the prophecy of manifest destiny was later consummated. Opportunities, at first rejected or neglected, were later accepted by a decision often of a single leader who occupied a strategic position and who threw his personal influence into the balance.

An introductory chapter on Westward Lies the Course of Empire is followed by four general chapters (Cape Horn Around, The Overland Trail, Manifest Destiny, and Perry's Forecasts); these are followed by nine chapters relating to the various acquisitions—Alaska, Samoa, Hawaii, and the Philippines. The acquisition of the Philippines, the author says, was basically for trade and empire, and "perhaps inevitable". He regards it as a new departure in American policy of self-government and democracy—a departure which McKinley accepted "only after long communion with God"—and he expects America to return to early tradition by granting independence to the Philippines in accord with a policy of division of power in the Pacific based upon a program of international coöperation. He asserts that the United States made a tragic mistake in 1898–1899 in its refusal to give the Filipinos any definite pledge of eventual independence. Referring to recent Japanese policy, the author declares that after the international accords of 1921–1922 the American government could not recognize special Japanese rights in Manchuria which might be claimed because of territorial propinquity.

Mr. Dulles treats in succinct but interesting style the forces and influences behind each successive wave of expansion, and the diplomatic negotiations by which each was accomplished. He presents a well organized, readable treatment of striking phases of American history. It is equipped with bibliographical references to documents and secondary sources, but the basic materials do not include manuscript sources. The index is brief but satisfactory.

West Virginia University.

JAMES MORTON CALLAHAN.

The Founding of Churchill, being the Journal of Captain James Knight, Governor-in-Chief in Hudson Bay, from the 14th of July to the 13th of September, 1717. Edited, with a Historical Introduction and Notes, by James F. Kenney, M. A., Ph. D., F. R. Hist. S., Director of Historical Research and Publicity in the Public Archives of Canada. (Toronto, J. M. Dent and Sons, 1932, pp. x, 213, \$2.50.) In 1929, the Hudson Bay Railway reached Churchill, and once again, the mouth of the Churchill River had become "the gateway to the harvest of the West". The present volume is concerned with the founding of Churchill in 1717, by Captain James Knight, who had been governor for the Hudson's Bay Company "in ye bottome of the Bay" since 1692. Knight too was concerned with finding a gateway to the West. The harvest he sought was not, however, golden grain, but the "Yellow Mettle", which eventually lured him to his death amid the snows of Canada. One-half of this little volume is devoted to an historical introduction, which deals with early voyages to find the Northwest passage, rivalries between French and English over the trading stations on Hudson Bay, and the career of Captain Knight, both before and after 1717. One chapter summarizes briefly the later history of Churchill to the present day.

The journal itself covers seventy-eight pages. It is the latter part of Knight's York Fort Journal for 1716-1717, and the present text is from a transcript made in 1912 for the Public Archives of Canada from the original, preserved in the archives of Hudson's Bay House, London. The printed sources for the early history of Hudson Bay are comparatively few and this little volume will be welcomed as a valuable addition to J. B. Tyrell's edition of *Documents relating to the Early History of Hudson Bay*, issued by the Champlain Society in Toronto in 1931. The introduction to the latter volume contains quotations from Knight's journal, but without indicating where omissions were made by the editor. Although both editors used the same transcript, apparently each followed his own judgment in reproducing the erratic and misleading capitalization and punctuation of the original.

Dr. Kenney has done a careful job of editing and annotating. The journal probably has more antiquarian interest than historical value, but it does give something of a picture of life in the Canadian North—the ceaseless efforts to secure peace and trade with the Indians, the encounter with Eskimo bands; "Musketos" and swarms of sand flies, the lack of medicines, the dependence of the post on supply ships from home, the bitter cold, the loneliness, fears, and hazardous toil of men, often "very much putt to it for Victualls", who were trying to erect an outpost for English trade on the barren shores of Hudson Bay. The index is well done, and the bibliographical note of eight pages is one of the most valuable features of the book.

The Ohio State University.

CARL WITKE.

COMMUNICATION

To the EDITOR of the *American Historical Review*:

The January, 1933, issue of the *Review* contains Professor Schlesinger's review of the ninth volume of the *Dictionary of American Biography* in which he makes some pointed remarks regarding my treatment of Andrew Jackson. Of his disagreement with my interpretation of Jackson, which he frankly admits is the primary reason for his opinion that the article "falls short of the average", I do not complain; but when he charges that errors have been made in the statement of certain very elementary facts, and then enumerates instances which are not matters of fact but matters of interpretation or construction, in justice to myself and the *Dictionary*, I have a right to object. My argument that Jackson's introduction of the spoils system and his Maysville Road veto were based upon motives of policy rather than of principle does discount many of Jackson's own statements in regard to those matters. My reasons for these views have been published at length, and my contention is specifically that it is sometimes necessary to look beyond the words of politicians, past or present (T. P. Abernethy, *From Frontier to Plantation in Tennessee*, ch. XV.). To say that the Bank of the United States was dead when Jackson had struck its death-blow is a figure of speech. To say that the Battle of New Orleans made Jackson President is likewise figurative, but the meaning is hardly to be misconstrued in either case. Finally, Professor Schlesinger says: "And what would Calhoun, then coöperating with the Whigs, have said to the author's contention that that chaotic party was committed to 'Clay's nationalist policy'?" Despite the jockeying of leaders in Congress, the opposition party in the north and central South was made up preponderantly of nationalists (A. C. Cole, *The Whig Party in the South*, p. 45; T. P. Abernethy, "The Origin of the Whig Party in Tennessee", *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, XII. 510-511).

The University of Virginia, February 1, 1933. T. P. ABERNETHY.

HISTORICAL NEWS

AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

The following are the principal items from the Treasurer's Report (Dec. 1, 1931-Nov. 30, 1932), presented at Toronto.

Receipts and Expenditures, balanced at. \$143,046.37

Receipts:

Annual dues	11,793.28
Contributions	894.00
Interest	13,288.00
On Unrestricted Funds	\$6,747.01
Albert J. Beveridge Memorial Fund	4,204.25
Littleton-Griswold Fund	1,250.00

Special Grants:

Carnegie Corporation of New York, Commission on Social Studies	72,000.00
Rockefeller Foundation, for International Committee of Historical Sciences	8,000.00
American Council of Learned Societies:	
Bibliography of Travel	1,500.00
Conference on Problems of Graduate Study and Research	200.00
Social Science Research Committee, Committee on Research Planning	1,250.00

Expenditures, chief items:

Secretary and Treasurer	6,809.68
Committees of Management (Council, etc.)	1,523.58
Historical Activities (Commissions, Revolving Fund, etc.)	8,991.48
Commission on Social Studies	77,375.52
International Committee of Historical Sciences	8,000.00
Bibliography of Travel	2,147.95
Committee on Research Planning	1,534.14
<i>American Historical Review</i> (Copies to members)	8,538.17
(Editorial expenses)	4,540.00

Cash on deposit 10,013.05

The Budget for Fiscal Period December 1, 1932-November 30, 1933.

Receipts: Available for General Purposes:

Annual dues	\$ 10,500.00
Registration fees	300.00
Interest on unrestricted funds	5,250.00
Publications	1,700.00
Balance on hand, Dec. 1, 1932	1,213.71

\$ 18,963.71

Expenditures for General Purposes:

Washington Office, rent, salaries, supplies, etc.....	\$ 4,990.00
Contingent fund	600.00
Editorial service, <i>Annual Report</i>	700.00
Council	600.00
Annual Meeting	675.00
Pacific Coast Branch	450.00
Contribution to international Committee of Historical Sciences	100.00

Total.....\$ 8,115.00

For Historical Activities

Historical Manuscripts Commission.....	\$ 100.00
Public Archives Commission.....	400.00
Conference of Historical Societies.....	25.00
Writings on American History.....	500.00
Dues in American Council of Learned Societies.....	75.00
Bibliography of Travel	500.00
International Bibliography	200.00

Total.....\$ 1,800.00

For *American Historical Review*

Appropriation representing Net Cost to the Association of the
Review, including copies supplied to Members.....\$ 8,200.00

Grand Total.....\$ 18,115.00

The Officers and Committees of the American Historical Association for the year 1933 are:

President, Charles A. Beard, New Milford, Conn.

First Vice President, William E. Dodd, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill.

Second Vice President, Michael I. Rostovtzeff, Yale University, New Haven, Conn.

Executive Secretary, Conyers Read, 226 South 16th Street, Philadelphia, Pa.

Secretary, Dexter Perkins, University of Rochester, Rochester, N. Y.

Treasurer, Constantine E. McGuire, 40 B Street, S. W., Washington, D. C.

Assistant Secretary-Treasurer, Patty W. Washington, 40 B street, S. W., Washington, D. C.

Editor of the Annual Report, Lowell Joseph Ragatz, George Washington University, Washington, D. C.

Council (ex officio) the president, vice presidents, secretary, and treasurer; (elected members) Dixon Ryan Fox, Ulrich B. Phillips, Charles W. Ramsdell, Christopher B. Coleman, Sidney B. Fay, Bernadotte E. Schmitt, John D. Hicks, Julian P. Bretz; (former presidents) J. Franklin Jameson, Albert Bushnell Hart, Andrew C. McLaughlin, George L. Burr, Worthington C. Ford, Charles H. Haskins, Edward P. Cheyney, Charles M. Andrews, Henry Osborn Taylor, James H. Breasted, James Harvey Robinson, Evarts B. Greene, Carl Becker, Herbert E. Bolton.

Executive Committee of the Council: William E. Lingelbach, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pa., chairman; Charles A. Beard, Sidney B. Fay, Dixon Ryan Fox; (*ex officio*) Dexter Perkins, Constantine E. McGuire.

Board of Trustees: Conyers Read, 226 South 16th Street, Philadelphia, Pa., chairman; Raymond N. Ball, Guy Emerson, Fairfax Harrison, Thomas I. Parkinson.

Officers of the Pacific Coast Branch: *President*, Charles E. Chapman, University of California; *Vice President*, William H. Ellison, Santa Barbara State College; *Secretary-Treasurer*, Carl F. Brand, Stanford University; *Executive Committee:* (the above) and Meribeth Cameron, Osgood Hardy, H. A. Hubbard, W. N. Sage; *Editors of the Pacific Historical Review:* Donald G. Barnes, Dan E. Clark, Cardinal Goodwin, George P. Hammond, Herbert I. Priestley, Payson J. Treat; John C. Farish, managing editor.

Committee on Program for the Forty-eighth Annual Meeting: W. S. Robertson, 806 Florida Avenue, Urbana, Ill., chairman; Conyers Read, 226 South 16th Street, Philadelphia, Pa., secretary; R. G. Caldwell, Dixon Ryan Fox, Albert Hyma, R. J. Kerner, Frederick Merk, R. A. Newhall, J. F. Rippy, Jonathan F. Scott, Caroline Ware, Allen B. West, Stanley Williams; and (*ex officio*) Charles A. Beard, Christopher B. Coleman, Dexter Perkins, Oscar C. Stine.

Committee on Local Arrangements for the Forty-eighth Annual Meeting: Albert J. Harno, University of Illinois, Urbana, Ill., chairman.

Committee on Nominations: John C. Parish, University of California at Los Angeles, Los Angeles, Calif., chairman; Dumas Malone, Louise P. Kellogg, Arthur E. R. Boak, James P. Baxter, 3rd.

Board of Editors of American Historical Review: Henry E. Bourne (*ex officio* as Managing Editor), 40 B Street, S. W., Washington, D. C.; Arthur C. Cole, Verner W. Crane, Tenney Frank, James Westfall Thompson, Charles Seymour, J. F. Rippy.

Historical Manuscripts Commission: J. G. de Roulhac Hamilton, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, N. C., chairman; Charles W. Ramsdell, L. W. Labaree, A. O. Craven, Edgar E. Robinson.

Public Archives Commission: A. R. Newsome, North Carolina Historical Commission, Raleigh, N. C., chairman; Victor H. Paltsits, Margaret C. Norton, Stewart Mitchell, E. E. Dale, Julian P. Boyd.

Committee on Bibliography of Modern British History: Edward P. Cheyney, R. F. D. No. 3, Media, Pa., chairman; Arthur L. Cross, Godfrey Davies, R. B. Merriman, Wallace Notestein, Conyers Read, Caroline F. Ware.

Committee on Publications: Leo F. Stock, 1017 Michigan Avenue, N. E., Washington, D. C., chairman; the Editor of the *Annual Report*, Managing Editor of the *Review*, and chairmen of the Historical Manuscripts Commission, the Public Archives Commission, and the committees on Bibliography of Modern British History, the Bibliography of Travel, the Carnegie Revolving Fund for Publications, the Albert J. Beveridge Memorial Fund, and the Littleton-Griswold Fund.

Committee on Membership: Arthur J. May, University of Rochester, Rochester, N. Y., chairman; E. C. Kirkland, J. E. Pomfret, Alan K. Manchester, F. L. Benns, Lawrence D. Steefel, Wendell H. Stephenson, Thomas A. Bailey, Reginald G. Trotter.

Conference of Historical Societies: Christopher B. Coleman, Historical Bureau, Indianapolis, Ind., secretary.

Commission on the Social Studies in the Schools: A. C. Krey, The Library, University of Minnesota, Minneapolis, Minn., chairman; F. W. Ballou, Charles A. Beard, Isaiah Bowman, Ada L. Comstock, George S. Counts, Edmund E. Day, Guy Stanton Ford, C. J. H. Hayes, Ernest Horn, Henry Johnson, Leon C. Marshall, Charles E. Merriam, Jesse H. Newlon, W. T. Root, Jesse F. Steiner.

Delegates in the American Council of Learned Societies: Evarts B. Greene, Edward P. Cheyney.

Committee on the George Louis Beer Prize: R. C. Binkley, Western Reserve University, Cleveland, Ohio, chairman; Theodore Collier, M. B. Giffen.

Committee on the Documentary Historical Publications of the United States Government: Samuel F. Bemis, George Washington University, Washington, D. C., chairman; W. K. Boyd, Dumas Malone, Charles Moore, Joseph Schafer, St. George L. Sioussat, Leo F. Stock, Mark Sullivan, Charles Warren.

Representatives in the International Committee of Historical Sciences: Waldo G. Leland, 703 Insurance Building, Washington, D. C., Monsignor George Lacombe, 1000 Fulton Street, San Francisco, Calif.

Representatives of the Subcommission of the International Committee of Historical Sciences on Colonial History: William R. Shepherd, Columbia University, New York, N. Y., Lowell Joseph Ragatz, George Washington University, Washington, D. C.

Committee on the Jusserand Medal: Merle E. Curti, Smith College, Northampton, Mass., chairman; Gilbert Chinard, F. Stringfellow Barr.

Committee on the John H. Dunning Prize: James G. Randall, University of Illinois, Urbana, Ill., chairman; E. M. Coulter, J. L. Sellers.

Delegates in the Social Science Research Council: Guy Stanton Ford, Arthur M. Schlesinger, Carl Wittke.

Representatives in the Committee for the Encyclopaedia of the Social Sciences: C. J. H. Hayes, Carl Becker, C. H. Haring.

Committee on the Carnegie Revolving Fund for Publications: Edward P. Cheyney, R. F. D. No. 3, Media, Pa., chairman; Henry Commager, R. D. W. Connor, Howard L. Gray, Thomas J. Wertenbaker.

Committee on the Bibliography of Travel: Solon J. Buck, Historical Building, 4338 Bigelow Boulevard, Pittsburgh, Pa.

International Subcommittee on Chronology: Monsignor George Lacombe, 1000 Fulton Street, San Francisco, Calif.

Committee on the Albert J. Beveridge Memorial Fund: Ulrich B. Phillips, chairman; Roy F. Nichols, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pa., acting chairman; Arthur C. Cole.

Committee on the Littleton-Griswold Fund: Evarts B. Greene, 602 Fayerweather Hall, Columbia University, New York, N. Y., chairman; Charles

M. Andrews, Carroll T. Bond, John Dickinson, Felix Frankfurter, Richard B. Morris.

Committee on Finance: Constantine E. McGuire, 40 B Street, S. W., Washington, D. C., chairman; Mrs. Frank T. Griswold, Waldo G. Leland, Dexter Perkins, Conyers Read.

Committee on Radio: John A. Krout, Columbia University, New York, N. Y., chairman; Raymond L. Buell, R. D. W. Connor, William E. Dodd, Ralph H. Gabriel.

One of the recommendations of the Committee on the Planning of Research which the Council endorsed was the adoption by graduate schools of the requirement that two copies of unpublished doctoral dissertations be deposited in the library of the university granting the degree. This would make possible the loan of one copy to other libraries as occasion demanded. The Council asked Dr. Read, the executive secretary, to enlist the coöperation of all graduate schools to this end. Dr. Read has written a letter to the deans in which he remarks that the "regulation requiring the deposit of doctoral dissertations in the university library is fairly common, but in view of the fact that only one copy is ordinarily deposited the university librarian very properly declines to allow this copy to leave its shelves. The consequence is that unprinted doctoral dissertations are in a large measure virtually inaccessible and a great deal of scholarly work is to all intents and purposes buried as soon as it is completed." The executive secretary desires to know what graduate schools already make other requirements, especially if the requirement of printing exists, or what provisions exist for some distribution of the dissertations. The Association is, of course, primarily interested in dissertations in the field of history. As the Council desires to make a record of the practice of American graduate schools in this regard, the executive secretary desires to learn from the deans of the graduate schools any action taken with reference to the suggested requirement of deposit of dissertations, what arrangement is made for rendering these dissertations accessible to scholars, and, if publication of dissertations is required, whether this condition must be met before the degree is conferred, or, if not, within a definite period thereafter. Any other information bearing upon actual practice will be welcomed.

Another section of the *Annual Report* of the Association for 1929 has appeared: *Writings on American History*, compiled by Grace Gardner Griffin (Washington, Government Printing Office, 1933, pp. xxvi, 388, \$1.00).

The American Council of Learned Societies

The annual meeting of the Council was held at Philadelphia on January 28 and 29. A tribute to the late Dana C. Munro, who had been chairman of the advisory board, presented by Mr. E. P. Cheyney, Mr. J. Frankin Jameson, and Mr. W. E. Lingelbach, was adopted as a resolution of the Council. A message of greeting was sent to Professor Charles H. Haskins, the first chair-

man of the Council. The treasurer reported that the expenditures for general purposes during the past year had been \$161,122.52, and that a sum slightly larger was available for the current year. Among the projects of special interest to historical students, which it was decided to further, was the Linguistic Atlas: a Study of New England Speech. The Library of Congress Gift Fund was to receive a grant for the completion and publication of the Census of Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts, and for the compilation of a Catalogue of Alchemical Manuscripts. The American Historical Association was to receive grants for the completion of a Bibliography of American Travel, a Bibliographical Guide to the Opinion-forming Press of the United States, and for the preparation of the annual volume of *Writings on American History*. To the Mediaeval Academy of America were voted grants for the completion of an edition of Servius, *Commentaries on Virgil*, and for editing selected texts of Averroes, *Commentaries on Aristotle*. In the field of Ancient history and archæology provision was made to assist the American School for Classical Studies in Athens in carrying forward the excavations at Corinth, and a grant was made through the University of Chicago to Professor R. J. Bonner and Professor Gertrude Smith for the expense of preparing volume II. of the *History of the Administration of Justice in Ancient Greece*. Goucher College was granted aid toward the expenses of volume II. of *Cuneiform Inscriptions*, by R. F. Dougherty. Certain projects carried on under the auspices of the Union Académique Internationale were also aided; dictionaries of Medieval, and British Medieval Latin, and an edition of the Beryer-Holloman collection relating to Customary Law in the Philippine Islands. In addition to these, grants were made for other projects in the fields of humanistic studies, as well as provision for graduate fellowships and grants-in-aid.

The Historical Congress at Warsaw

The preliminary program of the Sixth International Congress of the Historical Sciences has now been issued. It is an impressive document. A veritable galaxy of historians is to be present judging from the list of those who are to give papers in the various sections. These sections are as follows: Auxiliary Sciences, Archives, Organization of Historical Work; Prehistory and Archæology; Ancient History; the Middle Ages and Byzantium; Modern and Contemporary History; History of Religions and Ecclesiastical History; History of Law and Institutions; Economic and Social History; History of Science, Pure Science and Medicine; History of Letters; History of Art; Historical Method and Theory; Teaching of History and History of Eastern Europe. Besides these, six special sessions are devoted to Historical Geography, Nationalism, Demography, etc. The Americans who appear on this program are B. W. Bond, jr., Earl Cranston, Stephen D'Irsay, F. M. Fling, L. R. Gottschalk, C. L. Grose, C. J. H. Hayes, George Lacombe, W. G. Le-

land, L. J. Ragatz, Jacob Shatzky, and Solomon Zeitlin. The large number of French delegates—over eighty—may be in part explained as a compliment to an allied state. Included among them are many of the most distinguished historians of Paris and the provincial universities. Germany, however, is also well represented by such names as Brackmann, Brandenburg, Grabmann, Hoetzsch, and Kulischer. The Congress will be opened on Monday, August 21, and will last eight days, seven being spent in Warsaw and the eighth day in Cracow. Favorable rates have been obtained from the railroads and hotels. Sightseeing excursions are planned. The secretary general of the organizing committee is Professor Tadeusz Manteuffel, of the University of Warsaw. Americans who expect to attend the Congress may obtain further information at the office of Dr. W. G. Leland, Council of Learned Societies, 907 15th St., Washington, D. C.

PERSONAL

There are few men whose loss from the historical profession could have brought such a realization of deprivation and sense of regret as that produced by the sudden death of Professor Dana C. Munro. He died of pneumonia after but a few days illness in a hospital in New York on January 13, 1933. He had been up to the time of his illness in good health and full vigor, occupied with many scholarly and personal activities and plans. His life had been one of unusual balance between teaching, administrative, and literary work, and between travel and the quiet enjoyment of home surroundings.

Professor Munro was born on June 7, 1866, in Bristol, Rhode Island, where his family had lived for five generations. He graduated from Brown University in 1887 and received advanced degrees from that institution in 1890 and 1912. He studied for a short time in Germany and taught three years in high schools. During the years 1892 and 1893 he carried on post-graduate study at the University of Pennsylvania and in 1893 was appointed instructor and subsequently assistant professor of Medieval history there. From 1902 to 1915 he was professor of European history at the University of Wisconsin and from 1915 till his death he was professor of Medieval history at Princeton. He early became interested in the period of the Crusades and at various times made different aspects of that period the subject of his teaching courses, seminars, and public addresses. The Crusades were also the subject of his course of Lowell Institute Lectures. These he prepared for publication and they will probably appear at an early date. He planned to write an extended history of the Crusades and twice visited the Near East to obtain greater clearness of knowledge of the surroundings and conditions of those events.

In 1903 he published a volume of *Essays on the Crusades*. He also wrote several well-known textbooks in Ancient and Medieval history, among them *The Middle Ages* (1921), and translated and edited several numbers of the

University of Pennsylvania Translations and Reprints. Throughout his career he was a frequent contributor of book reviews to historical journals.

While in Philadelphia and engaged in his study of the Middle Ages he was invited by Henry C. Lea to make use of his library and so became intimate with the great Church historian, who repeatedly mentioned to the writer of this sketch his enjoyment of his conversations with Munro. On the other hand, his description of Mr. Lea's methods of work and reminiscences of their intercourse have been placed on record by him in various articles.

At Wisconsin he shared in the administrative work of the university, and was active in the State Historical Society and the Wisconsin Academy, and president of the latter from 1912 to 1915. During the World War he was research assistant to the Committee on Public Information and later chairman of the National Board of Historical Service. In this connection he prepared and issued two pamphlets, *German War Practices* and *German Treatment of Conquered Countries*. He was active in the affairs of the American Historical Association and was its president in 1925-1926. On this occasion his former students presented him with a volume of studies, most of which were in the field of Medieval history and all of which reflected his critical influence and scholarly ideals.

In 1928, when Professor Jameson felt it necessary to withdraw from the managing editorship of this journal and arrangements could not at the time be made to place it in charge of a permanent editor, Professor Munro agreed to take the editorship for a year and was in charge of the volume for the year 1928-1929. In the same year the recently formed Council of Learned Societies felt the need of preparatory study of the various projects brought before it for discussion and recommendation to the great foundations for subsidy or support, and set up an Advisory Board of which Professor Munro was made chairman and so remained till his death. His judicial temperament and his appreciation of the importance or recognition of the impracticability of the proposals that were being brought in constantly increasing numbers before the council made his advice and service in this position invaluable. He spent much time during his later years in reëditing Paetow's *Guide to the Study of Medieval History*. He became president of the Medieval Academy in 1930 and remained so till his death. He was active in the affairs of the American Philosophical Society. He was a fellow of the Royal Historical Society.

It is not yet known how near his large work on the Crusades is to completion. He was recognized as the most eminent authority in that field and the importance of the publication of a new and scholarly treatment of that whole subject has been long recognized. Many interruptions, his editorial and administrative work, and his high scholarly standards have prevented its more rapid progress. He was working upon it during the last few months of his life and was anticipating early opportunity for more continuous writing

when he should have retired from teaching, as he would have done at an early period. But it is for his influence as a teacher and guide of advanced students, for his ready appreciation and encouragement of other men's work, for his many services in the cause of scholarship and for his warm, kindly nature that Professor Munro will be especially remembered. A host of students and colleagues valued his friendship and will feel the world poorer for his loss.

E. P. C.

Charles Henry Smith, professor of American history in Yale University from 1890 to 1910, died on February 15 at the age of 90. Prior to his service at Yale he had been a member of the faculty of Bowdoin College for sixteen years.

Arthur Cushman McGiffert, distinguished Church historian, died on February 26 at the age of 71. After being graduated from Western Reserve College in 1882 and from Union Theological Seminary in 1885, he studied abroad, especially at the universities of Berlin and Marburg. He began his career as a teacher in Lane Seminary in 1888, and in 1893 he became professor of Church history in Union Theological Seminary, where he remained until his retirement in 1927. He was president of the seminary from 1917 to 1926. Among his writings were *A History of Christianity in the Apostolic Age* (1897); *The Apostles Creed: its Origin, and its Historical Interpretation* (1902); *Martin Luther, the Man and his Work* (1911); *Jonathan Edwards* (1932); and *A History of Christian Thought*, of which the first two volumes had appeared before his death. The second volume takes the subject as far as Erasmus.

The sudden death on December 9, 1932 of Professor A. Elizabeth Levett is a great loss to the study of Medieval economic history. She was born in 1881, at Bodiam, Sussex, took a brilliant first in the modern history school in Oxford and an M. A. in 1907, studied for some time in Paris at the École des Chartes and the École des Hautes Études. In 1910 she became history tutor, and later also vice principal of St. Hilda's College, Oxford. In 1923 she went to London as history tutor in King's College, University of London, and in 1929 became professor of history in Westfield College, University of London. Her publications were chiefly in the field of early English history and were of much importance. She published a volume on the *Effects of the Black Death on the Estates of the Bishopric of Winchester* (Oxford Studies, vol. V., 1916), and various articles on economic subjects, especially on the material at St. Albans, in the *Transactions* of the Royal Historical Society (1924), in the *F. Lot Mélanges* (1925), and in the *Economic History Review*, of which she was an editor. She was, at the time of her death, engaged upon a very important study, eagerly awaited, of the court rolls of St. Albans. N. N.

Archibald Henry Sayce, distinguished Orientalist, died on February 4 at the age of 87. Among the positions held by him was the chair of Assyriology at Oxford, 1891-1919. He was a prolific writer. A few titles may be selected: *Records of the Past*, first and second series (1874-1877, 1888-1892); *The Ancient Empires of the East* (1884); *The Hittites* (1889); *Babylonians and Assyrians: Life and Customs* (1899); *Aramaic Papyri discovered at Assouan* (1906); and *The Archæology of Cuneiform Inscriptions* (1907).

Announcement is made of the appointment of visiting professors for the summer sessions of the following universities: *California* [Berkeley] Adriaan Barnouw, Carleton Beals, Waldemar Westergaard; *California* [Los Angeles] Robert J. Kerner, Ephraim Lipson; *Chicago*, Bernard Faÿ; *Colorado*, R. D. W. Connor, Emily G. Hickman, C. H. Oldfather; *Columbia*, Carl Becker, R. G. Caldwell, A. T. Olmstead, Nathaniel Schmidt, Carl Stephenson; *Cornell*, Leo Gershow, Horace Kidger; *Duke*, E. M. Coulter, E. M. Hulme, Ross McLean; *Harvard*, F. B. Artz, J. W. Pratt, H. D. Jordan; *Johns Hopkins*, J. L. Glanville; *Michigan*, P. V. B. Jones; *Missouri*, Louis Pelzer; *Nebraska*, Donald McFayden, R. E. Reynolds; *Northwestern*, W. P. Webb; *Pennsylvania State*, W. H. Eddy, P. W. Gates; *Stanford*, G. S. Ford; *Virginia*, C. C. Pearson; *West Virginia*, C. W. Ramsdell; *Western Reserve*, Huntley Dupre.

Professor E. E. Curtis, of Wellesley College, is on leave of absence for the current semester, and Professor Laura A. White, of the University of Wyoming, is taking his place.

Mr. James Truslow Adams, the historian, has been elected a Fellow of the Royal Society of Literature.

Professor John C. Parish, of the University of California, has received a research appointment for the coming summer at the Huntington Library.

It is proposed to present to Professor James Tait on his seventieth birthday, June 19, a volume of essays to commemorate his services to history and to many historians, his former students. The volume will be edited by Mr. V. H. Galbraith, of Balliol, Mr. J. G. Edwards, of Jesus College, and Professor E. F. Jacob, one of Dr. Tait's successors in the Manchester School of History. Subscriptions may be sent to Mr. H. M. McKechnie, 38 Derby Road, Fallowfield, Manchester.

The Société des Amis du Prince de Ligne (1735-1814) requests photostat copies of letters of the prince or addressed to him. The expense will be paid by the society which is preparing the *Correspondance Générale du Prince de Ligne*. Communications may be addressed to the Secrétaire général, M. Félicien Leuridan, Avenue de Visé, 92, at Watermael lez Bruxelles, Belgium.

GENERAL

General review: Paul Van Tieghem, *Histoire Littéraire Générale et Comparée, Seizième Compte Rendu Annuel* (Rev. de Synthèse, Dec.); H.

Zatschek, *Bericht über die Neuerscheinungen auf dem Gebiete der Urkundenlehre 1930* (Mittel. des Oesterr. Inst. für Geschichtsforsch., XLVI. 3-4); Renato d'Ambrosio, *Rassegna di Storia della Filosofia* (N. Riv. Stor., July); Julius Neubauer, *Die Wirtschaftsstatistischen Methoden* (Zeitsch. für die Gesamte Staatswissenschaft, XCIII. 3); Paul Dudon, *Pour Écrire l'Histoire d'une Congrégation Religieuse* (Rev. d'Hist. de l'Église de France, Oct.).

The American Catholic Historical Association reports the Toronto meeting, December 27-29, to have been the most successful as well as the most pleasant in its history. Not only did the membership show some gain in spite of the depression, but with increased publication activities the treasury was found to be in a healthy condition. The committee on publications announced the appearance of vol. II. of the association's Papers (*The Church in Contemporary Europe*), and the early printing (in April) of vol. I. of its series of Documents: *United States Ministers to the Papal States, Instructions and Despatches*, edited by Leo Francis Stock. Dr. James F. Kenney's presidential address, on the Relations between Church and State in Canada since the Cession of 1763, appeared in the January number of the *Catholic Historical Review*. Officers elected for 1933 include: Dr. Constantine E. McGuire, president; Dr. Michael Williams and the Rev. Gilbert J. Garraghan, S. J., vice presidents; Dr. Peter Guilday, secretary; and the Rev. John K. Cartwright, treasurer. At the meeting preliminary steps were taken for the organization of the Canadian Catholic Historical Association. L. F. S.

An instrument valuable to the historian is the *List of Serial Publications of Foreign Governments, 1815-1931*, edited by Winifred Gregory, for the American Council of Learned Societies, the American Library Association, and the National Research Council (H. W. Wilson Company, 1932). The committee in charge was Mr. J. T. Gerould, chairman, Princeton University Library, Mr. H. M. Lydenberg, the New York Public Library, and Mr. H. H. B. Meyer, the Library of Congress. This monumental task was begun in 1927, and part of the task had to be carried on in European capitals. The editor's introduction explains her method of procedure.

The 1933 issue of the *Political Handbook of the World*, edited by Walter H. Mallory (Harper and Brothers, for the Council on Foreign Relations, pp. 202, \$2.50), is an indispensable reference book like its predecessors, but the number of recent political overturns gives this volume additional interest. Significant of the decay of parliamentary and party institutions is the number of times the word "Coalition", or a phrase of similar meaning, is prefixed to the word "Cabinet". It was inevitable that certain of the indications should become past history even while the book was going through the press; Paul Boncour, for example, as premier, and Kurt von Schleicher as chancellor. The section on the United States in a year when the administration changes was, for analogous reasons, difficult to arrange in such a way as to be correct

and serviceable, but the solution adopted looks like a vagary of the "lame duck" concept. Although the volume appeared in February when Mr. Hoover was still President, we do not find his name in the appropriate place, but instead that of Mr. Roosevelt as President-elect. No cabinet officers are mentioned; only an announcement that they are to be appointed on March 4. When that day arrived these items became out of date. Instead of having a statement that would be complete and correct at least a part of the year, we have one that is incomplete all the year.

At a Conférence Internationale pour l'Enseignement de l'Histoire, held last summer at The Hague, it was decided to form a permanent organization and to publish a quarterly *Bulletin*. The aim of the *Bulletin* will be to lay before teachers the differing points of view from which a particular historical question may be approached on one side or another of any great national frontier. For this purpose each number will contain typical extracts from the most widely used historical manuals, followed by criticisms written by historians belonging to a nationality different from that of the author. The general field of history will be divided into two series: Antiquity and the Middle Ages, Modern and Contemporary Times. There is no intention of eliminating the national type of history; it is hoped simply to keep history from being deformed by the spirit of hostility and prejudice. The *Bulletin* will also contain sections on bibliography, congresses, and surveys. The president of the conference is Professor R. Altamira, the distinguished Spanish historian. The editors of the *Bulletin* are Professor Jules Isaac and M. G. Lapierre, secretary of the Fédération Internationale des Associations d'Instituteurs. Those who wish to join the organization and receive the *Bulletin* may communicate with M. Lapierre at the Institut de Coopération Intellectuelle, 2 Rue Montpensier, Paris (I.). The fee is one dollar for individuals, and \$4.00 for associations.

The Department of Historical Research, Carnegie Institution of Washington, has issued a *List of Doctoral Dissertations in History now in Progress at the Chief American Universities, December, 1932*.

The *Revue Historique* has printed its *Dixième Table Générale*, which includes vols. CLI. (1926)–CLXVIII. (1931).

It is fifty years since M. Henri Omont, "Conservateur" of the department of manuscripts of the Bibliothèque Nationale, began his work of editing catalogues of the most important manuscripts in this vast collection. At the same time he has been engaged in publishing notices of the manuscripts especially precious and remarkable. These works touch the domains of Greek and Latin studies, of the literature of the Middle Ages, of paleography, diplomatics, illumination, printing, and libraries. The volumes are a mine of information in regard to all such questions. There has now appeared a *Bibliographie des Travaux de Monsieur Henri Omont* at the price of 35 francs.

Order blanks may be secured from the American Council of Learned Societies, 907 Fifteenth Street, Washington, D. C.

The volumes entitled *Menschen die Geschichte Machten*, edited by Peter Richard Rohden and Georg Ostrogorsky, reviewed here a year ago, have won such a deserved success that they have appeared in a revised and enlarged edition (Vienna, L. W. Seidel and Son, 1933, pp. xi, 613; ix. 626, 13 M.). The distinguishing feature is a series of introductions to the periods of history to which the personages belong. These introductions are contributed by Albert Brackmann, Karl Brandi, Raymond Guyot, Heinrich Kretschmayr, Joachim Kühn, André Piganiol, Henri Sée, and Hans Erich Stier. They emphasize what is called the *geistesgeschichtliche Seite*. Although 140 pages have been added, the work is published in two volumes. Herr Peter Richard Rohden is the sole editor.

Students of historical geography will welcome the publication, *Premier Congrès International de Géographie Historique* (Brussels, 1930, 1932), edited by Professor F. Quicke of Brussels, secretary of the congress, held in Belgium in 1930; vol. I. (pp. 180) contains its proceedings, vol. II. (pp. 336), thirty-four of the papers read.

Dr. Solomon Zeitlin's essay entitled *An Historical Study of the Canonization of the Hebrew Scriptures*, originally printed in the *Proceedings* of the American Academy for Jewish Research, 1931-1932, has been issued separately.

A work by Mr. Eli Ginzberg entitled *Studies in the Economics of the Bible* which appeared originally in the *Jewish Quarterly Review*, vol. XXII., no. 4, has now been revised and published separately (Philadelphia, Jewish Publication Society of America, 1932, pp. 70).

Dr. Leonidas Pitamic, minister of Jugoslavia, has published in a revised and more complete form his *Treatise on the State* (Baltimore, J. H. Furst, 1933, pp. x, 301), originally printed in Slovene in 1927 by the Society of St. Mohor.

The presidential address of Dr. William F. Willoughby at the twenty-eighth annual meeting of the Political Science Association, entitled A Program for Research in Political Science, appears in the *American Political Science Review* for February.

To the Century Earth Science Series, edited by Kirtley F. Mather, has been added a volume entitled *The Geographic Factor: its Rôle in Life and Civilization*, by Ray H. Whitbeck and Olive J. Thomas, of the department of geography, the University of Wisconsin (Century Company, 1932, pp. xv, 422, \$2.25).

Articles: André Blum, *Les Origines du Papier* (Rev. Hist., Nov.);

Philip C. Jessup and Francis Deák, *The Early Development of the Law of Contraband of War* [I., II.] (Pol. Sci. Quar., Dec., Mar.); Robert C. Clark, *Why History Needs to be Rewritten* (Oregon Hist. Quar., Dec.).

ANCIENT HISTORY

The editors of the *Musée Belge* announce that circumstances compel the discontinuance of this journal with the issue of the current numbers.

The Year's Work in Classical Studies (1932) reviews books and articles in Greek and Roman history published between June, 1931, and June, 1932. Besides the papyrological review published regularly in *Aegyptus*, there is a Bulletin Papyrologique by P. Collart in the *Revue des Études Grecques* for December. In the *Archiv für Papyrusforschung* (X. 3-4), U. Wilcken reviews recent publications of papyri, and L. Wenger continues his review of legal literature. E. Schönbauer's Rechtshistorische Urkundenstudien in the same number may also be noted. De Lacy O'Leary contributes a bibliography of Christian Egypt to the *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* for November.

In *Art and Archaeology* (December) H. W. Wagstaffe describes the excavations of Mohenjo Daro. The preliminary report of the excavations at Tell el-Amarna, 1931-1932, by J. D. S. Pendelbury, appears in the *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* (November). Comte du Mesnil du Buisson reports in *Syria* (1932, 2) on the excavations at Khan Shikoun. E. A. Speiser gives an account of the joint excavations at Tepe Gawra in the *American Journal of Archaeology* for December. A report of the year's work in Palestinian archæology appears in the *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Palästina-Vereins* (LV. 4). C. F. Lehmann-Haupt also gives a review of new discoveries in *Klio* (XXVI. 1). The Excavations at Troy, 1932, by C. W. Blegen in the *American Journal of Archaeology* for December is important, and special interest also attaches to the report by T. L. Shear, in the same number, of the excavations in the Agora. One may also note Y. Béquignon and P. Devambez on the excavations in Thasos, 1925-1931, in the *Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique* (LVI. 1). R. G. Collingwood and M. V. Taylor report on Roman finds in Britain during 1931 in the *Journal of Roman Studies* (1932, 2).

A number of articles have appeared recently dealing with questions in economic history. A. Kocevalov in *Rheinisches Museum* (LXXXI. 4) studies the importation of corn at Athens. G. Glotz in the *Revue Historique*, December, discusses the finances of Athens from 346 to 339 B. C. with reference to Demosthenes. R. Scalais contributes a rather lengthy and important article on the agrarian policy of Rome from the Punic wars to the Gracchi, in the *Musée Belge* (XXXIV. 7-10). Tenney Frank, in the *American Journal of Philology* for December, concludes from a study of the sum which accumulated in the *acerarium sanctius* between 81 and 49 B. C.

that the rate of manumission in Rome during that period averaged 16,000 persons per annum. In *Classical Philology*, January, the same author seeks to show that the equestrian corporations in Rome did not have an opportunity to make huge profits before 150 B. C. One may note also A. Calderini's Nuove Schede del Censimento Romano d'Egitto, in *Aegyptus* (December), and F. Heichelheim's study in *Klio* (XXVI. 1), of the crisis relating to prices and values in the Roman empire during the third century A. D.

A group of articles may be noted which deal with questions of historiography and the criticism of primary documents: J. Sturm on the dating of the El-Amarna letters, in *Klio* (XXVI. 1); C. A. Robinson, jr., in the *American Journal of Philology* (December), seeks to identify two notices from the *ephemerides* of Alexander's expedition; W. Ensslin, a note on the Res Gestae Divi Augusti, in *Rheinisches Museum* (LXXXI. 4); and Ch. Hülsen, in the same journal, on the new fragments of the *acta* of the Saecular Games of 204 A. D.

Studies on Scipio Africanus, by R. M. Haywood (Johns Hopkins Studies in Historical and Political Science, series LI. 1), is an interesting and distinctly worth-while piece of work. It is not an attempt to write a biography of Scipio but to discuss some unsettled problems connected with his character and career. The author's analysis of the Scipio legend into elements which were contemporary and elements which were later accretions is well carried out, although one may question how far Ennius was the creator and how far merely the exponent of a tradition. The author's attack upon Polybius's judgment of Scipio is plausible but depends on a rather uncertain factor, how much information Polybius actually received from Laelius. There follows a valuable study of the probable political associations of the chief public men of Rome during Scipio's dominance, of Scipio's own influence in holding Rome to a Philhellenic policy, and a fresh estimate of the sources and reconstruction of the events which concern the trials of the Scipios.

The *History of the Roman Republic* by Cyril E. Robinson (Crowell) continues the series of textbooks in which he has published his *History of Greece*. It is a good textbook which presents much information in a clear and straightforward fashion, and has many maps. It touches on almost all aspects of Roman political, imperial, and cultural developments from the beginning to the death of Caesar, and seems to be well abreast of the chief results of recent historical research.

A volume entitled *Mélanges Gustav Glotz*, in honor of the well-known French historian, contains eighty-one articles or memoirs. Among the contributors are Professors W. S. Ferguson, Tenney Frank, M. I. Rostovtzeff, and A. B. West. It is published by Les Presses Universitaires de France (pp. 940, 150 fr.).

Articles: E. A. Speiser, *On some Important Synchronisms in Prehistoric Mesopotamia* (Amer. Jour. Arch., Dec.); M. V. Oppenheimer, *Tell Halaf: la plus Ancienne Civilisation Soubaréenne de Mésopotamie* (Syria, 1932, 2); T. J. C. Baly, *The Relation of the Eleventh Dynasty and the Heracleopolitans* (Jour. Egypt. Arch., Nov.); J. M. P. Smith, *The Indebtedness of Israel to its Neighbours* (Amer. Jour. Sem. Lang., Jan.); M. Mühl, *Untersuchungen zur Altorientalischen und Althellenischen Gesetzgebung* (Klio, Beiheft 29); H. T. Wade-Gery, *The Laws of Cleisthenes* (Class. Quart., Jan.); H. G. Robertson, *Democracy and Oligarchy under the Athenian Empire* (Class. Phil., Jan.); F. Miltner, *Die Staatsrechtliche Entwicklung des Alexanderreiches* (Klio, XXVI., 1); M. Hadas, *The Social Revolution in Third Century Sparta* (Class. Weekly, Dec. 12, 19); M. Roussel, *Delphes et l'Amphictionie après la Guerre d'Aitolie* (Bull. Corr. Hell., LVI. 1); J. Bidez, *La Cité du Monde et la Cité du Soleil chez les Stoïciens* (Académie Royale de Belgique, Bull., Lettres, XVIII. 7-9); W. W. Tarn, *The Oarage of Greek Warships* (Mariner's Mirror, Jan.); P. Fraccaro, *La Storia dell' Antichissimo Esercito Romano* (Atti del 2° Cong. Naz. di Studi Rom., V. 3); E. T. Salmon, *The Last Latin Colony* (Class. Quart., Jan.); G. de Sanctis, *La Origine dell' Edilità Plebea* (Riv. di Filol., Dec.); F. B. Marsh, *The Gangster in Roman Politics* (Class. Jour., Dec.); W. W. Tarn, *Alexander Helios and the Golden Age* (Jour. Rom. Stud., 1932, 2); Ch. Jusserand, *La Testament de Claude* (Musée Belge, XXXIV. 7-10); H. Box, *Roman Citizenship in Laconia, [II.]* (Jour. Rom. Stud., 1932, 2); A. Solari, *Il Non Intervento nel Conflitto tra la Persia e Valente* (Klio, XXVI., 1); Oskar Ring, *Das Basilusproblem* (Zeitsch. für Kirchengesch., 1932, III., IV.).

T. R. S. B.

MEDIEVAL HISTORY

General review: Henri Laurent, *Les Travaux de M. Henri Pirenne sur la Fin du Monde Antique et Les Débuts du Moyen Age* (Byzantion, VII. 2, 1932); Carlo Cecchelli, *Civiltà Medievale* (N. Antol., Feb. 1).

The Mediaeval Academy of America has recently published *Borough and Town, a Study of Urban Origins in England*, by Carl Stephenson and *Ordination Anointings in the Western Church before 1000 A. D.*, by Gerald Ellard as nos. 7 and 8 of its Monograph Series.

The Revue Historique du Droit Français et Étranger for October, 1932, contains digests of sixteen important papers delivered during the Semaine d'Histoire du Droit Normand held at Caen last June.

Isis for January contains the Thirty-Fourth Critical Bibliography of the History and Philosophy of Science and of the History of Civilization (to March 1932).

Articles: G. Ostrogorsky, *Löhne und Preise in Byzanz* (Byzant. Zeitsch.,

XXXII. 2); F. Dölger, *Die Chronologie des Grossen Feldzuges des Kaisers Johannes Tzimiskes gegen die Russen* (*ibid.*); J. D. Stănescu, *Le Roman de Barlaam et Joasaph illustré en Peinture* (Byzantion, VII. 2, 1932); Bruno Krusch, *Die Handschriftlichen Grundlagen der Historia Francorum Gregors von Tours* (Hist. Vierteljahr., Jan.); François L. Ganshof, *Les Vicissitudes d'un Foyer de Civilisation Européen: le Pays Mosan avant le XIII^e Siècle* (Rev. de Synthèse, Dec.); P. Boissonnade, *Cluny, la Papauté et la Première Grande Croisade Internationale contre les Sarrasins d'Espagne, 1064-1065* (Rev. des Quest. Hist., Oct.); Carl Erdmann, *Endkaiser Glaube und Kreuzzugsgedanke im XI. Jahrhundert* (Zeitsch. für Kirchengesch., 1932, III., IV.); Henry L. Savage, *Hunting in the Middle Ages* (Speculum, Jan., 1933); G. G. Coulton, *A Sidelight on the Medieval Visitation System* (Eng. Hist. Rev., Jan.); Marc Bloch, *Le Problème de l'Or au Moyen Age* (An. Hist. Éc. et Soc. Jan.); H. Matrod, *A propos de Fr. André de Longjumeau, O. P.* (Études Franciscaines, Nov., 1932); Henri Laurent, *Droit des Foires et Droits Urbains aux XIII^e et XIV^e Siècles* (Rev. Hist. de Droit Français et Étranger, Oct.); Max A. Shepard, *William of Occam and the Higher Law* (Am. Pol. Sci. Rev., Dec., Feb.); S. Harrison Thomson, *Pre-Hussite Heresy in Bohemia* (Eng. Hist. Rev., Jan.); Carl Erdmann, *Kaiserfahne und Blutfahne* (Sitzungsber. der Preuss. Akad. der Wissenschaften, XXVIII., 1932); Paul Lehmann, *Die Grammatik aus Aldhelms Kreise* (Hist. Vierteljahr., Jan.); Werner Ohnsorge, "Kaiser" Konrad III.; *zur Geschichte des Staufischen Staatsgedankens* (Mitteil. des Oesterr. Inst. für Geschichtsforsch., XLVI. 3-4); F. Foscati, *Per il Commercio delle Armature e i Missaglia* (Arch. Stor. Lombardo, Nov.); A. Monteverdi, *Pier della Vigna nella "Imago Mundi" di Iacopo d'Acqui* (Studi Medievali, Nov., 1931 [1932]).

G. C. B.

MODERN EUROPEAN HISTORY

General review: Arthur P. Scott, *Some Recent Textbooks* (Jour. Mod. Hist., Mar.); Arved Freih. v. Taube, *Die Baltische Geschichtswissenschaft in der Nachkriegszeit* (Archiv für Kulturgesch., XXIII. 2).

Egon Friedell's *Cultural History of the Modern Age*, vol. II. of which was noticed in this journal (XXXVII. 625), has reached its conclusion in the English version by C. F. Atkinson with a third volume covering the period from the Congress of Vienna to the World War (Knopf, 1932, pp. ix, 489, xlix, \$5.00). The brilliancy of style and suggestiveness of ideas are once more striking. To a greater degree than in vol. II., the author emphasizes his belief in the fundamental irrationality of the historical process. "For world-history is not an equation, not even one with several solutions" (p. 478). Though he is more concrete and ironically humorous than Spengler, Friedell is the exponent of the same pessimistic philosophy of history, as appears from the titles of his six chapters, The Depth of Emptiness, the Discordant Song,

Bubble Business, Black Friday, Gone to the Devil, The Collapse of Reality. Yet the last chapter suggests that experimental psychology and experimental physics tend to show that "the soul is super-real". He thinks he detects "a faint gleam of light from the other side" and ends on the reassuring if slightly vague note that "the next chapter of European cultural history will be the history of this light".

E. N. C.

M. Maurice Paléologue's *Un Prélude à l'Invasion de Belgique: le Plan Schlieffen, 1904* (Paris, Plon, 1932, pp. 173, 9 fr.) is largely a reprint of extracts from the author's diary published in the October issue of the *Revue des Deux Mondes* as Pages de Journal, 1904-1905: les Révélations du Vengeur. The extracts relate, first, to the purported betrayal in the period from January to April, 1904, by a mysterious stranger, presumably a member of the German general staff, of the great Von Schlieffen plan, and second, to the Anglo-French-Belgian military conversations providing for close coöperation in case of war with Germany. According to Paléologue, the revelations of the *Vengeur* were not only a principal cause of the military understandings, but they furnish clear proof that Germany, and not the Allies, first impinged upon Belgian neutrality. But according to German military historians, the great Von Schlieffen plan was not adopted by the German general staff till April, 1905, that is, one entire year after the revelations of the *Vengeur*. According to them, the plan actually put into effect in April, 1904, was merely one of the annual editions of the plan of 1899, and provided only for the advance of the German right wing across the southern corner of Belgium, east, not west, of the Meuse. It would therefore have been impossible for the *Vengeur*, in 1904, to communicate the great Von Schlieffen plan with its provision for the advance of large bodies of troops through central Belgium west of the Meuse, a whole year before it was actually adopted. Further light is thrown on the question by the fact that the French military authorities were apparently not impressed by the revelations. Not only did Paléologue note this, but the subsequent plans of the French staff made no provision against the great German enveloping movement on the French left along both sides of the Meuse as described by Paléologue. On the contrary, they did provide against a German attack through Luxemburg and Belgium east of the Meuse. This may have been due to French possession of information of various sorts such as that contained in the several German *Kriegsspiele*, which became known to them. On the other hand, Fernand Engerand, a well-informed writer, asserts that the French were in possession of a German plan of concentration for such an attack east of the Meuse, a plan whose substance was published by Colonel Buat in March, 1914, and distributed to all officers designated for high command. Because of its nature, this plan could not have been of later date than 1904. The possibility suggests itself, therefore, that this was the plan actually communicated by the *Vengeur*, and that

Paléologue is in error about its nature. If the plan was really the more restricted one, the moral effect of the revelation cannot have been so great as with the plan Paléologue describes. We do know that the French general staff was not seriously disturbed, for it repressed as heretic alarmists such officers as Michel and Herment who called attention to the danger from the North. Furthermore, as late as 1911, the restricted German plan, and not the one described by Paléologue, was used in the conferences with the British. Why, if they had the larger and much more important plan, which supposedly caused such consternation in 1904-1905, was it overlooked? In view of these questions it is doubtful whether the revelations and their interpretation can be accepted at face value.

W. E. L.

Francisco de Vitoria is a series of addresses in commemoration of the fourth centenary of Vitoria's "De Indis" and "De Iure Belli", which were delivered at the Catholic University of America on May 1, 1932. The speakers were Reverend Charles H. McKenna, Professor Herbert Wright, and Dr. James Brown Scott. Professor Wright is editor of the pamphlet.

Dr. Jan Romein, one of whose volumes is reviewed on another page, has given a survey of the present situation of the world and its leading peoples in *Machten van dezen Tijd: Overzicht van de voornaamste Problemen der Hedendaagsche Internationale Politiek* (Amsterdam, Wereldbibliotheek, 1932, pp. 424, 3.75 fl.).

The historian innocent of the technique of engineering, but desiring to include in his survey the achievements in that field, will discover a friend in need in a volume by two members of the Yale faculty, Richard Shelton Kirby and Philip Gustave Laurson, with the title *The Early Years of Modern Engineering* (Yale University Press, 1932, pp. xvi, 324, \$4.00). The primary purpose of the work is to give engineers a clearer knowledge of the history of their profession. It is abundantly illustrated. Its topical arrangement makes it a valuable reference book.

Articles: Hans A. Genzsch, *Die Anlage der Ältesten Sammlung von Briefen Enea Silvio Piccolominis* (Mitteil. des Oesterr. Inst. für Geschichtsfor., XLVI. 3-4); Wilhelm Stolze, *Der Geistige Hintergrund des Bauernkrieges: Erasmus und Luther* (Zeitsch. für Kirchengesch., 1932, III., IV.); Pierre Costil, *Paul Manuce et l'Humanisme à Padoue à l'Époque du Concile de Trente* (Rev. des Quest. Hist., Oct.); Diego Angeli, *L'Arte della Controriforma* (N. Antol., Feb. 1); John Horsch, *The Rise and Early History of the Swiss Brethren Church: the Beginnings at Zurich* [II.] (Mennonite Quar. Rev., Oct.); Pierre Monbeig, *Vie de Relations et Spécialisation Agricole: les Baléares au XVIII^e Siècle* (An. d'Hist. Éc. et Soc., Nov.); Jean Hankiss, *Les Caractères Nationaux et leur Représentation. Un Exemple: le Portrait du Hongrois dans l'Opinion Occidentale* (Rev. de Synthèse, Dec.);

J. Rutkowski, *Les Bases Économiques des Partages de l'Ancienne Pologne* (Rev. d'Hist. Mod., July); Ping Chia Kuo, *Caleb Cushing and the Treaty of Wanghia, 1844* (Jour. Mod. Hist., Mar.); B. H. Sumner, *The Secret Franco-Russian Treaty of 3 March 1859* (Eng. Hist. Rev., Jan.); Comte Sforza, *Au-tour d'Algésiras; Souvenirs Diplomatiques* (Rev. de Paris, Jan. 15); Hans Rothfels, *Studien zur Annexionskrise von 1908/09* (Hist. Zeitsch., Dec. 28); Hans Uebersberger, *Zur Vorkriegsgeschichte Serbiens* (Berl. Monatsh., Jan.); J. Isaac, *Le Problème des Origines de la Guerre: trois Solutions Américaines* [II.] (Rev. d'Hist. Mod., July); B. E. Schmitt, *The Origins of the War* (National Rev., Jan.).

Documents and letters; Helmut Eckert, ed., *Ein Gutachten des Mark-grafen Ludwig Wilhelm von Baden-Baden zu dem mit der Türkei zu Schliessenden Frieden aus dem Jahre 1698* (Mitteil. des Oesterr. Inst. für Geschichtsfor., XLVI. 3-4); Frederick W. Hoeing, ed., *Letters of Mazzini to W. J. Linton* (Jour. Mod. Hist., Mar.); Karl Demeter, ed., *Politische Berichte Ludwigs Frh. von Gebssattels, des Bayerischen Militärbevollmächtigten in Berlin 1905-1911* [I.] (Preuss. Jahr., Jan.).

GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND

Two of the contributions printed in vol. XV., fourth series, of the *Transactions* of the Royal Historical Society, have Sir Richard Lodge as their author. One is the presidential address on Sir Benjamin Keene, K. B.: A Study in Anglo-Spanish Relations; the other is an account of the Polwarth Papers, published by the Historical Manuscripts Commission. Three volumes have appeared and two are to follow. Evidently Sir Richard thinks that the editing leaves much to be desired and he is especially severe in regard to the practice in such a collection of translating dispatches originally written in French. Among the papers are: The Transference of Lands in England, 1640-1660, by Rev. H. Egerton Chesney, and The Secret Service under Charles II. and James II., by James Walker.

Two lectures before the British Academy are published as pamphlets in advance of vol. XVIII. of its *Proceedings* (London, Humphrey Milford): the Raleigh Lecture by Dr. G. G. Coulton on Some Problems in Medieval Historiography, severely dogmatic along characteristic lines, and a Henriette Hertz Lecture on Cicero by Professor Tenney Frank of the Johns Hopkins University, an appreciative treatment of the statesman, the orator, the philosopher, and especially the humanist.

Dr. Moses Tyson, librarian of the John Rylands Library, publishes in the January *Bulletin* the second Hand-List of Charters, Deeds, and Similar Documents in the Possession of the Library. The first list of similar material was begun by Dr. R. Fawtier, in 1925.

With the November *Bulletin* of the Institute of Historical Research appears the third *Supplement* containing the Guide to the Historical Publications of the Societies of England and Wales for 1931.

The most recent volume of the *Close Rolls of the Reign of Henry III.* covers the years 1256-1259 (H. M. Stationery Office, pp. vii, 584, 40s.).

In *The Growth of Modern England* (Constable) Dr. Gilbert Slater has revised and brought down to date his well known *Making of Modern England*.

The fourth volume of Hilaire Belloc's *History of England* (Putnam's, 1932, pp. xii, 457, \$4.00), covering the years from 1525 to 1612, is frankly not a contribution to the scholarship of the Reformation period, but rather an essay in reinterpretation, drawing its inspiration from Mr. Belloc's Roman Catholicism. The facts are, in most instances, Pollard's. Because Belloc does not share the great historian's "strong religious feeling", he allows more play for such factors as the greed of the laity for monastic property in his judgment of men and motives. Even in this, as in the views that the spread of the new religion was a slow and gradual process and that the Cecils were more powerful than their sovereigns, there is nothing original. Such ideas are already current in college textbooks, of which the volume is merely a glorified example. F. C. D.

The Scottish History Society has published in two volumes *The Warrender Papers*, for a long time supposed to be lost. They throw an important light upon many problems of Scottish history in the time of Queen Mary and of James VI. For one thing they give the commission from Pope Julius III. to Archbishop Hamilton of St. Andrews which conferred legatine powers. The main interest of the first volume centers about Mary Stuart, while the second volume carries the story to the eve of James's accession to the English throne. The editor is Annie I. Cameron, and Robert S. Rait has furnished an introduction.

The Oxinden Letters (Constable), edited by Dorothy Gardiner, is a useful addition to the collections of family correspondence on which students of English society in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries have to depend.

In *A Hundred Years of Quarter Sessions: the Government of Middlesex from 1660 to 1760*, E. G. Dodwell (Cambridge University Press) gives an account of the activities of the justices of the peace based on the quarter sessions records. Sir William Holdsworth contributes an introduction dealing chiefly with local government in the eighteenth century.

Vol. XIII., third series, of the *Register of the Privy Council of Scotland* includes the years 1686-1689. The editor is Henry Paton, and there is an introduction by Robert Kerr Hannay (Edinburgh, H. M. General Register House, pp. lxxvi, 735, 45s.).

The Navy Records Society has published vol. III. of *The Byng Papers*, covering the period from January, 1711, to October, 1717. The large-scale operations of the War of the Spanish Succession had already ceased, and the defense of trade against privateering was the main concern until the war ended. After that there were measures against the invasion of the Old Pretender and an expedition into the Baltic in 1717.

Gilbert Armitage's *The History of the Bow Street Runners, 1729-1829* (London, Wishart, 12s. 6d.), reminds the reader that London, like other large cities of the eighteenth century, had no police in the modern sense of the term. Henry Fielding, who in 1748 was appointed to the Commission of the Peace for Middlesex and Westminster, is regarded to have made a beginning of a paid police. The last of this succession of justices, Sir Richard Birnie, lived long enough to see the "Peelers" on duty.

Students who have read the long and interesting letter, written from Philadelphia, June 1, 1793, to William Windham and printed in the *Windham Papers* (ed. Rosebery), I. 121-136, under the heading "An Unknown Correspondent to William Windham", may like to know that the writer was the Vicomte de Noailles. This is shown by data in Philadelphia newspapers of the time.

A volume which deals with the time when Liverpool built ships as well as docked them is *Liverpool Ships in the Eighteenth Century, including the King's Ships built there*, by R. Stewart-Brown (Liverpool, the University Press, 1932, pp. 148, 10s. 6d.). One of the largest and finest ships, the *Hall* was designed by William Hutchinson. Her tonnage was 375, while the average tonnage for merchant ships of the period was 200. Liverpool's rôle as a shipbuilding center ended practically with the century, pushed aside by her interests as a port.

Sir Charles Mallet's *Herbert Gladstone: a Memoir* (Hutchinson) is a discriminating study of a secondary political figure who was always handicapped by being his father's son.

Mr. Winston S. Churchill's power as a chronicler of events, illustrated in his narratives of the World War, is exhibited once more, on a smaller scale, in a number of tales from his own experience entitled *Amid these Storms* (Scribner's, 1932, pp. 319, \$3.50). The Battle of Sidney Street is a fine example of his skill. As the subtitle, *Thoughts and Adventures*, suggests, there are chapters of comment on the present situation of the world. One chapter tells why, like another political leader of the present day, he is a collector of cartoons in which he is himself the principal figure.

An important contribution to a question now on the list of a troubled world's serious problems is *The Constitution of the Irish Free State*, by Leo

Kohn, with a foreword by Hon. Hugh Kennedy, chief justice of the Irish Free State (London, Allen and Unwin, pp. xv, 423, 16s.). Here is explained the incongruity of a state, republican in theory, set by the provisions of a treaty in a framework of a monarchy. The exact powers of all the officials are precisely stated.

Articles: R. R. Darlington, *Æthelwig, Abbot of Evesham* [I.] (Eng. Hist. Rev., Jan.); Geoffrey Baskerville, *Married Clergy and Pensioned Religious in Norwich Diocese* [I.] (*ibid.*); David and Gervase Mathew, *Iron Furnaces in South-Eastern England and English Ports and Landing-places* (*ibid.*); Beryl Smalley, *Exempla in the Commentaries of Stephen Langton* (Bull. John Rylands Library, Jan.); F. W. Brooks, *The Cinque Ports' Feud with Yarmouth in the Thirteenth Century* (Mariner's Mirror, Jan.); A. C. Baugh, *Documenting Sir Thomas Malory* (Speculum, Jan.); W. S. Sparrow, *Thoughts on the English Newspaper, 1632-1932* (Nineteenth Century and After, Feb.); Clyde L. Grose, *The Dunkirk Money, 1662* (Jour. Mod. Hist., Mar.); F. C. Gore, *A Seventeenth Century Barrister* (Quar. Rev., Jan.); L. I. Bredvold, *Notes on John Dryden's Pension* (Mod. Philol., Feb.); G. Bul-lough, *Fulk Greville, First Lord Brooke* (Mod. Lang. Rev., Jan.); R. D. Richards, *Mr. Pepys and the Goldsmith Bankers* (Ec. Hist., Jan.); G. E. Fussell, *Farmers' Calendars from Tusser to Arthur Young* (*ibid.*); Herbert Heaton, *An Early Victorian Business Forecaster in the Woolen Industry* (*ibid.*); R. S. Sayers, *The Question of the Standard in the Eighteen-Fifties* (*ibid.*); G. A. Ballard, *British Battleships of 1870: the ZEALOUS and the REPULSE* (Mariner's Mirror, Jan.); Algernon Cecil, *Lord Oxford and Asquith* (Quar. Rev., Jan.).

Documents and letters: James F. Willard, ed., *Ordinances for the Guidance of a Deputy Treasurer, 22 October 1305* (Eng. Hist. Rev., Jan.); J. H. Owen, ed., *Letters from Sir Samuel Hood* [the last of which makes interesting comments on the Battle of The Saints] (Mariner's Mirror, Jan.).

FRANCE

General review: Henri Hauser, *Histoire de France, Histoire Moderne, 1498-1660* (Rev. Hist., Nov.).

The *Dictionnaire de Biographie Française*, which is under the direction of J. Balteau, M. Barroux, and M. Prevost, has reached the name Alicot with the sixth fascicle, which completes the first volume.

The Musée de la Coopération Franco-Américaine at the Chateau of Blérancourt is preparing an exhibition of material on the French travelers and émigrés who resided for a time in the region now included in the United States.

To the series of the *Classiques de l'Histoire de France au Moyen Age*,

which is under the direction of Louis Halphen, has been added *Ermold le Noir: Poème sur Louis le Pieux et Épîtres au Roi Pépin*, translated and edited by Edmond Faral, professor at the Collège de France (Paris, Champion, 1932, pp. xxxv, 267, 27 fr.). The text and translation appear on opposite pages, to the convenience of the student.

An exhaustive study of printing and publishing in Anjou from the fifteenth to the end of the eighteenth century has been made by Émile Pasquier and Victor Dauphin in *Imprimeurs et Libraires de l'Anjou* (Angers, Soc. anon. des Éditions de l'Ouest, 1932, pp. 408). The organization of the book-trade at different periods, technical processes, the life of the printers, an account of the various firms, bibliographical notices of their publications, and an indication of the libraries where the most important may be found, are among the contents of this interesting volume.

M. Louis Batiffol's *La Vie de Paris sous Louis XIII.; l'Existence Pittoresque des Parisiens au XVII^e Siècle* (Paris, Calmann-Lévy, 1932, pp. iii, 252, 15 fr.) is the first of a new series of volumes upon Notre Vieux Paris. M. Batiffol's studies upon the period are well known, but this volume will possess an especial charm for those who have wandered over Paris, seeking the older city in the midst of the new.

The University of Pennsylvania Press has published a study by Miss Edith Philips entitled *The Good Quaker in French Legend* (1932, pp. x, 235, \$2.50), showing the importance of this religious sect on French thought of the eighteenth century, and the development of a rather sentimental and idealized conception of the Quakers in the French mind. Parts of chapter 4 were first published in this journal in October, 1930.

Somewhat obscured today by the fame of more distinguished *Philosophes*, the Abbé Mably had at the time of the French Revolution a very considerable reputation. Believing in a communist order as the ideally best, he recognized its impossibility for his time and contended for a government of balanced powers as a second best system, in which laws rather than men should rule, which should be organized along federalist lines and whose guiding principle should be to foster virtue and happiness. Though his theories were similar to those of Montesquieu and Rousseau, he differed from both in important particulars and stood in some respects closer than either to the views of the majority of the Constituent Assembly. His authority was often cited in the constitutional debates of this body, notably in the discussions on whether the right to make war and peace belonged to the legislative or the executive power and in those on the death-penalty. The decisions were made according to the exigencies of the situation, but the theories had their weight, even though secondary. All this and more is interestingly set forth by Georg Müller in his useful monograph, *Die Gesellschafts- und Staatslehren des*

Abbés Mably und ihr Einfluss auf das Werk der Konstituante (Berlin, Ebering, 1932, pp. 123), being the first of a series of *Forschungen zur Geschichte des Ancien Régime und der Grossen Revolution*, edited by Otto Becker in the general collection *Historische Studien*. E. N. C.

It is one of the anomalies of historical inquiry that the responsibilities of an event like the September Massacres are still the subject of active discussion. Of course part of the evidence was destroyed in the fires of the Commune. M. Gérard Walter has attempted in a volume entitled *Les Massacres de Septembre: Étude Critique* (Paris, Payot, 1932, pp. 174, 15 fr.), to revise the conclusions of his predecessors, and M. Pierre Caron in a recent series of articles in *La Révolution Française* has shown, by a more precise application of the rules of historical criticism, that certain supposedly established elements of the story rest upon no substantial foundation. An example is the famous Panis-Sergent order. M. Walter's approach to the problem is somewhat novel. He does not center attention upon the action of the municipal council or of the committee of surveillance, but emphasizes the influences and passions at work in the sections or wards in which each prison was located. There are penetrating remarks, ironical in tone, upon the sinister traits of human weakness and depravity thrown up to the surface of this dreadful outburst of hatreds, fanaticism, and cruelty. The author relieves leaders like Danton, and even Marat, of anything more than passive complicity in the great jail delivery. These men were powerless for good or ill, and the most that can be said is that they were afraid to act. Many will regret that a "critical study" is without notes or references or discussion of evidence. It is provided, however, with a list of the principal narratives of the event arranged in chronological order.

Vol. V. of the *Histoire des Colonies Françaises et de l'Expansion de la France dans le Monde*, published under the direction of Gabriel Hanotaux and Alfred Martineau deals with *L'Inde et l'Indo-Chine*, and has as its authors Henri Froidevaux, Alfred Martineau, and Edmond Chassigneux (Paris, Plon, 1932, 150 fr.).

Plebiscites in France have not always led to wise decisions, but when the votes take the form of immense sales for a work of history or biography, it is safe to conclude that the book possesses high qualities of style and unusual interpretative value. This is true of M. Jacques Bainville's *Napoleon*, translated by Hamish Miles (Boston, Little, Brown, 1933, pp. xiv, 418, \$3.75). As M. Bainville's aim is to give the *how?* and *why?* of Napoleon's career, his is not a narrative biography. Perhaps it will be most enjoyed by those already familiar with the details of the story. Open the pages where one will the comments are suggestive, often brilliant. Events do not follow one another in sober chronology, they seem to arrange themselves as parts of the setting

of a stage in order that the words and motions of the actor may be more intelligible. It is a pleasure to find the name of Albert Sorel among those whom the author regards as his teachers. A criticism of Bainville's general conception of Napoleon by M. Albert Meynier is found in *La Révolution Française* for October last.

To the series *Les Énigmes de l'Histoire*, M. Ferdinand Bac has added a volume upon *Napoléon Inconnu* (Paris, Alcan, 1932, pp. viii, 324, 15 fr.). It certainly begins at the beginning, for the first chapter is devoted to speculations touching *Le Mystère de la Naissance*. The volume as a whole deals with the period of exile and displays the mastery of detail to be expected of a writer so well known for his work on whatever concerns the Second Empire.

The *Journal (Paris-Saint-Petersbourg)*, 1877-1883, of Eugène Melchior de Vogüé has been published by Felix de Vogüé (Paris, Grasset, 1932, 18 fr.). It offers impressions of a noteworthy observer on the men and events of a critical period.

M. Louis Marlio in *La Véritable Histoire de Panama* (Paris, Hachette, 1932, pp. 93, 7 fr. 50) has told again the story of the great canal and analyzed the testimony upon which was based the condemnation in the Paris court of appeal of the two De Lesseps. He acknowledges that there were serious errors of judgment, but denies corrupt intent. Even when Charles de Lesseps paid huge sums to influential deputies, including a member of the cabinet, he was not so much guilty of corruption as a victim of blackmail. In his chapter on *Politique et Corruption Parlementaire*, M. Marlio reports De Lesseps as replying in the course of the interrogation that, when a great enterprise requiring public support is launched, "On voit arriver à soi une quantité de gens . . . ils sortent de dessous chaque pavé. Il faut compter avec eux, avec leurs menaces, avec leurs compromissions, avec leurs promesses". The author believes that, at the time when the crash came, the company, with adequate support, could have completed the canal in a few years and that it could have been made more profitable than it has since become under American control.

Articles: G. Dupont-Ferrier, *Les Institutions de la France sous le Règne de Charles V.* (Jour. des Sav., Nov.); Georges Goyau, *Jacques Gelu: ses Interventions pour Jeanne d'Arc* [apropos of the five hundredth anniversary of the death of this archbishop of Embrun] (Rev. des Quest. Hist., Oct.); Albert Mirot, *Tanguy du Chastel (1370-1458), ses Origines, sa Carrière jusqu'en 1415* (Rev. des Études Hist., Oct.); G. Espinas, *La Corporation des Boulangers-Pâtisseries d'Arras, 1356* (Rev. d'Hist. Éc. et Soc., 1932, 2); Elise Despréaux, *Le Cabinet de Versailles et le Conflit entre la Russie et la Pologne en Courlande au Début du XVIII^e Siècle* [concl'd] (Rev. d'Hist. Dipl., Oct.); Gérard Walter, *L'Apprentissage d'un Révolutionnaire; Marat avant 1789*

(Rev. des D. M., Feb. 1); G. Lenotre, *Aux Tuileries, Jadis* [I.-concl., 1789-1870] (*ibid.*, Dec. 15, Jan. 15); C. L. Benson, *How the French Deputies were paid in 1789-1791* (Jour. Mod. Hist., Mar.); Colonel Herlaut, *Les Négotiations de Custine* (An. Hist. de la Rév. Fr., Nov.); Georges Lefebvre, *Sur Danton* [II.] (*ibid.*); P. Vailland, *Le Plébiscite de l'An III.* (*ibid.*); E. Soreau, *La Révolution Française et le Prolétariat Rural* [II.] (*ibid.*, Jan.); Jean Dautry, *Sébastien Lacroix* (*ibid.*); Paul Mautouchet, *Les Idées d'un Urbaniste Parisien sous le Premier Empire* (Rev. Fr., Oct.); Lefebvre de Béhaine, *Le Crépuscule de l'Empire, le Commandement du Duc de Raguse* [II.] (Rev. des Quest. Hist., Oct.); Marquis de Monmorillon, *Au Soir de la Restauration: la Loi du "Sacrilège"* (Rev. des Études Hist., Oct.); C. Vidal, *La Monarchie de Juillet et le Saint-Siège au Lendemain de la Révolution de 1830* (Rev. d'Hist. Dipl., Oct.); A. Pinloche, *Fourier et le Socialisme: à propos du Centenaire du Phalanstère de Fourier, 1832-1932* [I.] (N. Rev., Jan. 15); E. J. Pratt, *La Diplomatie Française de 1875 à 1881* (Rev. Hist., Nov.).

Documents: Jean Hanoteau, ed., *Lettres de l'Impératrice Marie-Louise à la Reine Hortense* [1810-1815; seem to indicate that she was "the victim of the Emperor's enemies, not their accomplice"] (Rev. des D. M., Dec. 1).

THE NETHERLANDS AND BELGIUM

A complete history of the Dutch Mennonite movement in the sixteenth century has been published by W. Kühler under the title *Geschiedenis der Nederlandsche Doopsgezinden in de Zestiende Eeuw* (Haarlem, Tjeenk-Willink, 1932, pp. 478).

The volume entitled *Kaapse Archiefstukken lopende over het Jaar 1782, afgeschreven, bewerkt, en van een Register voorzien door Kathleen M. Jeffreys, M. A., van het Kaapse Archief, Deel I.* (Cape Town, Union Archive Commission, 1931, pp. 592) aside from elaborate indexes of persons, places, ships, and subjects, consists of four elements, of which the largest is the journal (Resolutiën) of the Political Council, the others being the diaries kept at the castle and the council's incoming and outgoing letters. The rule of the Dutch East India Company, under which the Cape was in many respects a dependency of Batavia, was declining toward its end, there was war with England and dissatisfaction with Governor Joachim van Plettenberg, and the sojourn of the Duke of Luxemburg's regiment (hired for the company's service in the East Indies) pressed on the colony's scanty resources. Otherwise the annals are those of a small pastoral and agricultural colony. How greatly the British war against the republic affected Dutch maritime interests and East Indian connections may be seen from the index of ships calling in Table Bay or sighted or reported. Of the whole number 72 are French against only 69 Dutch; 24 are Danish, five Imperial, four Swedish, two

Portuguese. Eight are English, mostly frigates, but including also the *Grosvenor*, whose wreck was so famous. The editing is excellent. J. F. J.

Articles: J. Gessler, *Les Catalogues des Bibliothèques Monastiques de Lobbes et de Stavelot* [1049, 1105] (Rev. d'Hist. Ecclésiastique, Jan.); J. de Sturler, *Les Relations Politiques de l'Angleterre et du Brabant sous Edouard I. et Edouard II. Plantagenet (1272-1326)* (Rev. Belge de Philol. et d'Hist., XI., July); P. Kauch, *Le Trésor de l'Épargne, Création de Philippe le Bon (ibid.)*; Ch. Mercier, *Les Théories Politiques des Calvinistes dans les Pays-Bas à la Fin du XVI^e et au Début du XVII^e Siècle* [democratic in theory, but restricting political power to the élite and especially to the estates general] (Rev. d'Hist. Ecclésiastique, Jan.); Wilhelm Vollert, *Der Prozess Johann van Oldenbarneveldt in Kirchengeschichtlicher Beleuchtung* (Zeitsch. für Kirchengesch., 1932, III., IV.); Amry Vanderbosch, *Dutch and American Colonial Policy in the Malay Archipelago* (Hist. Outlook, Feb.).

GERMANY, SWITZERLAND, AND CENTRAL EUROPE

General review: Heinrich Otto Meisner, *Politik und Geschichte* [modern German history] (Preuss. Jahr., Dec.); P. Benaerts, *Histoire d'Allemagne au XIX^e Siècle* (Rev. Hist., Nov.).

The economic and social history of South Germany and its neighbors must draw heavily on the *Schriften des Instituts für Sozialforschung in den Alpenländern an der Universität Innsbruck*, edited by Professor K. Lamp. The tenth number is entitled *Südbayern und Westösterreich zu Beginn des 19. Jahrhunderts; eine Bevölkerungs- und Sozialstatistische Darstellung*, by Adolph Günther (Innsbruck, Universitäts-Verlag Wagner, 1933, pp. xii, 212). The work, which rests on the great statistical investigation undertaken by the Bavarian minister Montgelas, is equipped with 92 tables and a statistical map.

By an inversion of chronology, vol. IV. of the *Memoirs of Prince von Bülow*, with the subtitle of *Early Years and Diplomatic Service, 1849-1897*, covers the first two-thirds of Bülow's life. The translators are Geoffrey Dunlop and F. A. Voigt (Little, Brown, 1932, pp. xv, 710, \$5.00). Looking back on his sunny childhood, his happy love affairs, and his rapid diplomatic advancement under Bismarck's approving eye, Bülow gives a very pleasing picture of things as they were during the first quarter century of the new Bismarckian empire. There are generous appreciations of Bülow's fine old father, of the ever-friendly Herbert Bismarck, and of many others in the diplomatic service whom the rising man met at successive posts. There is little of the bitterness, the fault-finding, and the blaming of others which give such a disagreeable flavor to the first three volumes of his memoirs. Possibly in writing them he got some of the gall out of his system. In this fourth volume there are

no important political revelations, but on the psychological side there is much concerning Bülow, the rising diplomat which helps to explain Bülow the chancellor.

S. B. F.

Professor L. Bergsträsser's *Geschichte der Politischen Parteien in Deutschland*, originally published in 1920, has reached a sixth edition, revised to bring it down to date (Mannheim, J. Bensheimer, 1932, pp. xii, 226, 3.60 M.).

The thesis that economic strength does not of necessity depend on political power receives further illustration from the monograph by Richard Behrendt, entitled *Die Schweiz und der Imperialismus; die Volkswirtschaft des Hochkapitalistischen Kleinstaates im Zeitalter des Politischen und Oekonomischen Nationalismus* (Zürich, Rascher, 1932, pp. 162).

Articles: P. Kehr, *Bericht über die Herausgabe der Monumenta Germaniae Historica 1931* (Sitzungsber. der Preuss. Akad. der Wissenschaften, XXVI., 1932); Herbert Meyer, *Bürgerfreiheit und Herrschergewalt unter Heinrich dem Löwen* (Hist. Zeitsch., Dec. 28); R. Koebner, *Deutsches Recht und Deutsche Kolonisation in den Piastenzländern* (Vierteljahr. für Sozial- und Wirtschaftsgesch., LII., 1932); H. Lemonnier, *L'Art Allemand au XV^e Siècle* [I., concl'd] (Jour. des Sav., Aug., Nov.); Wilhelm Joseph Meyer, *Bibliographie der Schweizergeschichte, Jahrgang 1931* (Beilage zur Zeitsch. für Schweizer Gesch., 1932); Martin Steinhäuser, *Karl Francke und Johann Gustav Droysen: ein Schleswig-Holsteinischer Briefwechsel, 1850-1860* (Hist. Vierteljahr., Jan.); Walter Frank, *Bernhard von Bülow* (Hist. Zeitsch., Dec. 28).

E. N. C.

ITALY, SPAIN, AND PORTUGAL

General review: Carlo Capasso, *Storia Medievale e Moderna* [14th and 15th centuries in Italy] (N. Antol., Dec. 1); Gioacchino Volpe, *Motivi e Aspetti della Presente Storiografia Italiana* (*ibid.*).

An important book for the history of Italy is *Gli Antichi Vescovi d'Italia dalle Origini al 1300 descritti per Regioni. La Lombardia*, vol. II., parte 2, *Cremona, Lodi, Mantova, Pavia* (Bergamo, Tip. S. Alessandro, 1932), by Fedele Savio.

The great work of A. Venturi, *Storia dell' Arte Italiana*, begun in 1901, has expanded to such a degree that it has been found necessary to issue vol. IX., dealing with *La Pittura del Cinquecento* in seven parts. Of these, part VI. is now available (Milan, Hoepli, 1933, pp. xl, 956).

The handsome volume published by Vito Vitale on *Onofrio Scassi e la Vita Genovese del suo Tempo, 1768-1836* (Atti della Società Ligure di Storia Patria, vol. LIX., Genoa, 1932, pp. vii, 390), uses the career of this physician and educator as a peg on which to hang a documented narrative of the com-

plicated transitions through which Genoa passed during and following the period of French control. Scassi, who introduced vaccination into Italy and was dean of the university, held various political and administrative offices under most of the rapidly changing régimes. Nevertheless he was a strong patriot and, though not a figure of the first rank, is regarded by the author as typical of the new intellectual bourgeoisie in his political and social attitude.

Luigi Minichini e la Carboneria a Nola, by M. Manfredi, is a study of the Neapolitan insurrection of 1820, based on police and diplomatic documents preserved in the Neapolitan archives [Studi e Documenti di Storia del Risorgimento, vol. VIII.] (Florence, Le Monnier, 1932, pp. 230).

To the series of Government Handbooks, edited by David P. Barrows and Thomas H. Reed has been added a volume entitled *Government and Politics of Italy*, by Henry Russell Spencer, professor of political science in the Ohio State University (World Book Company, 1932, pp. xi, 307, \$1.60). After preliminary chapters on Geography, The People, Historical Background, the author examines every phase of the political and administrative life of Fascist Italy. There is a topical bibliography.

Articles: G. Pugliese Carratelli, *Gelone Principe Siracusano* [end of 5th and 6th centuries, I.] (Arch. Stor. per la Sicilia Orientale, XXVIII., fasc. I.); W. Cohn, *Storia della Flotta Siciliana sotto il Governo di Carlo I. d'Angiò* [III., 1272] (*ibid.*); Alfred Hessel, Walther Bulst, *Kardinal Guala Bichieri und seine Bibliothek* (Hist. Vierteljahr., Jan.); Mario Rossi, *L'Occupazione Napoletana di Rome, 1799-1801* (Rassegna Stor. del Risorgimento, July); Giacomo Lumbroso, *Austria e Toscana dopo la Restaurazione del 1849* (*ibid.*); Roberto Michels, *Quelques Aperçus sur l'Histoire de la Bourgeoisie Italienne au XIX^e Siècle* (Rev. Hist., Nov.).

Letters: Niccolò Rodolico, ed., *Lettere Inedite di Carlo Alberto e del Conte Federico Truchsess di Waldburg* [1822] (N. Antol., Feb. 1); Gaetano de Felice, ed., *Lettere Inedite di Benedetto XV. al Barone Carlo Monti, 1914-1921* (*ibid.*, Jan. 16).

E. N. C.

NORTHERN EUROPE

A bibliography of Norwegian history for 1930, prepared by Reidar Omang of the university library in Oslo, has been published in a recent issue of *Historisk Tidsskrift* (1932, 3). The compiler lists 3271 titles, some of which seem, however, to lie rather far out on the borderland of the subject.

A recent volume by Rudolf Björkegren entitled *När Gotland var Dansk Lydland* is a record based largely on manuscript sources of the course of events in the isle of Gotland while it was a possession of the Danish crown, or from approximately 1400 to 1645 when it was definitely transferred to Sweden (Visby, Norrberg, 1931).

Some fifty years ago a project was launched to publish the acts and decisions of the Swedish parliament and three volumes were published covering the years 1521-1597. Recently the project has been resumed and three parts have come from the press (*Svenska Riksdagsakter*, Stockholm, 1931-1932). The editors, Lars Sjödin and Nils Ahnlund, have dealt respectively with the years 1597-1598 and 1611-1616.

A parallel undertaking is in progress in Denmark where the government has arranged to publish a history of the Assembly of Estates which functioned as a parliament in the period 1830-1848. Hans Jensen has been appointed editor of the series and the first volume covering the first four sessions appeared in 1931 (*De Danske Stænderforsamlings Historie*, Copenhagen, I. H. Schultz).

The new history of the Danish people which was planned and undertaken some years ago by Professor Erik Arup has now appeared in its second volume, in which the narrative is carried forward to 1624 (*Danmarks Historie*, Copenhagen, Hagerup, 1932.)

An important contribution to the history of Denmark and her great neighbor to the south is H. P. Hanssen's review of his public life of which the third volume came from the press a few months ago. The narrative begins with Hanssen's election to the German Reichstag in 1906 as representative of the Danish element in North Schleswig which position he occupied till 1919, when his constituency was restored to the Danish kingdom. The volume closes with the events of 1912 (*Et Tilbageblik*, Copenhagen, Gyldendal, 1932).

The Stanford University Press has published an important contribution to the history of Norway and of the Great War in a monograph on *The Neutrality of Norway in the World War* by Paul J. Vigness (Stanford University, 1932).

Vol. XXII. of the annual publication *Islandica* is devoted to a study by the editor, Halldór Hermansson, in the career of *Saemund Sigfússon and the Oddverjar*, an Icelandic family of great renown in the North which flourished particularly in the twelfth century (Ithaca, University Library, 1932, pp. 52, \$1).

Books I. and II., entitled *Lenin, toward the Seizure of Power: the Revolution of 1917, from the July Days to the October Revolution* (New York, International Publishers, 1932, 2 vols., pp. 304, 350, \$3.50 each), form vol. XXI. of the *Collected Works*. The editor is Alexander Trachtenberg, and the translator Moissaye J. Olgin. The work does not include all that Lenin wrote during the period, because some of his letters are missing and articles contributed to the press have not all been identified. Certain of his longer essays are added, for example, *The Threatening Catastrophe* and *How to*

fight it, and State and Revolution. In order to make clear the background of his thought it has also been deemed necessary to print many documents, particularly the proceedings of the central committee of the Bolshevik party during the sessions of October 23 and 29.

Articles: H. Fiskaa, *Om Karl XII's Militære Planer straks efter Kampen paa Norderhov, 1716* [the military plans of Charles XII. immediately after the battle at Norderhov, 1716] (*Historisk Tidsskrift*, 1932, 2); Hermann Gummerus, *Die Finnen in Ingermanland* (*Nordische Rundschau*, 1932, 2); Carl Arvid Hessler, *Gustaf II. Adolfs Konungaförsäkran* [coronation charter of Gustavus II. Adolphus] (*Scandia*, 1932, 2); Wilhelm Keilhau, *Forspillet til Vetostriden i Norge* [events leading up to the conflict over the veto in Norway] (*Nordiskt Tidsskrift*, 1932, 3); A. M. Tellgren, *Finland vid Slutet af Hednatiden* [Finland at the close of the heathen age] (*Fornvännen*, 1932); Elis Wadstein, *Hedeby* (*ibid.*).

L. M. L.

THE FAR EAST

The Chinese Cultural Society of New York City has published in two volumes the *Memoranda presented to the Lytton Commission*, edited by V. K. Wellington Koo, assessor (New York, the Society, 1932, pp. 940, \$3.00). Another work, giving also the Chinese point of view on the question of Manchuria, is *Essays on the Manchurian Problem*, by Shuhsi Hsü, professor of political science in Yenching University (Shanghai, China Council, Institute of Pacific Relations, 1932, pp. xxii, 349). Still another, in this case sympathetic toward the Japanese policy is, *Le Drame de l'Extrême-Orient: la Mandchourie, Historique, Économique, son Avenir* (Paris, Payot, 1932, pp. 222, 15 fr.). The historical origins of this and cognate questions is considered in a volume entitled *The Capital Question of China*, by Lionel Curtis, formerly honorary secretary of the Royal Institute of International Affairs at Chatham House (Macmillan, 1932, pp. xix, 322, \$3.00).

Article: Payson J. Treat, *The Good Offices of the United States during the Sino-Japanese War* (*Pol. Sci. Quar.*, Dec.).

UNITED STATES

GENERAL

Among recent accessions to the Division of Manuscripts in the Library of Congress the following may be noted: photocopies of diary of Samuel Vaughan, kept during a journey, 1787, Virginia to Pennsylvania; of papers of Senator Benjamin Tappan, chiefly of 1839-1845 (69 pieces); papers of Gales and Seaton (about 120 pieces); letters to Thurlow Weed, 1828-1884 (about 130); journals and diaries of Samuel P. Boyer, 1862-1869; 37 letters to Gen. Francis A. Walker on the silver question, from various persons, 1878-

1896; the papers of Senator Thomas H. Carter, several hundred in number; those of Judge John D. Caton (6500 pieces); and those of Admiral Dewey.

The *Report of the Librarian of Congress* for 1932 is of especial interest not only because of the record of important accessions of manuscripts made by Dr. J. Franklin Jameson, chief of the Division of Manuscripts, but also for Dr. Jameson's review of the project, supported by the munificent gifts of Mr. John D. Rockefeller, jr., which carried forward for five years the reproductions of manuscript materials for American history preserved in foreign archives and libraries. The *Report* also contains a description by Dr. Worthington C. Ford, director of the European mission of the library, of what was done during the final year of the grant, which ended on August 31, 1932.

Through the wise and patriotic foresight of the Washington Association of New Jersey, and especially of Mr. Lloyd W. Smith of Madison, the United States has become the possessor of a new national park, styled the Morristown National Historical Park. The places of greatest interest are the Ford House, which was occupied by Washington during a large part of his stay at Morristown, Jockey Hollow, the camp site of the Continental Army, and Fort Mifflin, the position of one of the defenses of the encampment. Ford House has belonged to the Washington Association for many years and within its walls is assembled a large collection of relics of Washington and of the period. The Jockey Hollow area of more than a thousand acres, most of which was purchased by Mr. Smith in order to preserve it in its original condition, free from the danger of real estate subdivisions, still shows marks of the huts of the Revolutionary soldiers. All these elements of the proposed park were offered to the United States as a gift, and a bill was passed by the 72nd Congress to accept the gift. The park will be under the control of the National Park Service of the Department of the Interior.

As the Catholic University of America has created within the department of history the division of American Church history under the direction of Dr. Peter Guilday it is appropriate that no. 1 of the American Church History Seminar Bulletins should be *Dissertations in American Church History* (1889-1932), showing what has already been accomplished in this special field.

The List of Business Manuscripts in the Baker Library, compiled by Margaret Ronzone Cusick (Harvard University Graduate School of Business Administration, 1932, pp. vii, 112, 50 cents) should further the movement in this country to preserve the records of agriculture, industry, and trade. The compiler remarks that the first set of records to be acquired by the library was the collection of business papers of Samuel Slater and his associate. The catalogue list opens with agriculture. It is natural that in the section on Marine Industries whaling and vessels hailing from New Bedford and Nan-

tucket should have a prominent place. The sections on Manufacturing and Marketing Services have the largest number of entries.

The Huntington Library has published a facsimile of one of its most interesting possessions, *Washington's Map of Mount Vernon*, with an introduction by Lawrence Martin, chief of the Division of Maps, *Library of Congress* (University of Chicago Press, 25 cents). Colonel Martin says that the "Huntington Library map is considered to be the oldest of the half-dozen possible versions by Washington and the only one of them that is known to have been preserved". The date of the map is 1793, and the facsimile is full-scale.

Planning and Building the City of Washington (Washington, Ransdell, 1932, pp. xviii, 258, \$2.00) is edited by Frederick Haynes Newell for the Washington Society of Engineers and endorsed by the George Washington Bicentennial Commission. The various chapters—on such topics as Federal Buildings, Parks and Monuments, Bridges, Public Utilities—are contributed by engineers and architects, and tell in straightforward, non-technical way the development of the capital city from an engineering standpoint but with emphasis on the early plans and work of General Washington.

The American Doctrine of Judicial Supremacy, by Charles Grove Haines, Ph.D., has appeared in a second edition, revised and enlarged [Publications of the University of California at Los Angeles in Social Sciences, vol. I.] (University of California Press, 1932, pp. xviii, 705, \$6.00.) The first edition was printed in 1914.

Thorstein Veblen: a Chapter in American Economic Thought, by Richard Victor Teggart, forms the first part of vol. XI. of the University of California Publications in Economics (1932, pp. vii, 126, \$1.75).

In vol. XXX. of the *Journal* of the American Irish Historical Society for 1932, besides the reports and proceedings, are several essays which throw light upon the migration and local influence of the Irish. Among these are *The Irish in Texas*, by Bernadine Rice; *Philadelphia Irish*, by J. Dominick Hackett; and *Irish Migrations to America*, by George O'Dwyer.

The latest number of the *Tennessee Historical Magazine* [labeled "April 1932" on the cover and "January, 1932" on the first page] is principally devoted to items pertaining to Washington. Among these is a paper by Dr. S. C. Williams on the First Territorial Division Named for Washington; another, by Dr. W. A. Provine, on Washington College, the First Educational Institution Named for the President; a third is a descriptive account by Dr. Provine of Washington's Old Mill Book, in possession of the Tennessee Historical Society; and a fourth is a reprint from a Nashville paper of the celebration of the Washington anniversary in that city in 1832.

Articles: R. Walton Moore, *General Washington and Houdon* (Virginia Mag. of Hist. and Biog., Jan.); A. R. Newsome, *The Washington Portrait in the House of Representatives* [historical sketch] (North Carolina Hist. and Biog. Record, Jan.); David Y. Thomas, *How Washington dealt with Discontent* (South Atlantic Quar., Jan.); Harold A. Larrabee, *A Neglected French Collaborator in the Victory of Yorktown: Claude-Anne Marquis de Saint-Simon 1740-1819* (Jour. des Américanistes, XXIV, fasc. 2); John W. Wright, *Notes on the Siege of Yorktown in 1781, with Special Reference to the Conduct of a Siege in the Eighteenth Century* (William and Mary College Quar. Hist. Mag., Oct.); Lyon G. Tyler, *Arthur Lee, a Neglected Statesman*, [cont'd] (Tyler's Quar. Hist. and Geneal. Mag., Jan.); Everett D. Obrecht, *Influence of Luther Martin in the Making of the Constitution of the United States*, [concl'd] (Maryland Hist. Mag., Dec.); Marie Kimball, *The Epicure of the White House* [Thomas Jefferson] (Virginia Quar. Rev., Jan.); E. I. McCormac, *Justice Campbell and the Dred Scott Decision* (Miss. Valley Hist. Rev., Mar.); Richard R. Stenberg, *Some Political Aspects of the Dred Scott Case* (*ibid.*); Laura A. White, *The United States in the 1850's as seen by British Consuls* (*ibid.*); T. D. Clark, *The Lexington and Ohio Railroad: a Pioneer Venture* (Register of the Kentucky State Hist. Soc., Jan.); Ralph Shipp, *Frontier and American Political Life* (The Aerenē, fall, 1932); Julius F. Prufer, *A Chart showing the Development of Minor Parties in the United States, 1776-1932* (Hist. Outlook, Feb.); William J. Hoffman, *An Armory of American Families of Dutch Descent* (New York Geneal. and Biog. Record, Jan.); Charles P. Summerall, *Huguenot Descendants in the Revolutionary War* (Transactions of the Huguenot Society of South Carolina, no. 37); Ray A. Billington, *Tentative Bibliography of the Anti-Catholic Propaganda in the United States, 1800-1860* (Catholic Hist. Rev., Jan.); Mary R. Beard, *Lucretia Mott* (American Scholar, Jan.); George Leibbrandt, *The Emigration of the German Mennonites from Russia to the United States and Canada in 1873-1880* [I.] (Mennonite Quar. Rev., Oct.); Russell J. Ferguson, *The Lure of Pioneering in Historical Research* (Miss. Valley Hist. Rev., Mar.).

Documents and letters: *Transportations of Felons to the Colonies* [memorials, advertisements, etc.] (Maryland Hist. Mag., Dec.); *The Deputy Adjutant General's Orderly Book, Ticonderoga, 1776* [kept by John Trumbull, from July 10 to Aug. 31] (Bull. of the Ticonderoga Museum, Jan.); A. R. Newsome, ed., *A British Orderly Book, 1780-1781* [concl'd] (North Carolina Hist. Rev., Oct.); Victor Hugo Paltsits, ed., *A Naval Letter Book of the American Revolution: an Official Record of the Navy Board of the Eastern District, sitting at Boston* (Bull. N. Y. Public Library, Dec.); Mary Salesia Godecker, ed., *Correspondence on Indian Removal, 1835-1838* (Mid-America, Jan.); *Diaries of Judge David McDonald* [visits to Washington:

winter, 1858-1859; summer 1862; Sept. and Dec., 1864] (*Indiana Mag. of Hist.*, Dec.); Mrs. Frederick L. Hamil, ed., *From Central Illinois to the Shenandoah Valley in 1843: the Journal of John Edward Young* (*Jour. of the Illinois State Hist. Soc.*, Oct.); Joseph W. Ellison, ed., *Diary of Maria Parsons Belshaw, 1853* [journey from Lake County, Indiana, to Oregon] (*Oregon Hist. Quar.*, Dec.); Thomas Ewing, ed., *Lincoln and the General Land Office, 1849* [correspondence relative to the appointment of a commissioner] (*Jour. of the Illinois State Hist. Soc.*, Oct.).

NEW ENGLAND

With the beginning of a new volume the publication dates of the *New England Quarterly* will be the fifteenth of March, June, September, and December. As a supplement the *Quarterly* has published *A Short Account of the Massachusetts Constitutional Convention, 1917-1919*, by Augustus Peabody Loring. The first three sections deal with the old constitution and the reform movement which led to the calling of a convention. A minor fact illustrative of the change in conditions in Massachusetts is the number of farmers chosen as delegates, four as against 124 chosen to the convention of 1853. At the same time the number of lawyers had risen from seventy-seven to 157.

Vol. LXIV. of the *Proceedings* of the Massachusetts Historical Society (Boston, the Society, 1932, pp. xvi, 570) is unusually rich in many-sided interest. Included among its memoirs are Samuel Eliot Morison's account, full of reminiscence and suggestive interpretation, of Edward Channing's career, and Roger Bigelow Merriman's sketch of the achievements of Archibald Cary Coolidge. Professor Ephraim Emerton also contributes a memoir upon President Eliot. An essay which will delight and console many who have become a little weary of the pretensions of certain recent types of biography and history is Some "New" History and Historians, by Wilbur Cortez Abbott. Professor A. M. Schlesinger is the author of an essay on A Critical Period in American Religion, 1875-1900.

An interesting section of the *Proceedings* of the American Antiquarian Society, recently issued, is the report of the librarian, Mr. R. G. W. Vail, which touches every phase of the society's collections. During the past year a successful effort has been made to add to the newspaper and periodical files. One of two rare Lowell papers obtained is the *Middlesex Standard*, edited by Whittier. For the earlier period the most important accessions were items completing the file of the *Pennsylvania Magazine*, 1775-1776, edited by Tom Paine. It was in this magazine that took place the first periodical publication of the Declaration of Independence. Under the head of "The Mathers", Mr. Vail explains that in first editions and in editions published

during Increase Mather's lifetime the society's collection is tied with that in the library of Mr. W. G. Mather, of Cleveland, while it is ahead of that library and of the Boston Public Library in the possession of titles in any edition.

To the *Proceedings* of the American Antiquarian Society for April, 1932, Professor Evarts B. Greene contributes, under the title A Puritan Counter-Reformation, an illuminating parallel between the Catholic Counter-Reformation of the sixteenth century, and the movements—educational, expansive, missionary—by which in the first half of the nineteenth century New England orthodoxy responded to the encroachments and dominance of the Unitarian wing of New England's principal religious body. One hundred and fourteen pages are devoted to a bibliography of Mrs. Susannah Rowson.

For the past year or two the Essex Institute has been obtaining copies of the early records of entry and clearance at Massachusetts ports (1686-1815), which are preserved in the Public Record Office in London, and which comprise quarterly returns made by naval officers stationed in the colony. These returns give information as to the names of vessels and masters, and as to the cargoes. From the middle of the eighteenth century they also give the names of owners and the place and date of building of each vessel. These shipping records, considered of great value, have been offered in photostatic copies to various large libraries, and two installments of about 500 pages have already been distributed.

Among other important accessions to the collections of the Institute are the Salem Custom House records and files, which have been transferred from the Custom House on Derby Street. There are on deposit now the records of all the Essex County ports, Salem, Beverly, Marblehead, Gloucester, and Newburyport. The Institute has also received the early account books of John Smith and Company of Andover, 1822-1854; shipping papers of the Henry Larcom family; account books of the Manning Stage business of Salem, 1785-1803; 220 photostats of Whittier letters, with more than a thousand letters written to Whittier; a collection of autograph letters of Mary Abigail Dodge, Lucy Larcom, and Harriet Prescott Spofford; and the Civil War correspondence of General Nathaniel P. Banks.

The Manchester, New Hampshire, Historic Association opened its new building on October 21. This building was the gift of the president of the association, Mr. Frank P. Carpenter. To it were transferred the collections formerly in the Carpenter Memorial Library.

Articles: P. A. Scholes, *The Truth about the New England Puritans and Music* (Musical Quar., Jan.); Hervey P. Prentiss, *Timothy Pickering and the Federalist Party, 1801-1804* (Essex Institute Hist. Coll., Jan.).

Letters: E. Clowes Chorley, ed., *Letters of the Reverend Doctor Jeremiah Leaming to the Reverend Doctor Samuel Peters, Loyalist Refugee in London*,

and *One Time Bishop-Elect of Vermont* [from the Jarvis Papers] (Hist. Mag. of the Protestant Episcopal Church, Dec.); Rufus Choate, *Letters* [1831, 1834] (*ibid.*).

MIDDLE COLONIES AND STATES

In the December number of the *Wisconsin Magazine of History* appears the first part of a study, by Russell H. Anderson, of the readjustments of agriculture in New York in the period from 1830 to 1850 necessitated by western competition. The paper is entitled *New York Agriculture Meets the West*.

The History of Shelter Island is traced with affectionate care by Mr. Ralph G. Duval, one of its citizens. He describes the first settlement in 1652, and gives accounts of the principal families which eventually took up their residence on the island. How these communities were affected by the development of colonial and national life is the principal theme. The volume is illustrated, but a good map of the region might well have been added.

The Anniversary of New Brunswick, New Jersey, 1680-1730-1930 is a record of the Anniversary Celebration of the city of New Brunswick in October, 1930, compiled by William H. S. Demarest, who was chairman of the committee of arrangements. It gives a full account of what was done and embodies what was said. The volume is handsomely printed and well illustrated.

The Indians of South New Jersey is the subject of the third publication of the Gloucester County Historical Society. It contains much information on relics, trails, language, and deeds, with copies of several of these documents, in essays by the president of the society, Frank H. Stewart, and by Charles A. Philhower and Dorothy E. Middleton.

The Historical Society of Pennsylvania has received from Miss Maria Dickinson Logan a noteworthy manuscript collection containing 611 items, among them a letter from William Penn to James Logan (1705), two commissions from Penn to Logan, the first dated May 26, 1701, and the second October 29, 1701, letters from Benjamin Franklin, John Hancock, John Jay, Caesar Rodney, John Dickinson, and Thomas Jefferson. There is a document signed by Hannah Penn in 1724, another signed the year previous by Springett Penn, and a petition, with many signatures, to make Chester a free port. Another accession is a collection of twelve pieces relating to the settlement of Benjamin Franklin's estate. The society has also received a collection of letters by and about Philadelphians (1781-1822), some of which were written from Paris in 1781 and 1782 and contain many references to Franklin. A gift from Thomas Chalkley Matlack consists of eight volumes of photographs and descriptions of old Friends' meeting houses in Pennsylvania and New Jersey.

The autumn issue of the *Bulletin* of the Friends' Historical Association of Philadelphia is called the *William Penn Anniversary Number*. Several of the papers included were read at the summer meeting of the association held at Chester last May in observance of William Penn's first arrival. The opening paper, by Dr. Albert Cook Myers, dealt with Robert Wade, the Earliest Quaker Settler on the West Side of the Delaware River in 1676, and the First American Host of William Penn.

The Historical Society of Western Pennsylvania has issued (multi-graphed) as Bibliographical Contributions, no. 1, an Inventory of the Manuscript and Miscellaneous Collections in its possession. The society is making a canvass of the older commercial and industrial establishments of Pittsburgh, in order to salvage early business records. It is also presenting a series of monthly historical broadcasts from a local radio station. Among recent additions to the collections is a rare, if not unique, file of an early Pittsburgh newspaper, the *Allegheny Democrat*, 1833-1836.

Articles: Carlos E. Godfrey, *When Boston was New Jersey's Capital* (Proceedings of the New Jersey Hist. Soc., Jan.); Beatrice Pastorius Turner, *William Penn and Pastorius* (Pennsylvania Mag. of Hist. and Biog., Jan.); Robert J. Hunter, *The Origin of the Philadelphia General Hospital* (*ibid.*); Alfred P. James, *William Pitt and Pittsburgh* (Pittsburgh Record, Jan.).

SOUTHERN COLONIES AND STATES

Human Geography of the South: a Study in Regional Resources and Human Adequacy, by Rupert B. Vance, research associate in the University of North Carolina (University of North Carolina Press, 1932, pp. xiv, 596, \$4.00), describes the soil, topography, climate, and historical background of the South as well as the diet and the diseases peculiar to this region and the relation of all these factors to human life in the South. The work might be described as a humanized physical and economic geography: a study of the effect of the region on its people. Without losing sight of the essential unity of the whole southern region, the author describes separately both the economic system and the distinctive culture built upon it in such sub-regions as the cotton belt, the piney-woods, the tobacco region, the highlands, and the sugar bowl. A large body of facts drawn from the findings in many fields of knowledge—the bibliography covers sixty-seven pages—gives the work an authoritative tone. Not content with showing how environment has molded Southern civilization, Dr. Vance, believing that man can remake the map, expresses criticisms of many present practices and suggests improvements. He concludes with a plea for an intelligent reconstruction of habits and methods so that the resources of the South may serve more adequately its population. The work will be of value to students of recent Southern move-

ments, and to those as well who wield political and economic power over the South. C. S. S.

To the series of historical documents printed under the auspices of the Institut Français of Washington, Professor Gilbert Chinard has added an edition of a volume originally published at The Hague in 1687 entitled *Un Français en Virginie: Voyages d'un Français exilé pour la Religion, avec une Description de la Virginie & Marilan dans l'Amérique* (Johns Hopkins Press, 1932, pp. 158, \$2.50). Professor Chinard in his illuminating introduction tells us what is known or conjectured of the author, presumably a nobleman of Provence of the Durand family. The story of the escape from France after the Revocation and of Monsieur Durand's journeys until he eventually reached Virginia is interesting, but the value of the publication lies in the sections describing Virginia, because this is the only seventeenth century account which we have written by a foreigner. A partial translation was privately printed ten years ago under the title of *A Frenchman in Virginia, Being the Memoirs of a Huguenot Refugee in 1686*, and Baird's *History of the Huguenot Emigration in America* made some use of the material, but we are fortunate now to possess the original text, in a handsome edition furnished with plates illustrating Virginia life.

Among the recent accessions to the collections of the North Carolina Historical Commission is a copy of an exceedingly rare newspaper, the *Edenton Intelligencer*, April 9, 1788, and three account books of John Hogg and Company, Hillsborough and Wilmington, 1798-1805.

To record the peculiarities of a dialect which is rapidly suffering great change, the Institut Français of Washington has published a volume entitled *Les Acadiens Louisianais et leur Parler* (Johns Hopkins Press, 1932, pp. 272, \$2.50). The book is an edition by Jay K. Ditchy, of Tulane University, of an anonymous manuscript completed in 1901 after years of patient work, and now in the Historical Museum of Louisiana. Besides the sections on Grammaire and Glossaire, the unknown author includes in his study a brief account of the history and folklore of the Acadiens Louisianais.

From Morfi's cumbersome *Memorias* (the notes gathered in preparation for his *Historias de la Provincia de Texas*, soon to be published by Mr. Carlos E. Castañeda), Mr. Frederick C. Chabot makes available with translation, a prologue, appendix, and notes, the parts dealing with the Indians of Texas (*Excerpts from the Memorias for the History of the Province of Texas by Padre Fray Juan Agustin de Morfi*, San Antonio, privately published, 1932, pp. xxii, 85). Book I. treats of tribal divisions, numbers, and location, Book II. of culture traits, Book III. of mission establishments. This concise and vivid portrayal of the Indians' status as of 1779 is enhanced by abundant and scholarly annotation and the prologue reviews the development of Spanish Texas with emphasis upon the 1770s. Sumptuously illustrated, printed in

folio, with double columns, and bound in fabricoid with overlapping cover and tie-thongs to simulate eighteenth century format, the book will grace any library.

J. C.

Articles: Henry F. Pringle, *Theodore Roosevelt and the South* (Virginia Quar. Rev., Jan.); Samuel Eliot Morison, *Virginians and Marylanders at Harvard College in the Seventeenth Century* (William and Mary Coll. Hist. Quar., Jan.); William J. Hinke, *The 1714 Colony of Germanna, Virginia* [concl'd] (Virginia Mag. of Hist. and Biog., Jan.); G. MacLaren Brydon, *The Clergy of the Established Church in Virginia and the Revolution* (*ibid.*); W. Neil Franklin, *Virginia and the Cherokee Indian Trade, 1753-1775* (East Tennessee Hist. Soc. Publications, Jan.); G. G. Johnson, *Revival Movements in Ante-Bellum North Carolina* (North Carolina Hist. Rev., Jan.); B. U. Ratchford, *The North Carolina Public Debt, 1870-1878* (*ibid.*); Lester J. Cappon, *Iron-Making: a Forgotten Industry of North Carolina* (*ibid.*, Oct.); Edgar L. Pennington, *Anglican Influences in the Establishment of Georgia* (Georgia Hist. Quar., Dec.); Amanda Johnson, *Georgia: from Colony to Commonwealth, 1774-1777* (*ibid.*); William E. Heath, *The Yazoo Land Fraud* (*ibid.*); Edgar Legare Pennington, *Beginnings of the Church of England in Georgia* (Hist. Mag. of the Protestant Episcopal Church, Dec.); Wilbur H. Siebert, *How the Spaniards evacuated Pensacola in 1763* (Florida Hist. Soc. Quar., Oct.); Lane C. Kendall, *John McDonough, Slave Owner* [II.] (Louisiana Hist. Quar., Jan.); John Caughey, *The Natchez Rebellion of 1781 and its Aftermath* (*ibid.*); W. D. Overdyke, *History of the American Party in Louisiana* [II.] (*ibid.*); Edwin L. Stephens, *Education in Louisiana in the Closing Decades of the Nineteenth Century* (*ibid.*).

Documents, papers, letters: *Letters from Lawrence Butler* [1788-1791] [cont'd] (Virginia Mag. of Hist. and Biog., Jan.); *War Letters* (Tyler's Quar. Hist. and Geneal. Mag., Jan.); A. R. Newsome, ed., *Letters of Lawrence O'Bryan Branch, 1856-1861* (North Carolina Hist. Rev., Jan.); Mabel L. Webber, ed., *Josiah Smith's Diary, 1780-1781* [cont'd] (South Carolina Hist. and Geneal. Mag., Jan.); J. G. Dunlop, ed., *William Dunlop's Mission to St. Augustine in 1688* [journal and papers] (*ibid.*); Winnie Allen, ed., *The Autobiography of George W. Smyth* (Southwestern Hist. Quar., Jan.); Harriet Smither, ed., *Diary of Adolphus Sterne* (*ibid.*).

WESTERN STATES

Kentucky Court and Other Records, vol. II., compiled and published by Julia S. Ardery, Paris, Kentucky, is announced.

The Ohio State Department of Highways in relocating certain bridges along the old National Road is endeavoring to preserve the earlier structures, especially the "S" bridges, as historical monuments.

The Historical Bureau of Indiana has published the *Indiana Book of Merit: Official Individual Decorations and Commendations awarded to Indiana Men and Women for Services in the World War*. It has been compiled by Harry A. Rider, and is vol. IV. of the *Indiana World War Records* (Indianapolis, Historical Bureau, 1932, pp. xi, 827, \$5.00).

The *Indiana History Bulletin* for October is devoted to The Archaeology of Porter County, by J. Gilbert McAllister. The excavations of two mounds (Vergin and Weise) are especially considered. There is a section on Artifacts from Mounds. The essay is abundantly illustrated with maps, drawings, and plates.

The October number of the *Journal* of the Illinois State Historical Society contains a series of five articles, from various hands respecting the late Charles Henry Rammekamp (1874-1932), president for twenty-seven years of Illinois College. One of these five is concerning Dr. Rammekamp's historical contributions and interests and is by Professor Clarence E. Carter.

Dr. Grace Raymond Hebard's *The Pathbreakers from River to Ocean: the Story of the Great West from the Time of Coronado to the Present*, has been published in a sixth edition, revised and enlarged (Glendale, Arthur H. Clark, 1933, pp. viii, 312, \$2.50). This edition is fully illustrated, a number of the pictures reproducing historical paintings and sketches by William H. Jackson to illustrate scenes on the Oregon Trail. Mr. Jackson accompanied the Hayden United States Geological Survey in 1870.

The State University of Iowa has recently acquired a large collection of material concerning the history of the Chicago, Rock Island and Pacific Railroad and the Union Pacific Railroad. This material consists of reports, articles of incorporation, pamphlets and circulars, manuscripts, letters, lists of stockholders, newspaper clippings, cancelled checks, reminiscences, and pictures. The collection was made by Mr. L. O. Leonard of Whiting, Indiana, a son of Nathan R. Leonard, formerly a member of the faculty of the State University. Mr. Leonard has been connected with the railroads for over fifty years, and for twenty years he has been collecting historical material relating to the railroads. The collection will be classified and indexed, and after an interval of four years will be available for the use of students.

The State Historical Society of Wisconsin has recently received 280 Schurz letters. They were given by Mrs. Frances Hellman, of New York, to whom they were written in connection with her work on a translation of Heine's poems. The material in regard to the Indians, noted in the January number of the *Review*, concerned the "Stockbridge", rather than the "Brothertown", Indians. In the same number the article on the late Carl Russell Fish should have been credited to Dr. Louise P. Kellogg.

State-wide Historical Planning was the subject of the discussion of the

thirteenth annual conference on local historical work in Minnesota, which was held in connection with the Minnesota Historical Society's annual meeting on January 16. Chief among the planks in the suggested program of statewide historical activity were the establishment of a county newspaper collection, the preservation and organization of county archives, the collection and preservation of church records, and a survey of historic sites and monuments. Among the leaders of the discussion were Dr. Theodore C. Blegen, superintendent of the Minnesota Historical Society and Dr. Grace Lee Nute, curator of manuscripts for the society.

The annual address at the annual meeting was delivered by Professor A. C. Krey on the subject History in the Machine Age. The new president of the society is Mr. William W. Cutler, of St. Paul. He succeeds Dean Guy Stanton Ford.

Salient periods of Minnesota history since the Civil War have been described in a series of weekly radio talks presented under the auspices of the Minnesota Historical Society over station WLB at the University of Minnesota. The subjects included among others: The Days of the Civil War, by Dr. Theodore C. Blegen, superintendent of the society; The Sioux Outbreak, and New Settlers and the Westward Push, both by Willoughby M. Babcock, curator of the museum; The Golden Age of Lumbering, by Agnes M. Larson, St. Olaf College, Northfield; and The Flour Milling Industry, by Dr. C. B. Kuhlmann, Hamline University.

Among the recent accessions to the society's collections are a file of the *Folkebladet*, a Norwegian newspaper of Minneapolis, and additions to the papers of the late James A. Tawney. A beginning has also been made of a collection depicting life in a typical lumber camp.

The work of that amazingly vigorous Jesuit missionary, Father Kino, the "apostle to the Pimas", is told in brief form by Herbert Eugene Bolton in *The Padre on Horseback* (San Francisco, the Sonora Press, 1932, pp. 90, \$2.00). The biography, in substance, was given in an address by Mr. Bolton at the Kino celebration at Tucson in March, 1932; the materials for it were based primarily on Father Kino's own history of the little mission at Dolores, recently discovered in the archives of Mexico. The story reveals Father Kino, not only as a missionary, but also as rancher, explorer, and cartographer, of Pimería Alta between 1687 and 1711.

A sympathetic and interesting account of the Osage Indians when their culture was as yet almost untouched by that of the white man, is told by John Joseph Mathews, himself a member of the Osage tribe, in *Wah'Kon-Tah: the Osage and the White Man's Road* (University of Oklahoma Press, 1932, pp. 359, \$2.50). The story centers around Major Laban J. Miles, who went as agent to the Osages in 1878, and takes the form, not of conventional-

ized history of his experiences, but of narration of incidents, descriptions, conversations based on Major Miles's notes. The author seems thus to have made available to the reader an appreciation not only of the perplexities and tragedies the Indian suffered when first confronted with the white man's culture, but also much of the beauty and dignity of a vanished civilization.

Mr. J. Neilson Barry, secretary of the Trail Seekers Council, Greenhills, R. F. D. 5, Oregon, desires information in regard to an alleged journey of one Lasalle or Lavalle, who was wrecked in 1809 in the ship *Sea Otter* on the Pacific Coast, and who with three other men crossed the continent to the head of Red River, Louisiana. Henry R. Schoolcraft in a letter to George Gibbs, printed in the Portland *Oregonian* of Dec. 25, 1852, said that he had Lasalle's journal in his possession. A Norfolk (Virginia) newspaper under date of June 20, 1810, seems to have reported the arrival of the man.

Washington Constitutional Convention Proceedings have been edited by Professor Edmond S. Meany (Seattle, Frank McCaffrey, \$10.00).

The Serpent in Kwakiutl Religion: a Study in Primitive Culture, by Dr. G. W. Locher (Leiden, E. J. Brill, 1932, pp. viii, 118) is based upon the study of abundant materials touching the customs and ideas of the Indians of northwest America. It is provided with a bibliography.

Articles: Charles B. Roberts, *The Building of Middlesborough* (Filson Club Hist. Quar., Jan.); Robert L. Shurter, *The Camp Meeting in the Early Life and Literature of the Mid-West* (East Tennessee Hist. Soc. Publications, Jan.); S. J. Folmsbee, *The Beginnings of the Railroad Movement in East Tennessee* (*ibid.*); Harvey W. Compton, *The Beginnings of Ohio Cities* (Quar. Bull. of the Historical Society of Northwestern Ohio, Jan.); Gilbert J. Garraghan, *Bishop Bruté of Vincennes, 1779-1839* (Mid-America, Jan.); Dorothy Riker, *Jonathan Jennings* [first governor of Indiana] (Indiana Mag. of Hist., Dec.); Thomas O. Mabbott and Philip D. Jordan, *The Prairie Chicken* [newspaper]: *Notes on Lincoln and Mrs. Kirkland* (Jour. of the Illinois State Hist. Soc., Oct.); Robert L. Ramsay, *The Study of Missouri Place-Names at the University of Missouri* (Missouri Hist. Rev., Jan.); Wilfred B. Shaw, *Early Days of the University of Michigan* [II.] (Michigan Hist. Mag., winter number); A. S. Badger, *Experiences of a Pioneer Minister* (*ibid.*); William J. Petersen, *Historical Setting of the Mound Region in Northeastern Iowa* (Iowa Jour. of Hist. and Pol., Jan.); James H. Lees, *The Geology and Topography of Northeastern Iowa* (*ibid.*); J. H. A. Lacher, *Nashotah House, Wisconsin's Oldest School of Higher Learning* (Wisconsin Hist. Mag., Dec.); Agnes M. Larson, *On the Trail of the Woodsmen in Minnesota* (Minnesota Hist., Dec.); G. Hubert Smith, *The Winona Legend* (*ibid.*); Willoughby M. Babcock, *Highways and History* (*ibid.*); Robert L. Fisher, *The Treaties of Portage des Sioux* (Miss. Valley Hist. Rev.,

Mar.); C. C. Rister, *Outlaws and Vigilantes of the Southern Plains, 1865-1885* (*ibid.*); Walter D. Wyman, *The Military Phase of Santa Fe Freighting, 1846-1865* (Kansas Hist. Quar., Nov.); Samuel A. Johnson, *The Emigrant Aid Company in Kansas* (*ibid.*); Marvin H. Garfield, *Defense of the Kansas Frontier, 1868-1869* (*ibid.*); John Haumont, *Pioneer Years in Custer County* (Nebraska Hist. Mag., Oct.); Henry Allen Brainerd, *Nebraska's Press History* (*ibid.*); Herbert S. Schell, *Official Immigration Activities of Dakota Territory* (North Dakota Hist. Quar., Oct.); Joseph O. Van Hook, *Development of Irrigation in the Arkansas Valley* (Colorado Mag., Jan.); LeRoy R. Hafen, *Louis Vasquez* [1798-1868] (*ibid.*); Lansing B. Bloom, [John Gregory] *Bourke* [1846-1896] *on the Southwest* (New Mexico Hist. Rev., Jan.); Charles Amsden, *The Navaho Exile at Bosque Redondo* (*ibid.*); Rufus Kay Wyllis, *Kino of Pimeria Alta; Apostle of the Southwest* [cont'd] (Arizona Hist. Rev., Jan.); Will C. Barnes, *Arizona Place-Names* [excerpt from forthcoming book] (*ibid.*); James M. Barney, *Phoenix: A History of its Pioneer Days and People* [chs. I-IV.] (*ibid.*); W. Clement Eaton, *Frontier Life in Southern Arizona, 1858-1861* (Southwestern Hist. Quar., Jan.); Grant Foreman, *Salt Works in Early Oklahoma* (Chron. of Oklahoma, Dec.); Hubert E. Collins, *Ben Williams, Frontier Peace Officer* (*ibid.*); Charles N. Reynolds, *Portland Public Schools, 1845-1871* (Oregon Hist. Quar., Dec.); Philip H. Overmeyer, *Nathaniel Jarvis Wyeth* [1802-1856]: *His First Expedition* (Washington Hist. Quar., Jan.); William S. Clark, *Pioneer Experience in Walla Walla* (*ibid.*).

Documents and letters: J. T. Dorris, ed., *Letter* [April 27, 1839] of Col. Nathaniel Hart on the Claims of Boonesboro as the First Place of Settlement in Kentucky (Register of the Kentucky State Hist. Soc., Jan.); Ludie J. Kinkhead and Katharine G. Healy, *Calendar of Bond and Power of Attorney Book No. 1, Jefferson County, Kentucky, 1783-1798* [I.] (Filson Club Hist. Quar., Jan.); George P. Street, contributor, *A Trip to Kentucky: Diary of Ira I. Ellis, May-June, 1819* (Virginia Mag. of Hist. and Biog., Jan.); Samuel C. Williams, ed., *The Executive Journal of Governor John Sevier* (East Tennessee Hist. Society's Publications, Jan.); *Letters of J. W. Denison* [1855-1856, to Providence Western Land Company relative to purchase of Iowa lands] (Iowa Jour. of Hist. and Politics, Jan.); *Diary of Samuel A. Kingman at Indian Treaty in 1865* (Kansas Hist. Quar., Nov.); W. H. Jackson, *Diary: The Steam Wagon Road, 1866-1932* (Nebraska Hist. Mag., July); Arthur J. Larsen, ed., *A Journey to the Black Hills in 1880* [letters of George S. Pelton to the *Red River Valley News*] (North Dakota Hist. Quar., Oct.); Alfred B. Thomas, ed., *A Description of Sonora in 1772* [translation] (Arizona Hist. Rev., Jan.); J. Neilson Barry, ed., *Peter Corney's Voyages, 1814-1817* [excerpts from Corney's narrative] (Oregon Hist. Quar., Dec.); Nellie B. Pipes, *Spalding Mission, 1843* [letter

of Rev. Henry H. Spalding] (*ibid.*); Cyrus Shepard, *Early Letter from the Methodist Mission* [Vancouver, Jan. 10, 1835] (Washington Hist. Quar., Jan.).

CANADA

A Summer School of Historical Research is to be held at Ottawa, July 3-August 18, under the auspices of Queen's University. It will be concerned primarily with the problems of Canadian history and will be conducted by Professor Reginald G. Trotter.

Dr. John Clarence Webster has published another of his interesting studies on Nova Scotia under the title of *The Career of the Abbé Le Loutre in Nova Scotia, with a Translation of his Autobiography* (Shediac, N. B., privately printed, 1933).

Articles: Pierre-Georges Roy, *La Paroisse et l'Habitant Canadien sous le Régime Français* (Catholic Hist. Rev., Jan.); Patrick J. Lomasney, *The Canadian Jesuits and the Fur Trade* (Mid-America, Jan.); James F. Kenney, *Relations between Church and State in Canada since the Cession of 1763* (Catholic Hist. Rev., Jan.); W. S. Wallace, *The Pedlars from Quebec* (Canadian Hist. Rev., Dec.); William Menzies Whitelaw, *Responsible Government and the Irresponsible Governor* (*ibid.*); Donald C. Masters, *Reciprocity and the Genesis of a Canadian Commercial Policy* (*ibid.*); Marius Barbeau, *Asiatic Migrations into America* (*ibid.*); A. R. M. Lower, *The Growth of Canada's Population in Recent Years* (*ibid.*).

CUBA, MEXICO, AND SOUTH AMERICA

The Eighth Seminar held in Mexico under the auspices of the Committee on Cultural Relations with Latin America meets from July 8 to July 28 in Cuernavaca and Mexico City. Among the leaders of groups for discussion are Dr. Charles W. Hackett, Dr. Sylvanus Morley, and Dr. Chester Lloyd Jones. Further information may be had from Mr. Hubert C. Herring, 112 East 19th St., New York City.

No. 38 of the Archivo Histórico Diplomático Mexicano by Joaquín Ramírez Cabañas is entitled *Altamirano y el Barón de Wagner: un Incidente Diplomático en 1862* (Mexico, 1932).

No 25 of Monografías Bibliográficas Mexicanas by Jesús Romero Flores is entitled *Apuntes para una Bibliografía Geográfica é Histórica de Michoacán* (Mexico, 1932). No. 26 of the same series by Luis Chaves Orozco bears the title *Bibliografía de Zacatecas* (Mexico, 1932).

Among other items, no. 37 of the *Boletín de la Biblioteca Nacional* of Venezuela contains materials on the Diary of Bucaramanga and the death of Simón Bolívar.

Besides other items, nos. 224-225 of the *Boletín de Historia y Antigüedades* (Sept., Oct., 1932) of the Colombian Academy of History contain articles on the following topics: Jiménez de Quesada and the conquest of New Granada, and the campaign of Governor Pimienta of Cartagena in 1700 against the Scots' Darien colony.

Under the auspices of the Pan American Union, and as no. 9 of its bibliographic series, Dr. A. Curtis Wilgus, of George Washington University, has published (mimeographed) *The Histories of Hispanic America: a Bibliographical Essay*.

Articles: José Torre Rebello, *Origen y Aplicación del Código Negrero en la América Española (1788-1791)* (Boletín del Instituto de Investigaciones Históricas, no. 53); A. M. Ibañez, *Echevarría en Relación con las Tendencias Unitarias y Federales* (*ibid.*); "F. R.", *Aclaraciones sobre le Vida y Muerte de Rosas en el Destierro* (*ibid.*); I. Trot, *Historia del Derecho Penal de América Latina* [concl'd] (*ibid.*); José Torre Rebello, *Libro: Procedentes de Expurgas en Poder de la Inquisición de Lima en 1813* (*ibid.*, no. 54); C. H. Salit, *La Política de no Intervención de Canning en la América Española* (*ibid.*); F. del Valle Lersundi, *Juan de Garay, Natural de Gordejuela* (*ibid.*); Engel Sluiter, *Dutch Guiana: a Problem in Boundaries* (Hispanic Am. Hist. Rev., Feb.); J. B. Spell, *The Theatre in Mexico City, 1805-1806* (Hispanic Rev., Jan.); Robert Ricard, *Contribution à l'Étude des Fêtes de "Moros y Cristianos" au Mexique* (Jour. des Américanistes, XXIV., fasc. 1); F. W. Fetter, *The Chilean Debt Payment of 1891* (Econ. Hist., II. 8); Alan K. Manchester, *Reminiscences of a Latin American Revolution* [Brazilian revolt of 1924] (South Atlantic Quar., Jan.); Mary Watters, *The Present State of the Church in Venezuela* (Hispanic Am. Hist. Rev., Feb.).

Documents: R. R. Caillet-Bois, *La Misión de Antonini en 1808* (Boletín del Instituto de Investigaciones Históricas, no. 53); *id.*, *La Expedición de Rubin de Celis en Busca del Mésón de Fierre* (*ibid.*, no. 54); E. Ravnigani, *El Volumen del Comercio del Río de la Plata, á Comienzos del Virreinato (1779-1781)* (*ibid.*); Lucia Burk Kinnaird, ed., *Creassy's Plan for seizing Panama* (Hispanic Am. Hist. Rev., Feb.).

W. S. R. •

Contributions to the section of Historical News have been made by G. C. Boyce, T. R. S. Broughton, E. C. Burnett, John Caughey, E. P. Cheyney, E. N. Curtis, F. C. Dietz, S. B. Fay, J. F. Jameson, W. T. Laprade, L. M. Larson, W. E. Lingelbach, N. Neilson, W. S. Robertson, L. F. Stock, C. S. Sydnor.

The American Historical Review

PARLIAMENTARY CONFIRMATIONS OF THE GREAT CHARTER

“MAGNA CHARTA being confirmed thirty times, for so often have the Kings of England given their Royal Assents thereunto”.¹ Thus Sir Edward Coke in the course of debates leading to the Petition of Right. In his *Second Institute* completed the same year, speaking of Magna Carta and the Forest Charter he says, “and the said two charters have been confirmed, established, and commanded to be put in execution by 32 several acts of parliament in all”.² On the first page of this commentary (1797 edition) appears a parenthetical note listing statutes of confirmation by regnal years, as follows: for the reign of Henry III., one; Edward I., two; Edward III., fifteen; Richard II., eight; Henry IV., six; and Henry V., one.³ Following the lead of Bémont or McKechnie (both of whom cite the 1797 edition) historians ever since have been content to follow this count, and have attributed it to Coke himself.⁴

¹ Rushworth, *Historical Collections*, I. 536. Cf. speech of March 22: “which Charter has been confirmed by good kings above thirty times”, *ibid.*, 502.

² *Second Institute*, proeme. The full title is *The Second Part of the Institutes of the Laws of England*.

³ *Ibid.*, I. 1. The note, in fine print, in parentheses, stands between the text of the preamble of the Charter, and Coke's commentary thereon, and reads as follows: “1 Inst. 81. Statutes of Confirmation. 52 H. 3. c. 5. 25 Ed. i. c. 1, 2, 3, & 4. 28 Ed. i. stat. 3. c. 1. 1 Ed. 3. stat. 2. c. 1. 2 Ed. 3. c. 1. 4 Ed. 3. c. 1. 5 Ed. 3. c. 1, 9. 10 Ed. 3. stat. 1. c. 1. 14 Ed. 3. stat. 1. c. 1. 15 Ed. 3. c. 1. 28 Ed. 3. c. 1. 31 Ed. 3. stat. 1. c. 1. 36 Ed. 3. c. 1. 37 Ed. 3. c. 1. 38 Ed. 3. stat. 1. c. 1. 42 Ed. 3. c. 1. 45 Ed. 3. c. 1. 50 Ed. 3. c. 2. 1 Rich. 2. c. 1. 2 Rich. 2. c. 1. 5 Rich. 2. c. 1. 6 Rich. 2. c. 1. 7 Rich. 2. c. 2. 8 Rich. 2. c. 1. 12 Rich. 2. c. 1. 1 Hen. 4. c. 1. 2 Hen. 4. c. 1. 4 Hen. 4. c. 1. 7 Hen. 4. c. 1. 9 Hen. 4. c. 1. 13 Hen. 4. c. 1. 1 Hen. 5. c. 1.” There are actually only seven regnal years listed here for Richard II., but the *Statutes* contain two confirmations for 6 Rich. II.; thus eight are cited in the traditional list. See *Statutes of the Realm*, vol. II., index, for list of confirmations recorded there.

⁴ William Sharp McKechnie, *Magna Carta*, p. 159; Charles Bémont, *Chartes des Libertés Anglaises*, pp. xlix-l; Charles Howard McIlwain, *High Court of Parliament*, p. 58; Albert Beebe White, *Making of the English Constitution*, p. 282, n. i; W. E. Lunt, *History of England*, p. 149. George Burton Adams (*Constitutional History of England*,

Comparison with earlier editions of the *Second Institute* wherein no such list appears, upsets this tradition, and makes clear that this famous note was not Sir Edward's, but an editor's.⁵ At no point in his commentary does Coke list entire his "32 acts of parliament", though he cites for special features, 52 Henry III., 25 and 28 Edward I., and 42 Edward III.⁶

It is a fair assumption that Sir Edward, the editor of the *Second Institute*, and the Record Commissioners followed the same method, and hence reached similar results: the method of listing as "statutes of confirmation" those to be found in the early printed editions of the statutes—the *Antiqua Statuta* and *Secunda Pars Veterum Statutorum*.⁷ The main point to be made here is this: that, based as it is on the old printed statutes, the traditional list does not give a complete count of confirmations of the Great Charter. For the parliament rolls tell another story. Here are recorded for Edward III., seventeen confirmations; Richard II., twelve; Henry IV., six; Henry V., two; or a total of thirty-seven.⁸ These, usually appearing on the roll as the first item of the *communes petitiones*, all receive some form of royal assent (conforming in the course of the fourteenth century to the customary *Le Roy le voet*). As the statutes contain confirmations for years in which none appears in the parliament rolls, and vice versa, the total number of recorded confirmations reaches forty-four, as against thirty (for Edward III. and

p. 142) and Thomas Pitt Taswell-Langmead (*English Constitutional History*, 6th ed., p. 116, n. 1) cite a confirmation for Henry VI. One is so listed in the index of the *Statutes* (vol. II.), but this 8 Hen. VI. c. 5 is not a general confirmation like the others, but a confirmation of statutes on weights and measures, of which Magna Carta is one. *Ibid.*, II. 241.

⁵ See editions of 1642, 1671, 1681; also preface to the *First Institute* (1795 edition), in which the editors indicate that notes other than Coke's are to be distinguished by parentheses.

⁶ *Second Institute*, proeme; *First Institute*, p. 81.

⁷ For the basis of selection adopted by the Record Commissioners, see *Statutes*, I. xxxi-xxxiii. As to Coke, the commissioners say: "On a Comparison, made for the Purpose of ascertaining the Fact, there is reason to conclude that the Copy used by Lord Coke in his *Second Institute* was that of 1587 [Totell's edition]." *Ibid.*, I. xxii.

⁸ *Rotuli Parliamentorum*, II. 7, 11, and 376, 128-130, 139, 227, 238, 259, 265, 269 and 272, 276, 285, 295, 304, 311, 318, 331, 364; III. 15, 42, 61, 80, 93, 115, 137, 146, 158, 173, 200, 221, 433, 468, 494, 591, 613, 659; IV. 19, 103.

For another (14 Ed. 3), a parliamentary petition not on the roll, see *Chartulary of Winchester Cathedral*, p. 131.

after) in the traditional list.⁹ The printed statutes are based on the *statute* roll in preference to the *parliament* roll, but the former is not a complete or definitive record of the "approved bills" of a given Parliament.¹⁰ Some rolls have been lost; others are scanty or imperfect—witness the parliament roll for the early part of Edward III.'s reign, and the deteriorated statute rolls of Henry VI.'s. Hence, even for years in which no confirmation is recorded, such negative evidence is not necessarily conclusive. In the fuller records of the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries, however, it is tempting to see a reflection of the constitutional vicissitudes of the age: the repeated confirmations of the troubled minority of Richard II. contrasted with the absence of such during the "good years" and subsequent tyranny; their revival under the parliamentary tutelage of Henry IV.'s reign; and final cessation in the selfish disorders of Lancaster and York.

The absence from the traditional list of any confirmations for the reign of Edward II. does not mean that there were none. Hemingburgh records one for the Easter Parliament of 1309¹¹ for which the roll yields

⁹ Reign	Number of confirmations in parliament rolls	Number in statutes	Common to both	Total
Edward III.	17	15	9	23
Richard II.	12	8	7	13
Henry IV.	6	6	6	6
Henry V.	2	1	1	2
	—	—	—	—
	37	30	22	44

¹⁰ For new light on the character and relations of these two types of record, see Howard L. Gray, *The Influence of the Commons on Early Legislation* (Harvard Historical Studies, 1932), who shows: that the compiling of the parliament roll was a leisurely process completed after the end of a Parliament; that meanwhile the enactments were "edited" by the justices; that the compiler of the so-called "statute roll" did not get his material from the parliament roll, but from separate transcripts of these "edicted" enactments, commonly from the "original sheets directed to the sheriffs". As to why some of the approved bills recorded on the parliament roll did not become statutes while others did, he suggests that the distinction rested not on the importance of the act, but on whether it needed to be proclaimed—whether it was of general import or to be referred to the administrative department of the government; Parliament itself may have decided this point, or it may have rested with the justices (ch. XI.).

The petitions discussed in this article, it is interesting to note, usually appear as part of what Gray characterizes as a "comprehensive commons petition" (ch. VIII.) and contain phrases which he designates as the ear-mark of a commons' petition—*Prayen the commons*, etc. (ch. IV.).

¹¹ Anno Domini m.cccix. in quindena Paschae tenuit rex parliamentum suum Londoniis, et concesserunt sibi magnates xxv. denarium pro confirmatione Magnae Chartae et Chartae de Foresta, et . . . " *Chronicon, Walteri de Hemingburgh*, Hans Claude Hamilton, ed., II. 275. But see also for this year the petition, *Rot. Parl.*, I., app., pp. 443-445.

but a few private petitions. The New Ordinances of 1311 contained as emphatic a confirmation of Magna Carta as can be found:

That the Great Charter be kept in all its points in such manner, that if there be in the said Charter any point obscure or doubtful, it shall be declared by the said Ordainers, and others whom they will, for that purpose, call to them, when they shall see occasion and season during their power.

According to article xxxi, other good statutes were to be maintained "so that they be not contrary to the Great Charter nor the Charter of the Forest, nor against the Ordinances by us made"; while article xxxviii again confirmed the charters with a different proviso for interpretation.¹² The revocation of the Ordinances in 1322, of course, nullified their force as law (but the same was true of the famous 15 Edward III. which appears in the traditional list), but did not affect the status of the charters: "the Statutes and Establishments duly made by our Lord the King and his Ancestors, before the said Ordinances, abiding in their Force".¹³ This Parliament, moreover, provided for certain enactments to replace the Ordinances, the first of which reads:

Enprimes, Qe Sainte Eglise eit totes ses dreitures & franchises, sicome est contenue en la Grante Chætre, & autres Estatutz, de ceo fait avaunt ces heures.¹⁴

If the question be raised whether the Ordinances were the work of Parliament in the sense of a body composed of lords and commons, it may be said that while the Ordainers were appointed in a purely baronial assembly, commons were present in the assembly of August, 1311, to which the Ordinances were submitted, and in the assembly of 1322 which effected their repeal. Whatever status one accord the New Ordinances, they undoubtedly played no less a part in attempts to perpetuate the charters than did the confirmations of the next reign. Every attempt, 1311-1322, to enforce the Ordinances involved a tacit, and sometimes an explicit, demand for the charters. Supplementary articles issued some time between October, 1311, and January, 1312, asked that a certain measure be carried out according to Magna Carta and the Ordinances.¹⁵ The

¹² *Statutes*, I. 158, 165, 167. The rejection of the *New Ordinances* as evidence in *Bate's Case* may have influenced contemporary and later writers against including them. See *State Trials*, II. 398, 497.

¹³ *Ibid.*, I. 189.

¹⁴ *Rot. Parl.*, vol. I., p. 456, no. 35.

¹⁵ *Munimenta Gildhallae Londoniensis; Liber Albus, Liber Custumarum*, Henry Thomas Riley, ed., vol. II., pt. 2, p. 686; I. 302; *Annales London.*, pp. 198-202; *Cal. Close Rolls*, 1313-1318, p. 224.

spring Parliament of 1315, demanded a confirmation of the Ordinances and Magna Carta, and a perambulation of the forests. The Londoners, claiming their liberties as assured by Magna Carta, appealed to the Ordinances which had confirmed the latter. The York Parliament of 1318 was to treat of points relative to Magna Carta and the Ordinances, and the Charter was read before the group assigned to this work.¹⁶

First, It is accorded, That the Great Charter, and the Charter of the Forest, and all other Statutes, made as well in the time of the King's Progenitors, as in the King's time that now is be kept and maintained in all Points.¹⁷ This, the typical "parliamentary" confirmation of the Charter, as it appears repeatedly in the statutes, makes a rather formalistic impression. Engrossed by the king's judges, the human interest element has disappeared. One must turn to the parliament rolls for a more lively picture. As recorded there, the requests for a confirmation pass through infinite variations, revealing a far from perfunctory interest in the famous document, and from time to time offering practical suggestions for its enforcement. It is instructive to correlate with these petitions contemporary references to specific provisions of the Charter. The present writer has found in printed fourteenth century sources appeals to at least twenty-two different provisions (some many times repeated). Such readily disprove the old view that the Charter early became obsolete, and that interest in its confirmation lay purely in the moral victory of reminding the king that he was under the law. But this discussion must be confined to the confirmations themselves. While no attempt will be made to describe the petitions individually, certain interesting variations may be noted.

The request for a confirmation of the Charter sometimes included, sometimes followed, a plea for observance of the "liberties of the Church".¹⁸ It became increasingly the practice to include with Magna Carta measures covered vaguely by the phrase "other good statutes", or to specify particular acts. Of these last, the Forest Charter (inseparably connected in popular opinion with its famous compeer, ever since the issue of 1217) appears in every instance but one. Observance of statutes on purveyance was urged in petitions of 25 and 38 Edward III., and 4, 7, 8, and 10 Richard II.; statutes of laborers in 4 and 8 Richard II.¹⁹ Particularly elaborate in its enumeration of other statutes was the petition of Richard II.:

¹⁶ *Documents Illustrative of English History from the Records of the Queen's Remembrancer*, Henry Cole, ed., p. 12.

¹⁷ 4 Ed. III. c. 1, *Statutes*, I, 261; cf. *ibid.* I, 325, 383; II. 32.

¹⁸ Cf. *Rot. Parl.*, II. 7, and III. 15, for instance.

¹⁹ 25 Ed. III., *Rot. Parl.*, II. 227, 238, 285; III. 93, 137, 173, 200, 221.

... qe la Grande Chartre, la Chartre de la Foreste, & les Estatutz queux sont ordeignez pur la Pees, & les Estatutz des Laborers & Artificers, & des Purveyours, & l'Estatut des fauxes Acusours, & les autres Estatutz & bones Loies, faitz si bien en temps nre Seigneur le Roi q'or est, come en temps de ses nobles Progenitours, soient bien tenuz & gardez en touz pointz, & duement executz.

In 1386 discontent with the administration brought a demand for the charters and other good statutes, especially those relating to sheriffs, undersheriffs, escheators, coroners, clerks of sheriffs, and purveyors. Occasionally other interests—rights and customs not embodied in statutes—received attention. The liberties of London and other towns were stressed in 1340, 1341, and 1376; and recurred constantly in a new formula of confirmation adopted in Henry IV.'s reign.²⁰ In the Parliament of 1379-1380, the Commons asked observance of the common law as it had been used in the time of the king's progenitors;²¹ while in the troubled early years of Henry IV.'s reign, their plea was for peace and justice to poor and rich alike.²² In some instances there was obviously little connection between the Great Charter and the "other good statutes" bracketed with it—such, for instance, as the *Statute of Laborers*. In such matters as the liberties of the Church, of London and other towns, and statutes on purveyance, related provisions in the Charter may well have been in mind. In fact, contemporary appeals to specific provisions of the Charter definitely indicate this to have been the case.

Why thus repeatedly confirm a document long established as part of the common law? McKechnie comments on the fact that "Parliament in 1369 thus sought to deprive future Parliaments of the power to effect any alterations upon the terms of Magna Carta. Yet, if Parliament in that year had the power to add anything, by a new legislative enactment, to the ancient binding force of the Great Charter, it follows that succeeding Parliaments, in possession of equal powers, might readily undo by a second statute what the earlier statute had sought to effect."²³ But that was not the medieval conception. To add something "by a new legislative enactment, to the ancient binding force of the Great Charter" was what fourteenth century Parliaments sought repeatedly to do. The

²⁰ *Statutes*, I. 281; *Rot. Parl.*, vol. II., p. 129, no. 20, p. 331. The parliament rolls contain no confirmation for 1340, but see *Chartulary of Winchester Cathedral*, p. 131, petitions which, the editor believes, were the parliamentary petitions which formed the basis for the statutes of 1340. See below, p. 672.

²¹ *Rot. Parl.*, III. 80.

²² "Et qe touz voz liges & subgitz purront fraunchement & pesiblement, & en seure & sauf protection du Roy, aler & venir a voz Courtes, pur poursuivre les Loies, ou les defendre, sanz destourbance ou impediment de nully. Et qe pleine Justice & Droit soient faitz si bien as poveres come as riches en voz Courtz." *Ibid.*, III. 468. Cf. similar petitions, pp. 433, 491.

²³ McKechnie, p. 159.

perennial medieval problem of law enforcement was at bottom. Formal recognition by the king and his officials, together with the attendant publicity, was valuable, and particularly so in the case of Magna Carta, the Forest Charter, and such statutes as those on purveyance. Against these, king and officials were apt to be the chief offenders. During the thirteenth century publicity for the Charters had been secured by reading in county courts and cathedral churches. Enforcement had been attempted by the state through the ordinary courts, or some special group temporarily constituted "preservers of the liberties";²⁴ and by the Church through the great excommunication. In the fourteenth century similar devices were proposed, but more and more Parliament becomes the focal center for their operation. The Commons ask reading, not in county court or cathedral church, but before the whole Parliament; interpretation, not by a baronial committee, but in Parliament, or by the council reporting to Parliament; enforcement, not by groups of local commissioners, but by the peers in Parliament. Certain provisions of the Charter could be handled in the appropriate feudal or royal court—the individual offender who placed weirs in the Thames, the feudal overlord who denied a widow her marriage portion, the merchant who used false measures. That the Charter was common law, thus enforceable in the courts had been recognized in the *Confirmatio Cartarum*. With the enforcement of provisions designed to restrict king and administration, it was a different matter. One could not deal in the courts with a ruler who recorded through commissioners the alleged crimes of a vassal, ignoring the right to trial by peers; who winked at abuses committed by his purveyors, or encroached upon the liberties of holy Church.

Edward II.'s reign forms a transition period for these practices as it did for Parliament itself. The New Ordinances provided first (article vi) for interpretation of obscure points by the Ordainers and those whom they chose to consult; and then (article xxxviii of the completed ordinances) "that the Points which are doubtful in the said Charters of Franchises be explained, in the next Parliament after this, by the advice of the Baronage, and of the Justices, and of other Sage Persons of the Law".²⁵ The method prescribed by articles xl-xli for enforcing the Ordinances indirectly related to the charters too. Officials²⁶ were to take

²⁴ Such as the council of fifteen set up by the *Provisions of Oxford*, and the commissioners provided by the *Articuli super Cartas*.

²⁵ *Statutes*, I. 167.

²⁶ The list specifies chancellor, treasurer, chief justices of the two benches, chancellor of the exchequer, treasurer of the wardrobe, steward of the king's household, all justices, sheriffs, escheators, constables, holders of inquests for all purposes, and all other royal bailiffs and officials.

an oath to keep the Ordinances. In each Parliament a committee composed of one bishop, two earls, and two barons was to be assigned to hear and determine complaints against any official false to his oath, penalties to be imposed at the discretion of the committee. Already in 1309, an attempt had been made to buy observance of the charters. Hemingburgh stresses this element of the bargain: "concesserunt sibi magnates xxv. denarium pro confirmatione Magnae Chartae et Chartae de Foresta . . .". Similarly the New Ordinances and the charters which they confirmed were bought with a twentieth by the Parliament of 1315.²⁷ The practice was not new as far as the charters were concerned, for such transactions had taken place for the issue of 1225, the confirmations of 1237, 1297, and 1300. But by the fourteenth century the feudal "gracious aid" had become the parliamentary tax on moveables, and bargaining for redress of grievances took the form of the parliamentary grant on conditions. We shall find the idea that a confirmation was purchased by parliamentary grant emphasized in 1340, and it may well have been present in popular conception on many other occasions.

In Edward III.'s first Parliament appeared a petition asking interpretation of the Great Charter;²⁸ while the confirmation of 1334 was followed by a proviso that "such statutes as be obscure by good advice shall be made plain".²⁹ The unusual grant of the ninth sheaf, fleece, and lamb, in 1340, was made in return for important concessions, not the least of which was a confirmation of the charters. This is one of the few confirmations recorded by several chroniclers, all of whom note the bargain element.³⁰ The spring Parliament of 1341 reminded the king of this grant, reproaching him with his failure to fulfill its conditions, especially in regard to the charters.³¹ Most elaborate were the proposals put forth by clergy, magnates, and commons in this assembly. For this was the Parliament in which Archbishop Stratford led the opposition to Edward's measures designed to punish an administration which had failed to support adequately his French campaign. The king's alleged violation of liberties of the Church through special taxation and purvey-

²⁷ *Cal. Close Rolls, 1313-1318*, p. 224.

²⁸ *Rot. Parl.*, II. 7 (the text is imperfect).

²⁹ The roll for this Parliament has been lost. A summary made by Robert Bowyer (late Elizabeth or early James I.) reads: "It was enacted, That the Great Charter, of the Forest, [*sic*] and other Statutes should be observed; and that such Statutes as be obscure, by good advice shall be made plain." *Rot. Parl.*, II. 376 (appendix).

³⁰ Hemingburgh, *Chronicon*, II. 354-355; *Enlogium Historiarum*, Frank Scott Haydon, ed., III. 204; *Anonimale Chronicle*, V. H. Galbraith, ed., St. Mary's Abbey, York, p. 16.

³¹ *Rot. Parl.*, II. 128.

ance, his arrest and imprisonment of clerk and layman, methods of the commissioners sent to check up on tax collectors and other officials—all these touched “liberties” embodied in clauses of the Great Charter, and consciously associated with it at this time. Edward evaded the demand of the prelates that the Charter be read, a special oath sworn for its maintenance, and penalties “point by point” imposed on local officials for non-observance.³² In spite of the king, however, other petitions took form in the famous (but short-lived) statute 15 Edward III. Here is a clear-cut attempt to entrust the guardianship of the Charter, not to a baronial committee as in 1258, not to a small committee of five in Parliament as in 1311, but to all the peers in Parliament.³³ The oath to be exacted of the king’s officials, is, of course, reminiscent of the scheme of the Ordainers.

With Edward’s annullment of the statute, no such “king-yoking” schemes were adopted until the minority of Richard II., but from time to time the Commons offered more modest suggestions to secure enforcement of the Great Charter and “other good statutes”. Their petition of 25 Edward III., asking that “Punissement de corps soit ordeigne a ses qe fount la encountre”, met with but vague response. Reading of Magna Carta and the Forest Charter was demanded in 1354, while in 1363 officials were to be charged with examining and showing to the council statutes and ordinances not duly executed.³⁴ Petitions of 29 and 38 Edward III. sought remedy through writs granted by the chancellor,³⁵ not a new practice, for it was sanctioned by the statute of Marl-

³² *Ibid.*, vol. II., p. 129, no. 20; p. 130, no. 28.

³³ “And if any thing be from henceforth made against the Great Charter, and the Charter of the Forest it shall be declared in the next Parliament, and by the Peers of the Realm it shall be duly redressed. And if any, of what [Estate or] Condition he be, do any thing to the contrary, (he) shall stand to the judgment of the Peers in the next Parliament, and so from Parliament to Parliament, as well of franchises used, as of them which shall be now granted. . . .

“And if any Minister of the King, or other Person, of what condition he be, do or come against any point of the Great Charter, or other Statutes, or the Laws of the Land, he shall answer in the Parliament as well at the King’s Suit, as at the Suit of the Party, where no remedy nor punishment was ordained before this time, as far forth where it was done by Commission or Commandment of the King, as of his own authority. . . .” *Statutes*, I. 295–296.

³⁴ “. . . & qe ceux qe sont a l’encontre soient puniz selonc la quantite de Trepas.” *Rot. Parl.*, II. 227, 259, 276.

³⁵ “. . . come diverses meschiefs & duretes avoignent de jour en autre a la dite Commune, de ceo qe diverses pointz de la Grande Chartre, & la Chartre des Forestes, ne sont mye tenuz; Qe pleise a fñre dit Seignñr le Roi & son Conseil d’ordiner, qe les dites Chartres soient tenues en touz pointz; et en cas qe defaute ou mesprison soit en nul point, qe le Chaunceller grante Brief de remedie faire sur les ditz Estatutz, quant mestier y serra. Soit fait.” *Ibid.* II. 265. For the similar petition, 38 Ed. 3, *ibid.*, II. 285.

borough. Special efforts to secure publicity and enforcement were put forth in Richard II.'s troubled minority. In his first Parliament the Commons asked that the Great Charter be read "point by point" before prelates, lords, and all the baronage, and commons; any points found obscure were to be declared between this Parliament and the next by members of the continual council, in consultation with justices, serjeants, and any others they chose to summon. The resultant interpretation was to be shown to Lords and Commons at the next Parliament, and "adonques estre encresceez & affermez pur Estatut s'il semble a eux q'il soit a faire . . .". Both parliament roll and statutes state that the Charter was read in Parliament.³⁶ The wording of this petition is particularly effective. The king is reminded of his coronation oath: "eiant regarde coment le Roi est chargee a son Coronement de tenir & garder la dite Chartre en touz ses pointz", an interesting expansion of the oath to cover something it did not specifically contain. In quite the tone of American writers who extol the "fathers of the constitution" the petitioners revert to the genesis of the Charter: "eiant regarde a la grante nobley & la sage descreccion q'estoit en la Roialme quant la dite Grande Chartre estoit ordene & establiz."³⁷ From this time on the petitions become more perfunctory and contain fewer variations.

The practice of excommunicating violators of the charters, or rather of pronouncing a general sentence of excommunication to be incurred *ipso facto* by all who should infringe them thereafter, had been used throughout the thirteenth century. The impressive ceremony, performed as it was "with bells ringing and candles burning", must have added something to the reputation of the charters, which alone among state documents were accorded such a dignity. Yet the efficacy of this weapon as a preventive or penalty was always doubtful. It was a failure as far as the king was concerned. Henry III. had been supported by papal bulls forbidding the clergy to excommunicate him or his officials. In the course of the fourteenth century respect for the Church and its anathemas diminished. The Avignonese papacy, Wyclif and his poor priests, Friar Tuck and his like, the very overuse of the power of excommunication itself—all played a part. The clergy themselves, however, kept faith in the great excommunication, and continued to employ it

³⁶ *Rot. Parl.*, III. 15; *Statutes*, II. 1. The Charter was read by the chancellor before some of the prelates and lords at Northampton, 1380, while waiting for others to arrive. *Rot. Parl.*, III. 88.

³⁷ The same idea appears in one of the 1341 petitions: ". . . la Grande Chartre faitz par les nobles Rois & ses Progenitours, & les Grantz du Roialme sages & nobles adonques Pieres de la terre, & puis sovent confermez de divers Rois". *Ibid.*, II. 128, 10. 9.

from time to time against violators of the charters.³⁸ Hence we find the Commons, by whose inspiration we cannot tell, resorting to warnings in their petitions, lest any become liable to this curse. In 1368, for instance, they asked repeal of statutes contrary to Magna Carta, the Forest Charter, and others, "pur la profit de la dite Comune, & pur la graunde sentence eschure q'est contenu en les Chartres & Estatutz susditz".³⁹ In the Good Parliament the Commons asked a confirmation, "a l'honneur de Dieu & de vostr' Roial Majeste, & salvation de tout la Roialme, & pur eschuire les grosses sentences qe chaient sur touz ceux qi fount au contraire . . .".⁴⁰

Much has been made of one in this succession of confirmations, that of 42 Edward III.: "That the Great Charter and the Charter of the Forest be holden and kept in all Points; and if any Statute be made to the contrary that shall be holden for none."⁴¹ Coke believed that this act restored the Great Charter to its full effect and pristine vigor. His conception of the document was pithily embodied in the oft-quoted "*Magna Charta* is such a Fellow, that he will have no Sovereign".⁴² Francis Bacon, like Coke, believed that the Charter was fundamental and unalterable. Amongst modern writers, McIlwain, with his thesis of the predominantly judicial character of medieval Parliaments, and the accompanying conception of fundamental law, accepts this view of the Charter; while McKechnie points out its conflict with the theory of parliamentary sovereignty.⁴³ Another shows that, in practice, fourteenth century lawyers did not treat the Charter as unalterable fundamental law. While he finds in the act of 42 Edward III. words, "which at first sight suggest that this document was meant to be regarded thence-

³⁸ See for instance, David Wilkins's *Concilia Magnae Britanniae*, II. 414; *Cal. of Plea and Memoranda Rolls of the City of London*, 1323-1364, A. H. Thomas, ed., p. 84; Hemingburgh, II. 375-380 (the sentence pronounced by Stratford, 1340-1341).

³⁹ *Rot. Parl.*, II. 295.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, II. 331. Cf. a passage in a petition and its resultant statute (on the removal of obstructions from rivers) as late as 1472, "uppon which Magna Carta, a grete sentence Appostelik of excommengement by grete nombre of Bishoppes ayenst the brekers therof was pronounced, and the same sentence, iiiii tymes in the yere opynly is declared, accordyng to the lawe of the Chirch". *Ibid.*, VI. 158-159, and *Statutes*, II. 439. But this was not a petition for confirmation.

⁴¹ *Statutes*, I. 388.

⁴² "But this writ [*de odio et atia*] was taken away by a later statute, viz. in 28 E. 3. because as some pretended, it became unnecessary . . . but within 12 years after this statute, it was enacted, as often hath been said, that all statutes made against *Magna Charta* (as the said act of 28 E. 3. was) should be voyd, whereby the writs of *odio et atia*, *et ponendo in balium* are revived, and so in like cases upon all the branches of *Magna Charta*." *Second Institute*, I. 42; Rushworth, I. 562.

⁴³ See quotation, McIlwain, pp. 64-65. For the views mentioned, *ibid.*, pp. 51-66, 99; McKechnie, p. 159.

forward as fundamental . . . investigation makes it difficult to believe that this was the true meaning of the confirmation. Although *Magna Carta* was thus confirmed in general terms, considerable portions of it had long been repealed by previous enactments. Were these repeals still valid after 1368? The lawyers showed no doubts whatever and regarded the repeals as still operative."⁴⁴ But consistency was not a virtue of fourteenth century Parliaments and courts. There were "considerable portions" of the Charter not yet repealed. Its fame as a distinct entity was too great for anything but a confirmation *in toto*. Interpretation of obscure points had been asked and sometimes attempted. Change through interpretation was under way in both courts and Parliament,⁴⁵ but that did not, in contemporary opinion, detract from the fundamental quality of the document interpreted. 42 Edward III. was only an emphatic statement of what was a constant factor in popular opinion throughout the fourteenth century, and implied in all confirmations. As a matter of fact, the *petition* of 42 Edward III. goes further than the *statute*. Not content simply to assume that statutes contrary to the charters "be holden for none", it asks that such statutes be examined, and "par la sage discretion & avisement des Seignrs de Parlement" actually repealed.⁴⁶ It was dangerous to leave on the statute roll acts which contravened the charters, and might well be enforced by the judges as law of the land. There is here a suggestion of the increasing importance of parliamentary authority in legislation, a hint of that coming sovereignty of Parliament which would ultimately contest the force of fundamental law. After 1368, no petition for a confirmation asked repeal of contrary statutes, but for a few years, 42 Edward III. is echoed in such phraseology as that of 1376:

qe la Graunde Chartre, & cele de Forest avaunt ditz, ove touz lour articles, estoient en lour plenere force, nientcontreteant auscun Estatut, Ordinance, ou Chartre depuis faitz ou grauntez a l'encountre.

This formula was practically repeated in petitions of 1376-1377, and

⁴⁴ Theodore F. T. Plucknett, *Statutes and their Interpretation in the First Half of the Fourteenth Century*, p. 27.

⁴⁵ A petition of the Easter Parliament, 1341, seems to imply that change effected by the peers in Parliament was permissible, for reference is made to the Great Charter and other statutes, "perpetuelment a durer, sanz estre enfreintz sinoun par acorde et assent des Pieres de la terre, & ce en pleyn Parlement". *Rot. Parl.*, II. 128, no. 9. See Lapsley's comment thereon, *Eng. Hist. Rev.*, XXX. 204.

⁴⁶ Cf. an interesting individual petition of 18 Ed. II., which reminds king and council that the Charter carried in its text a promise of its inviolability. *Rot. Parl.*, I. 419; *ibid.*, II. 295.

1379.⁴⁷ Commons, as well as popes and kings, could make use of *non obstante* clauses.

Why do these parliamentary confirmations of the Great Charter gradually become more perfunctory, intermittent, and finally cease altogether? M. Bémont attributes the obscurity of the famous document to the rise of the Tudor absolutism.⁴⁸ Before this, however, its decline becomes apparent in the disuse of certain provisions, and the fact that others were superseded by detailed statutes of much greater practical value. Among the latter may be reckoned acts on purveyance, weights and measures, obstructions in rivers, etc. Again it is instructive to correlate with the confirmations, appeals to specific provisions of the Charter. Of these the present writer has found in the period 1307-1377 reference to at least twenty-two different articles; in Richard II.'s reign, to five; and in the whole Lancastrian period, to seven. Well before the triumph of Tudor absolutism, a transition period (Richard II. to Henry VI.) is interestingly reflected in the very form of confirmations themselves. In Richard II.'s reign, for the first time appear confirmations of statutes, with no mention of the charters.⁴⁹ But it is the Shrewsbury Parliament, that foretaste of absolutism, that initiates a new formula:

First, That Holy Church, and the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and all Cities and Boroughs and other Commonalties of the Realm, have and enjoy their Liberties and Franchises from henceforth, as they have reasonably had and enjoyed in Time of his noble Progenitors Kings of England and in his Time.⁵⁰

New, yes, as a form of confirmation, but not new *per se*, for it was used by Richard's chancellors in their opening speeches to Parliament.⁵¹ On only two occasions, and those in the reign of Henry IV., is it recorded that a chancellor included the charters amongst the promised liberties: Archbishop Arundel in 1407, and Thomas Beaufort in 1411.⁵² In the

⁴⁷ *Rot. Parl.*, II. 331, 364; III. 61. ⁴⁸ Bémont, p. 1.

⁴⁹ *Statutes*, II. 38, 78; *Rot. Parl.*, III. 210, 290, 318. 3 Rich. II. (*Rot. Parl.*, III. 80) includes the charters, but the corresponding entry in the *Statutes*, II. 13, does not.

⁵⁰ *Statutes*, II. 94.

⁵¹ *Rot. Parl.*, III. 257, 277, 284, 309. For the early part of Edward III.'s reign the rolls give only brief notice of the chancellor's speech (*les causes del Somons de cest Parlement*). Following the first attempt at quotation (1354) more and more space is devoted to the speech. Hence we are not in a position to know whether the chancellor ever promised the Charters in the earlier period when they were more in demand.

⁵² *Rot. Parl.*, III. 608, 647. Beaufort uses quite the language of the earlier confirmations: "qe'y feust la voluntee du Roy, qe Seinte Esglise ait & enjoie toutz ses Libertee [*sic*] & Fraunchises, & qe la graunde Chartre & Chartre de la Foreste, & toutz autres Estatutz & Ordinances faites devaunt ces heures, & nient repellez, soient tenuz & gardez, & mys en due execution".

first Parliament of Henry IV. the Shrewsbury formula was replaced by the older type of confirmation, but with Henry's second Parliament the first stage in the transition is complete. Succeeding confirmations, with the exception of 4 Henry V., combine a request for the various class liberties as promised by the chancellor, with the old demand for the charters and other good statutes:

First, That Holy Church have all her Liberties and Franchises; and that the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and all the Cities, Boroughs, and Towns franchised, have and enjoy all their Liberties and Franchises, which they have had of the Grant of the Progenitors of our said Lord the King, Kings of England, and of the Confirmation of the same our Lord the King; and that the Great Charter, and the Charter of the Forest, and all the good Ordinances and Statutes made in the Time of our said Lord the King, and in the Time of his Progenitors, not repealed, be firmly holden and kept.⁵³

According to the rolls, chancellors continued to promise the "liberties" to Parliament after Parliament through 1417, and occasionally thereafter through 1435.⁵⁴ For a time, the Commons followed the chancellor's lead, with never a reference to the Great Charter.⁵⁵ After 1423, their common petitions cease to be headed by requests for a confirmation of any sort.

In the troubled days of Lancaster and York, there ceased to be any unanimity of feeling or coöperation in action such as was, if not constantly, at least periodically reflected in the *communitas regni* (or *universitas regni*) of earlier days. Similarly the great document which had held some interest for each of the diverse elements of the *communitas* and united them in its support, was abandoned in favor of the several liberties and franchises of "Holy Church, and the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and all Cities and Boroughs and other Commonalties of the Realm". Before this consummation was reached, however, Parliament had become the guardian of the Charter and of its "great idea" that the king is under the law. In the fourteenth and early fifteenth century records of Parliament was to be found the material which enabled its seventeenth century successors so successfully to turn the medieval class liberties of the Great Charter into "liberty of the subject".

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⁵³ 4 Hen. IV., *Statutes*, II. 132; cf. *Rot. Parl.*, III. 494. Similarly, *Rot. Parl.*, III. 468, 591, 613, 659, and *Statutes*, II. 120, 150, 159, 166, respectively, and *Rot. Parl.*, IV. 19.

⁵⁴ *Rot. Parl.*, III. 454, 485, 522, 545, 567, 622; IV. 3, 15, 34, 62, 70, 94, 106; for the period after 1417, *ibid.*, IV. 169, 261, 295, 316, 367, 388, 481. From 1435 on, the chancellor's speech is not recorded at all, or receives the barest mention.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, IV. 49, 113, 120, 125, 146, 154, 253.

SOME ASPECTS OF AMERICAN STATE DEBTS IN THE FORTIES

A creditor has more than an academic interest in the history of an unpaid debt. Perhaps this explains the continual discussion by Europeans of the outstanding obligations of certain American states. In view of the changed position of the United States from a debtor to a creditor nation it may be advantageous to recall both to European holders of these state securities and to Americans the circumstances surrounding the origin of the American state debt controversies; the motives which led the debtors to borrow and the lenders to lend; the failure of European creditors and American debtors to understand each other in the forties; and the efforts made by the creditors during these years to recover their funds.

During the boom period of the thirties the people of the United States indulged in an orgy of canal and railroad building and of bank organization. The success of the Erie Canal inaugurated a mania for internal improvements. Eastern seaboard states vied with each other in their impetuous haste to capture the lucrative trade of the rapidly developing West. Enormous debts were piled up with little attention given by the people to their ultimate payment. It was expected that the revenue derived from the public works would liquidate the debts. As the fever spread to the newer communities in the West state legislatures were urged to vote large appropriations for internal improvements and to borrow the money, pledging the faith of the state for the redemption of the principal and interest of the loans. Michigan, Illinois, and Indiana planned extensive systems of internal improvements far in excess of the limited resources of their citizens. In the South, where capital was scarce and there was a dearth of ready currency, the mania for borrowing took the form of floating loans to procure the working capital of newly chartered banks. By 1839 over \$170,000,000 of stock had been issued or authorized to be issued by American states. Of this amount \$52,640,000 were for banking purposes, \$69,201,515 for canals, \$42,871,084 for railroads, and \$6,618,958 for turnpikes.¹

It was not a difficult task to induce European investors to purchase American stocks and bonds. There was an abundance of idle funds in

¹ *American Almanac*, 1840, p. 105, from the report of Comptroller A. C. Flagg, of New York.

the London money market. Money could be borrowed in Europe at five per cent., while in America the rates were seven or eight per cent.² Investors bought with avidity American state securities carrying higher interest than European stocks yielded.³ The British were tired of seeing their accumulated capital wasted on powder and shot, as had proved to be the case with many of the loans to foreign countries. The Americans were borrowing apparently to carry on productive enterprises; and the faith and honor of the states, as well as mortgages upon private property, were pledged for the redemption of the loans. Since American stocks and bonds were not listed on the Stock Exchange, being from their very nature and the small amount of each particular stock unsuited for time bargains and jobbing, they were subject to less frequent fluctuations in price. This appealed to the British for they purchased these stocks as a safe and more or less permanent investment and not for speculative purposes.⁴ The success which had rewarded English capitalists in former loans to the United States, the extinction of our national debt, and the rapidity with which American merchants paid off their private obligations following the crisis of 1837 enhanced the willingness of the British to place implicit faith in American loans. By 1839 it was estimated that British subjects held between 110 and 165 millions of dollars of American stocks.⁵

American state loans for canals, railroads, and banks reached the London money market through the channels of the United States Bank of Pennsylvania and various other American banking houses. In London Baring Brothers and Company, Overend, Gurney, and Company, Frederick Huth and Company, Palmer, MacKillop, Dent, and Company, the Rothschilds, and others together with Hope and Company of Amsterdam introduced them to their clients. The Barings apparently received the most reliable information for they were kept in close touch with American financial and political affairs by their competent representative T. W. Ward of Prime, Ward, and Company. The data which contractors of loans were asked either to send or bring with them were copies of the state laws, statistical information concerning the resources,

² Meinertzhagen to Funes, Oct. 11, 1844, Huth MSS. This is a collection of the private correspondence of Frederick Huth and Company of London to which the writer was given access.

³ Huth to Goodhue, May 6, Sept. 14, 1836, *ibid.*

⁴ Circular to Bankers, Feb. 23, Mar. 9, 1838; Mar. 1, May 31, 1839; Huth to Goodhue, May 6, 1836, *ibid.*

⁵ Garland's speech in Congress, *Niles' Register*, July 21, 1838; *House Reports*, 27 Cong., 3 sess., vol. IV., no. 296; estimate sent Lord Palmerston by British consuls in U. S., McTavish to Palmerston, Apr. 8, 1839, Public Record Office, F. O. 5,337.

wealth, and total indebtedness of the state, and a statement of their authority to negotiate the loans.⁶

New and practically unknown states found it difficult to negotiate loans. There was also reluctance upon the part of Europeans to touch stocks issued by slaveholding states. But all stocks and bonds carrying the pledge of the faith of the state were given careful consideration. As Huth wrote one of his American agents it was the guaranty of the state which alone made these stocks "palatable to European capitalists";⁷ and the same statement is found constantly recurring in the correspondence of the bankers and in the columns of the press.

The best recommendation for an American loan was to have the indorsement of the United States Bank. The periodical statements of the bank fully justified the high esteem in which it was held abroad.⁸ With the possible exception of the Barings few entertained any doubt of the financial stability of the United States Bank. English bankers were willing to trust it as they trusted the Bank of England.

It was Nicholas Biddle and his London agent Jaudon who helped to introduce the Mississippi and Florida bonds to European investors. The charter of the Mississippi Union Bank provided that the state bonds should not be sold for less than their par value. Nevertheless, the commissioners of the bank sold \$5,000,000 of these bonds to Biddle on credit. Since the United States Bank paid for these bonds in five equal installments while the interest commenced from the date of the sale, it was later claimed that the bonds were sold for less than par. Moreover the act authorizing the issuance of the bonds had not been passed by two successive legislatures and approved by the people, as the state constitution required.

When the Mississippi bonds were sent to England for sale, Biddle wrote Jaudon stressing the agricultural resources of Mississippi and the high character of Wilkins, one of the commissioners, as the best guaranty that the state would fulfill its engagements.⁹ Jaudon succeeded in disposing of \$2,000,000 of these bonds in November, 1838, and "the remainder were pledged by him as collateral for loans made by that bank in November and December, 1839, and January and February, 1840".

⁶ Baring to Prime, Ward, and Company, Oct., 1834, Baring MSS., Ottawa, Canada.

⁷ Hope to Baring, Aug. 16, 1833, Baring MSS.; Huth to Perit, Nov. 22, 1837, Huth MSS.; Forstall to Ward, Nov. 19, 1832; Hope to Baring, Aug. 16, 1833, Baring MSS.; Circular to Bankers, Nov. 8, 1839. Huth declared that the Dutch insisted on state guarantees. Huth to Perit, Apr. 14, 28, Dec. 13, 1838, Huth MSS.

⁸ *Niles' Register*, Jan. 16, 1841; Meinertzhagen to Funes, Oct. 11, 1844, Huth MSS.

⁹ Biddle to Jaudon, Oct. 2, 1838, *ibid.*

There is no evidence that anyone in England had knowledge that the bonds had been sold to the United States Bank on credit or that the state had not received the whole of their value until Governor McNutt in his message of 1839 stated the terms of the sale.¹⁰ When conditions began to grow serious in Mississippi, Jaudon assured Huth that there was no cause for alarm quoting Biddle's indorsement verbatim and Governor McNutt's message as proof that there could not be "the shadow of doubt as to the solidity of the Mississippi state stock".¹¹

In like manner Jaudon gave Colonel John Gamble, president of the Union Bank of Florida, a letter of introduction to Hope in which the Florida bank bonds were described "as solid and desirable a security as any in the market". This was contrary to the information which the Barings were receiving; and as Hope was in communication with the Barings and they were themselves dubious of the Florida bonds,¹² Colonel Gamble succeeded in disposing of only \$100,000 of his bonds to this firm at a discount of three per cent. in violation of the state statute.

The practice of American states and territories in sending agents direct to Europe enhanced the difficulties of the European financiers for it deprived them of the salutary discrimination of their correspondents who were better judges than themselves of the security offered.¹³ Every assurance was given by these high pressure salesmen that the loans were adequately secured. Colonel Gamble assured the Dutch bankers that the economic possibilities of Florida were unsurpassed. "So great are her advantages of soil and climate", declared the enthusiastic Gamble, "that the query is not 'what can Florida produce' but 'what production will yield the greatest profit with the least labor.'" There was no need to be alarmed over the safety of the territorial bonds of Florida, for a territory was not a "political infant, incapable in law of acting for itself, or of contracting with others without the consent of a guardian". A territorial legislature of Florida had the authority to issue these bonds and Congress had tacitly given its sanction by not prohibiting their issuance when the Florida banks were investigated by a committee headed by Webster in 1836.¹⁴ The agent of the North American Trust

¹⁰ Memorandum on Mississippi bonds, *ibid.*

¹¹ Memorandum of Mississippi stock sent by Jaudon, Feb. 25, 1840, *ibid.*

¹² Jaudon to Hope, Sept. 12, 1838, Hope MSS. The writer was given access to the private correspondence and records of Hope and Company of Amsterdam. Ward to Baring, Aug. 15, 1839; Hope to Baring, Dec. 4, 1838; Baring to Hope, Dec. 7, 1838; Hope to Baring, Jan. 6, 1839, Baring MSS.

¹³ Baring to Prime, Ward, King, and Company, June 12, 1839, *ibid.*

¹⁴ Notes on the subject of the Florida bonds by Gamble in Hope MSS. For Webster report consult *Sen. Doc.*, 24 Cong., 1 sess., vol. VI., no. 409.

and Banking Company sent Huth a copy of the charter of the Real Estate Bank of Arkansas along with copious statistical data and certificates from the War and Treasury departments showing their confidence by actual investments in these bonds. "The nature of these securities is of a very high order", wrote Murray, "not only having the faith and property of a young, vigorous, and thriving state pledged for their redemption, but also all the effects of the bank itself."¹⁵ In the light of these and other statements the lack of prudence on the part of European financiers becomes more understandable. The signed contracts always specified that the principal and interest should be made payable in London and Amsterdam in pounds sterling or florins, to satisfy the investing public, and the commission allowed the bankers ranged up to three and a half per cent.¹⁶

The wisdom of investing in American securities was debated in the columns of the London press. The Circular to Bankers and the *Morning Chronicle* urged British investors to place their surplus capital in American enterprises. "We feel convinced", announced the *Morning Chronicle*, "that persons desirous of investing money in any of the principal American securities will find on inquiry that we have never over-rated the honor and good faith which have always been shown by the United States to her creditors." Attention was also called to the investments by the United States government in state stocks as proof that the security of "even the newest and smallest states, Arkansas, for instance", was satisfactory to the government in Washington.¹⁷ At the same time, the London *Times* was questioning the constitutional power of individual American states to contract loans and was cautioning British investors not to purchase them. "The state loans depend upon banking projects and internal improvements, of which, probably, not one in ten, for years to come", declared the skeptical *Times*, "will pay its own expenses, especially in the remoter states." The "debtor is at a great distance, compellable to good faith by no law whatever"; and investors purchasing bank bonds should realize that "There exists . . . no sort of control, no real responsibility, nothing which can protect the shareholder at a

¹⁵ Inclosure to Huth from Murray, June 19, 1839, Huth MSS.

¹⁶ The data for this statement is based upon numerous letters in the Baring, Huth, and Hope correspondence. The *Democratic Review*, XVI. 306, is incorrect as regards commissions.

¹⁷ These statements were made at the time the Florida loan was being marketed in London, *Morning Chronicle*, Feb. 19, 1839; Apr. 23, 1840. The amount invested by the U. S. government in state stocks is given in *House Doc.*, 26 Cong., 1 sess., Vol. III., no. 145; *House Reports*, 27 Cong., 3 sess., Vol. IV., no. 296, pp. 47-446.

distance . . .".¹⁸ The advice of the *Times* was disregarded by a public who preferred to trust the word of their bankers and the prospectuses which were issued quoting verbatim the statements made by authorized agents of the states.¹⁹

The warnings of the *Times* seemed to be verified by the publication of Comptroller Flagg's report which pointed out the rapidity with which the indebtedness of the states was mounting. Between 1835 and 1838 the total was increased over \$108,000,000.²⁰ During the same period the banking capital of the Union was increased \$109,000,000. In turn the banks augmented their paper circulation \$46,000,000, and their loans and discounts \$160,000,000. The whole financial structure of the United States was on the verge of a collapse; and if this occurred, as it did in the fall of 1839, would the meager resources of some of the states afford the means to meet the heavy obligations they had incurred without resorting to heavy taxation? And would the people submit to the imposition of such taxes? The serious condition of affairs in the United States began to dawn upon British capitalists and the public.

To allay the alarm of investors and to bolster up the sagging market the Barings determined to obtain the legal opinion of Daniel Webster on the power of American states to contract loans and the attitude of Americans on the sanctity of contracts. Webster was in England presumably on a pleasure trip although the journey had been undertaken at Jaudon's suggestion. The Barings were well acquainted with Webster's position and influence among his countrymen; and on frequent occasions they advanced funds to him when he was in pecuniary difficulties.²¹ On October 12, 1839, the Barings wrote Webster asking whether the state legislatures were empowered to contract loans at home and abroad. To this inquiry Webster replied that the legislatures did possess this authority since each was an "independent, sovereign political community, except in so far as certain powers had been conferred upon the general government". The security for these loans rested upon the plighted faith of the states; and in some cases the income or revenue expected to be derived from the canals and railroads, in others valuable tracts of land had been specifically set aside for their redemption. No state could rid itself of these obligations; nothing but gold and silver could be offered in discharge of these debts. This correspondence was

¹⁸ London *Times*, Dec. 15, 1838, Mar. 5, 1839.

¹⁹ See Prospectus of Maryland Loan in Baring Printed Material, Oct. 12, 1837.

²⁰ *American Almanac*, 1840, p. 106.

²¹ *The Private Correspondence of Daniel Webster*, Fletcher Webster, ed., II. 45. Ward to Baring, June 27, 1835; Apr. 29, May 4, 13, 1839, Baring MSS.

given to the press²² and there is little doubt that the legal opinion of the American Burke carried great weight in the investing circles, for Webster later acknowledged that he was able to dispose of Massachusetts stock to the sum of £40,000 while in England.²³

It was realized, however, that more than Webster's word was needed to uphold American credit. Two days after Webster's letter was received, the Barings issued a circular upon American stocks in which they pointed out that if the whole scheme of internal improvements were carried into effect by means of foreign capital a more comprehensive guaranty than that of the individual states would be required. "A national pledge would undoubtedly collect capital together from all parts of Europe."²⁴

The Baring circular attracted considerable attention in the United States. Leading Whig journals sponsored the proposition of Federal assumption of state debts.²⁵ Democratic papers stigmatized the scheme as a Baring and Webster plot to foist upon the national government the debts of the states. They erred, however, in ascribing its origin to foreigners. The plan owed its inception to the necessities of the United States Bank. On October 1, 1839, a close friend of Biddle wrote Joshua Bates, the Yankee member of Barings, of the need of procuring foreign capital to complete the public works. "I would suggest", wrote Davis, "that some intimation be given from a source that would command attention—that a *reasonable* amount of capital can be relied on from England on United States government security but little if anything on *State Security* alone."²⁶

Whatever expectations the bankers had that their plan might succeed was destroyed by the prejudice aroused over its supposedly foreign origin. When Congress assembled Senator Benton of Missouri denounced the proposition as unconstitutional, inexpedient, and unjust. With a view to the coming presidential election the Senate adopted a resolution specifically disclaiming all responsibility on the part of the

• 22 For comments on Webster's opinion consult *London Times*, Nov. 21, 1839. A vigorous attack by an American can be found in *A Letter to Daniel Webster . . . in Reply, etc.*, by Junius. Bates wrote Webster that it was believed that this pamphlet was written by C. J. Ingersoll of Philadelphia and to lessen its influence the *Morning Chronicle* asserted that the author belonged to the Fanny Wright party. Bates to Webster, Apr. 1840, Baring MSS.

23 *London Times*, Nov. 6, 1840.

24 Circular to Bankers, Jan. 10, 1840.

25 Whig press opinions are quoted in *Congressional Globe*, 26 Cong., 1 sess., app., pp. 127, 128.

26 C. A. Davis to Bates, Oct. 1, 1839; see also letters of Nov. 16, 1839, Oct. 10, 1840, Baring MSS.

Federal government for the state debts.²⁷ Benton's move gave the champions of the debtors a theme and an opportunity to attack the gigantic schemes of internal improvements and the manner in which the banks had marketed their securities. In Pennsylvania, Maryland, Mississippi, and elsewhere opponents of the internal improvement projects and the banks gained control. Instead of stabilizing American credit the inadvertent moves of international bankers assisted in discrediting state stock; and after 1839 no considerable amount of state securities was sold abroad.

Within the next few years there was an increasing disposition upon the part of the states to take lightly their engagements. Between 1841 and 1842 eight states and one territory defaulted on their interest payments. Mississippi repudiated the five millions of Union Bank bonds on the ground that the law providing for their issuance was unconstitutional and that the bonds had been sold on credit to the United States Bank.²⁸ Florida disavowed her responsibility for \$3,900,000 of bonds on the ground that the territorial legislature was not empowered to issue them.²⁹ Michigan refused to recognize the validity of these bonds for which she had received no payment from the United States Bank.³⁰ Pennsylvania, Maryland, Indiana, Illinois, Arkansas, and Louisiana announced their inability to pay without definitely refusing to do so.

To understand the actions of the various states it is necessary to appreciate the condition then existing in the United States. The universal indebtedness created throughout the country a loose sense of morality. Even among men of character and right purpose Ward, the correspondent of the Barings, found an apathetic and indifferent attitude upon the subject of state debts. This he accounted for, in part, on the supposition that many had not reflected upon the matter, and, in part, by the popular fallacy that it was a state "and not an *individual* concern".³¹ If this state of affairs existed in wealthy communities, such as Pennsylvania and Maryland, as it did, there was more likelihood for

²⁷ *Cong. Globe*, 26 Cong., 1 sess., app., pp. 85-93; *Sen. Doc.*, 26 Cong., 1 sess., vol. IV., no. 153, p. 15.

²⁸ Mississippi *Sen. Journal*, 1842, p. 653-654. Mississippi later repudiated \$2,000,000 of Planters' Bank bonds.

²⁹ Florida *Laws*, 1842, p. 53; Florida *Leg. Council Journal*, 1843, pp. 41, 74, 75, 162, 163, 174, 175; Florida *Sen. Journal*, 1843, pp. 105, 117, 144, 145.

³⁰ W. L. Jenks, Michigan Five Million Dollar Loan in *Michigan History Magazine*, XV. 602-606.

³¹ Ward to Carey, Mar. 21, 1844. Cf. also unsigned memorandum on state debts, Dec. 12, 1839, Baring MSS.

its prevalence in Southern and Western states where the masses had given little thought to monied and commercial transactions. The moral force of sustaining public faith weighed lightly with those who were overwhelmed by their own personal indebtedness, and in the legislatures few had the moral courage or political honesty to urge the maintenance of state credit. "In Arkansas", wrote a correspondent to Huth, "not more than 20,000 of her 90,000 of population" had "any property to tax"; and "more than one half of this 20,000" were indebted "to the banks that were founded with the money borrowed on the faith of the state". In addition to what the people owed the banks there were "other and more urgent debts owing amongst each other and to the citizens of other states".³² In Mississippi the people were moving to Texas to evade their debts and when repudiation came the report of the state treasurer showed a balance in the treasury of thirty-four cents and receipts for claims upon broken banks and notes of insolvent railroad companies.³³ Florida with a population of less than 50,000 had a per capita debt of \$200.³⁴ Suppose foreign capitalists did not lend any more to the states? "Well who cares if they don't", thundered the *Floridian*. "We are now as a community heels over head in debt and can scarcely pay the interest."³⁵

Everywhere there was a sullen resentment against taxation and a determination upon the part of the masses to hold the banks responsible for their difficulties. Let the bondholders look to the United States Bank or to the other banks for their payments. Why should the poor be taxed to support the opulent classes in foreign lands who, it was believed, held the bulk of these securities. On the other hand, the banks were unable to meet their obligations due to the insolvency of their debtors,³⁶ while state repudiation freed the stockholders of their liabilities. It is significant that in the Mississippi legislature which voted for repudiation the anti-bond paying members owned 772 shares of stock in the Union Bank while those who were in favor of sustaining the state's credit owned 462 shares. If the state cancelled the bonds, the stockholders would be relieved of their liabilities to the bank. It is claimed that the anti-bond paying members owed more than \$119,000 on their

³² Anderson to Dillon, Oct. 20, 1843; Davies to Beers, Dec. 6, 1842, Huth MSS. These letters were forwarded to Huth.

³³ Governor's message quoting State Treasurer's Report, *Miss. Sen. Jour.*, 1843, p. 26. See also unsigned memorandum on state debts, Dec. 12, 1839, Baring MSS.

³⁴ *House Doc.*, 26 Cong., 2 sess., vol. IV., no. 111, pp. 257-259.

³⁵ *Floridian*, Mar. 14, 1840.

³⁶ Pike to Huth, Nov. 28, 1843, Huth MSS.

personal accounts to the bank. Thus the debtor legislators protected their own interest while they brought dishonor to the state.³⁷

English and Dutch investors had paid high rates in the currency of the United States for state stock,³⁸ and if the states had acted imprudently or their agents had flouted state statutes these investors could see no justification for the non-fulfillment of the contracts. Nevertheless, the fashion of foreign creditors indulging in wholesale denunciation of Americans did not help their cause. The *Morning Chronicle* warned the British that "Calm reason, sound argument, and a plain statement of facts . . ." would be more likely to convince Americans that repudiation was against their own interests than by hurling invectives at them.³⁹

Meanwhile the foreign bankers were endeavoring to safeguard as best they could the interests of their clients. Before Mississippi repudiated a memorial was drafted by the Rothschilds. A copy was presented to Lord Palmerston, the British foreign secretary, requesting that it be presented through the medium of His Majesty's minister at Washington. Lord Palmerston curtly refused to do this on the ground that "British subjects who buy foreign securities do so at their own risk and must abide the consequences".⁴⁰ The desire upon the part of the United States government to float a loan in Europe about this time appeared to afford an opportunity to impress the national government with the disastrous effects of state repudiation. If all the capitalists of Europe united not to touch the loan it was hoped the Federal government would be compelled to take energetic measures.

When certain European bankers suggested this plan to the Barings they agreed that it was the duty of financiers to refuse further loans to a government which had failed to comply with its engagements. But the Barings doubted the feasibility of enforcing that principle "towards the United States government and towards those states that had always punctually met their engagements". The Barings reminded their fellow financiers that the twenty-six states that formed the United States were "all sovereign and independent" and although circumstances might in time enable the general government to aid the states "that government has no power or *right* to interfere". The only case of positive repudiation

³⁷ *Republican*, Mar. 5, Dec. 3, 1842, quoted in C. C. Alexander, A History of State Banking in Mississippi (unpublished thesis).

³⁸ This significant fact is generally overlooked in all discussions. The quotations of American stocks in American currency is given in *Bankers' Magazine*, I. 658-659.

³⁹ *Morning Chronicle*, Sept. 6, 1842, Nov. 15, 1843.

⁴⁰ Rothschild to Palmerston, May 21, 1841; Bidwell to Rothschild, June 3, 1841, F. O. 5,372:373. Bidwell wrote at Palmerston's suggestion and to the above in Palmerston's handwriting was added "of any speculation of this kind which they may enter into".

at that time was Mississippi. "Is it wise", wrote the Barings, "for this single instance of dishonesty in a remote and unimportant state to endeavor to brand the whole United States as wanting in good faith? We think not." Instead of employing coercion capitalists should treat "every state on its own merits" and give confidence where it was deserved. The views of the Barings, however, were overruled by the opposition of other bankers and a disillusioned public.⁴¹

As it became apparent that the Federal government would not assume the state debts European financiers determined to employ other methods. For months Ward had been urging the Barings to procure able writers to set the American people right on state debts. To this the Barings had always replied "people will try to be honest when they feel more at ease".⁴² Nevertheless, in July, 1843, the Barings joined five other banking houses in subscribing to a fund of £2000 for the purpose of appointing one or more agents in Pennsylvania to represent the interests of the foreign creditors. Ward was selected to direct the campaign. He was to choose as agents persons of tact and discretion who were to receive "a liberal but not extravagant compensation, not more than five thousand dollars besides a reasonable allowance for contingent expenses". These agents were to write for the newspapers; organize meetings of the domestic stockholders for the purpose of explaining the importance to the state of keeping good faith with its creditors at home and abroad and the ease with which this could be achieved. The agents were also "to endeavor to enlist the clergy to point out from the pulpit" the "moral wrong and danger to the people of not acting honorably". It was hoped resumption by Pennsylvania would have a salutary effect upon other states.⁴³

Under the competent leadership of Ward a nation wide campaign was inaugurated to rehabilitate state credit. Nathan Hale, editor of the Boston *Advertiser*, was Ward's ablest lieutenant and did yeoman service in the cause. Articles appearing in Hale's paper were republished in other newspapers. The columns of the New York *Journal of Commerce*, New York *Evening Post*, New York *American*, New York *Courier and Enquirer*, and other leading newspapers inserted articles either written or inspired by the adroit hand of the indefatigable Ward. The editors were generally paid ten dollars for such insertions; in the

⁴¹ Hope to Baring, May 23, 1842; Baring to Vanderhoop, May 27, 1842, Baring MSS. On U. S. failure to secure the loan, consult London *Times*, Apr. 21, 1843; *Niles' Register*, Sept. 17, 1842.

⁴² Ward to Baring, May 14, 15, 1843, Baring MSS.

⁴³ Baring to Ward, June 19, July 3, 1843, *ibid.*

case of the New York *Evening Post* and the New York *American* and for an editorial notice in one or two papers, twenty dollars; while occasional articles were published without pay. Gales and Seaton of the *National Intelligencer* were offered two hundred dollars to republish two articles. They declined to do so but expressed their willingness to coöperate. Not much assistance, however, was rendered by this paper. Ward could not explain "the backwardness of editors" to espouse the cause of the creditors and wondered whether it was due to the unpopularity of the subject or merely to their apathetic attitude.⁴⁴

The religious press and church organizations cordially coöperated with Ward. Individual members of the American and Baptist boards, and particularly Dr. Francis Wayland of Brown University, assisted in distributing material, writing to clergymen, and lending their counsel. No evidence has been found that the religious press was subsidized. Articles did appear in the New York *Observer* at Ward's suggestion and a former member of the staff of that paper was sent to interview the Lutheran clergymen in Pennsylvania for it was claimed the Germans in that state opposed heavier taxes. Lutheran leaders indignantly repelled these charges although they acknowledged that the Germans "were more indignant than others at the dishonesty of politicians and therefore less disposed to trust them with money for any purpose".⁴⁵

The most effective articles published were those written by Alexander Everett and Benjamin R. Curtis, later a Justice of the United States Supreme Court, which appeared respectively in the *Democratic Review* and the *North American Review* for January, 1844. Both were prepared under Ward's personal supervision. The comprehensive account by Judge Curtis, which has been quoted by every writer on this subject, was based upon an outline furnished by Ward.⁴⁶ When Curtis was later offered \$350 for his services he declined the remuneration. A friend of his had questioned "whether it would be best" for him "to be paid by your friends". "I cannot now state any very strong reason why I should not treat it as a matter of business", wrote Curtis to Ward, "except the feeling which constantly recurs that I had rather not; and it is a rule which I have endeavored to follow that when I have any scruples re-

⁴⁴ Ward to Gales and Seaton, Nov. 23, 1843; Ward to Baring, Dec. 27, 1843; S. Ward to T. Ward, Jan. 9, 1844; Ward to Latrobe, Jan. 11, 1844; Ward to Perit, Jan. 13, 1844; Latrobe to Ward, Jan. 15, 1844, *ibid.*

⁴⁵ Wayland to Ward, Nov. 28, 1843, Jan. 9, 1844; Ward to Perit, Jan. 4, 1844; Ward to Wayland, Jan. 4, 10, 1844; Tracy to Latrobe, Jan. 25, 1844, *ibid.*

⁴⁶ Ward to Baring, Aug. 29, 30, Nov. 14, 29 (with inclosure), and Dec. 8, 1843, *ibid.*

specting any pecuniary matter it is safest and best to be governed by them without attempting to find much logic for their support."⁴⁷

The services of political leaders were also solicited. Webster was most anxious to help and delivered a number of speeches. At Webster's suggestion Ward engaged Senator Robert J. Walker and Judge Montgomery, both of Mississippi, to carry a suit on the Union Bank bonds through the Mississippi courts and Webster to argue the case in the United States Supreme Court if it reached that tribunal. Walker was to receive \$200 as his legal fee and Judge Montgomery and Webster \$100 each; and fifteen per cent. of whatever was recovered was to go to Walker and Montgomery while Webster's share was to be five per cent. Judge Montgomery declined to serve. The Mississippi efforts proved futile and when Walker became Secretary of the Treasury his services were discontinued.⁴⁸ The Barings doubted the wisdom of employing Webster. As a public man he should see the necessity of acting while "the fact of his being paid would lessen his influence". When Ward on his own initiative gave Webster \$200 the Barings objected. "We should have liked", they wrote Ward, "when we are sometimes made the objects of attacks to be able to say that as a business and foreign house we remain neutral in all political struggles." Ward recognized their point of view and paid Webster himself. "It is a humiliating fact", wrote Ward on one occasion, "that the first talents in the country even must be bought and paid for in the highest of causes." It is quite evident from a careful examination of the Baring manuscripts that they were sincere when they acknowledged to Ward some years later that they were never able to reconcile themselves to the propriety "of taking American papers into pay for the purpose even of advocating principles of honesty. It ought to be done without English money."⁴⁹

While Ward was carrying on his campaign Reid, Irving, and Company secured the services of Edmund J. Forstall of New Orleans to agitate the claims of their clients in Mississippi. Forstall secured the publication of a series of articles in a Jackson paper which he had later bound in a volume entitled *Nine Years of Democratic Rule in Mississippi*. A copy of this pamphlet was sent to every Congressman and department head in Washington. Then convinced that he had done all

⁴⁷ Ward to Curtis, Jan. 11, May 13, 1844; Curtis to Ward, May 15, 1844, *ibid.*

⁴⁸ Ward to Baring, Nov. 28, Dec. 27, 1843; Mar. 30, 1844; Nov. 22, 1848, *ibid.*

⁴⁹ Baring to Ward, Nov. 18, 1843; Ward to Baring, Jan. 30, 1844; Baring to Ward, Nov. 2, 1844; Ward to Baring, Nov. 22, 1844, *ibid.* Cf. also Ward to Baring, Sept. 27, Oct. 16, 1844; Baring to Ward, Apr. 18, 1846, *ibid.*

that could be accomplished Forstall discontinued his efforts.⁵⁰ Meanwhile Hope and Huth were deluging the Mississippi and Florida legislatures in a fruitless attempt to create public sentiment in behalf of the bondholders.

For almost a century the unpaid debts incurred during the forties have been a subject of controversy. In the light of the foregoing discussion it is evident that the agents of the states violated state statutes in negotiating the loans and American bankers aided and abetted them. These acts were unknown to foreign investors when they purchased the bonds. It was the guaranty of the states, the confidence placed in the United States Bank, the high rate of interest which American securities carried, and the high standing of national credit which induced European capitalists to buy American stocks and bonds. The fact that the United States government invested its funds in some of these securities seemed additional proof of their soundness. When American credit began to collapse attempts were made by the creditors to persuade the Federal government to assume the state debts; but the Barings privately acknowledged that the national government was not responsible for the debts of the states. After the British government refused to sponsor the claims of their citizens and it was apparent that the United States government would not intervene in behalf of the creditors the bondholders endeavored to awaken the moral consciousness of the American public. But the lack of concentrated effort upon their part and the fact that public opinion had already been mobilized against their claims largely account for the failures in Mississippi and Florida. While it is true that the meager resources of the American people made it impossible for them to meet their obligations when they fell due, an inability to pay was no justification for refusal to pay.

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⁵⁰ Reid, Irving, and Company to Forstall, Aug. 4, 1845; Forstall to Baring, Apr. 12, 1853, *ibid.*

THE REACTION OF AMERICAN SCIENTISTS TO DARWINISM

DARWIN's characteristic perspicacity is nowhere better illustrated than in his prophecy of the reaction of the world of science. He admitted at once that it would be impossible to convince those older men "... whose minds are stocked with a multitude of facts, all viewed ... from a point of view directly opposite to mine. ... A few naturalists endowed with much flexibility of mind and who have already begun to doubt the immutability of species, may be influenced by this volume; but I look with confidence to the young and rising naturalists, who will be able to view both sides with impartiality."¹ Nor was Darwin mistaken, for the younger men, untrammelled by tradition, enlisted under the new banner and became its staunchest supporters. But even for those naturalists "endowed with much flexibility of mind" an intellectual conversion was slow and painful. Sir Charles Lyell, Darwin's friend, could not bring himself to subscribe to the doctrines implied in the *Origin of Species* until the tenth edition of his famous *Principles* (1868) although his own studies had led him to the very door of Darwin's thought.² James Dwight Dana reluctantly yielded to a belief in evolution, but only after Darwinian natural selection had been questioned as the sole cause and assigned a place among many factors causing development. The career of Louis Agassiz vindicated Darwin's assertion that the older naturalists could hardly be expected to accept teachings contrary to the predilections of a lifetime. He remained the most resolute opponent of evolution and was prevented only by death from publishing what he believed would be a complete refutation of the transmutation theory.

In the period now under review, the American scientific world was dominated by a formidable triumvirate consisting of Louis Agassiz, James Dwight Dana, and Asa Gray. These men whose names adorned the title-page of the *American Journal of Science and Arts*, were mature students and justly regarded as authorities in their respective fields.

¹ Charles Darwin, *On the Origin of the Species by Means of Natural Selection, or the Preservation of Favoured Races in the Struggle for Life* (London, 1859), p. 417.

² Charles Lyell, *Principles of Geology or the Modern Changes of the Earth and its Inhabitants* (London, 1868), II. 276 ff.; *Life and Letters of Thomas Henry Huxley*, Leonard Huxley, ed. (New York, 1900), I. 185; *Life and Letters of Charles Darwin*, Francis Darwin, ed. (New York, 1887), III. 8, 11, 13, 29.

Jean Louis Rodolphe Agassiz was one of the foremost naturalists of his generation³ whose scientific labors brought fame and honor to the country of his adoption. He was born in Switzerland in 1803, and he had established more than a local reputation by 1847 when he was called to a professorship of geology and zoölogy at Harvard, a position he held until his death in 1873.

The whole course of Agassiz's intellectual life made a belief in evolutionary views almost impossible. He had been a pupil of Georges Cuvier whose decided opposition to the *Philosophie Zoologique* of Lamarck in 1809 had effectively retarded the progress of evolutionary thought in the early years of the nineteenth century. Agassiz inherited from his great preceptor the doctrine of the permanence of type⁴ and he occupies a position in the controversy over Darwinism strikingly similar to that taken by his master in the earlier skirmish with Lamarck. In addition to his unswerving loyalty to the concept of immutability, he was of a deeply religious mind.⁵ He was not concerned with the externalities of religion, indeed he was scornful of them, but his profoundly philosophical nature, not untinged by inherited reverence, caused him to see in all the manifestations of nature evidences of divine plan and purpose.

Agassiz's consistent and unrelenting opposition has led to considerable speculation as to the motives which inspired it. It was never forgotten, by those who attempted to analyze his attitude, that he was the son of a Protestant divine. This was held to have dictated his refusal to subscribe to a conception so apparently mechanistic as Darwinism, but without disparaging the influences of heredity and environment this circumstance cannot be regarded as more than a contributory factor. Some of his skeptical European contemporaries whispered that his uncompromising theism was an artfully designed pose to induce his wealthy American

³ George B. Emerson, What We owe to Louis Agassiz as a Teacher, *Memorial Meeting of the Boston Society of Natural History* (Boston, 1874), p. 13; Arnold Guyot, Memoir of Louis Agassiz, National Academy of Sciences, *Biographical Memoirs* (Washington, 1886), III. 39; D. C. Gilman, *Louis Agassiz as a Leader of Science in America* (n. p., 1873), pp. 1, 2; California Academy of Sciences, *Proceedings*, Agassiz Memorial Meeting (San Francisco, 1874), V. 220-242, and other references cited below.

⁴ Henry Fairfield Osborn, *From the Greeks to Darwin* (New York, 1894). Louis Agassiz, *An Essay on Classification* (London, 1859), p. 78, and *passim*.

⁵ Emerson, *Memorial Meeting*, pp. 13, 14; Charles Frederick Holder, *Louis Agassiz, His Life and Work* (New York, 1893), pp. 182 ff.; William James, *Louis Agassiz* (Cambridge, 1897), p. 11; Thomas Hill, *Life is more than Meat, a Sermon* (Portland, Me., 1874).

admirers to open their coffers in the interest of his scientific labors.⁶ Another variation of this same theme was the assertion that he was reluctant to offend the clergy of Boston who were intimately associated with his father-in-law and patron, Thomas Carey. There is absolutely no evidence to support such a view and even the casual reader of Agassiz's *Correspondence* will recognize at once that such motives were inconsistent with his character. It has sometimes been urged that Agassiz's opposition was engendered by the realization that if Darwin was right, Agassiz was wrong.⁷ If, in other words, the principle of the *Origin* was correct, the thesis presented in the *Essay on Classification* was obviously based on a faulty premise. The imputation of such petty and intellectually dishonest motives to a man as steadfast and sincere as Agassiz are as false as they are unfair. His opposition was based on definitely intellectual grounds and what he believed to be serious scientific objections. It cannot be denied that his vision was somewhat befogged by philosophical and metaphysical prepossessions,⁸ but that is so patently a mortal frailty as to be immediately forgiven.

Throughout the first period of the controversy in America, which may roughly be said to close with his death in 1873, Agassiz was the mainstay of the opposition. His preponderating influence in scientific circles prevented a too hasty acceptance among professional naturalists who were wary of espousing views which the greatest authority of the day branded as a "mere mine of assertions".⁹ Theological defiance also centered around Agassiz's rejection and that gentleman who but a short nine years before was regarded with suspicion by the clerical fraternity was hailed as the "prince of naturalists and zoologists" and heartily praised for "eloquently protesting against the whole development or evolution theory, in relation to the kingdom of life, as wholly unsupported by facts and of pernicious tendency".¹⁰

⁶ On his father's side there were six generations of Protestant ministers, Gilman, California Academy of Sciences, *Proceedings*, V. 226. Moncure D. Conway, *Autobiography, Memoirs and Experiences* (Boston, 1904), I. 153. Charles M. Barrows, *Acts and Anecdotes of Authors* (Boston, 1887), pp. 13, 14.

⁷ *Letters of Charles Eliot Norton with Biographical Comment*, Sara Norton and M. A. DeWolfe Howe, eds. (Boston, 1913), I. 202; *Methodist Quarterly Review*, XLIII. (Oct., 1861) 607.

⁸ John Fiske, Agassiz and Darwinism, *Popular Science Monthly*, III. (Oct., 1873) 696, 697.

⁹ Edward Sylvester Morse, What American Zoologists have done for Evolution, American Association for the Advancement of Science, *Proceedings*, XXV. (Aug., 1876) 140; Professor Agassiz on the Origin of Species, *American Journal of Science and Arts*, XXX. (July, 1860) 142-154.

¹⁰ Herbert Spencer's Philosophy; Atheism, Pantheism, Materialism, *Biblical Repertory and Princeton Review*, XXXVII. (Apr., 1865) 267, 268.

In 1850, Agassiz had outraged the clerical world by declaring his belief in the multiple origin of the human race.¹¹ For this heresy he earned the scorn and condemnation of the orthodox, and some were slow to forgive.¹² In the face of a much more dangerous crisis, however, it was possible to forget such a transgression and to bless a man who could say that "All the facts . . . proclaim aloud the One God, whom man may know, adore and love; and Natural History must in good time become the analysis of the thoughts of the Creator of the Universe, as manifested in the animal and vegetable kingdoms as well as in the inorganic world".¹³ While Agassiz lived, therefore, it was at least possible for the clergy to reject evolution as lacking sufficient confirmation if not entirely incorrect.

Even before Darwin's work was published, Agassiz had already formulated his views on transmutation. In 1845 he wrote to the English geologist, Adam Sedgwick:¹⁴

The idea of a procreation of new species by preceding ones is a gratuitous supposition opposed to all sound physiological notions. And yet it is true that, taken as a whole, there is a gradation . . . of successive geological formations and that the end of this development is the appearance of man. But

¹¹ Louis Agassiz, On the Natural Provinces of the Animal World and their Relation to the Different Types of Man, in J. C. Nott and George R. Gliddon, *Types of Mankind; or Ethnological Researches* (Philadelphia, 1854), p. lviii; also his The Diversity of Origin of the Human Race, *Christian Examiner*, XIV. (July, 1850) 110; *Louis Agassiz: His Life and Correspondence*, Elizabeth Carey Agassiz, ed. (Boston, 1885), II. 497.

¹² John Fiske, Agassiz and Darwinism, *Pop. Sci. Mo.*, III. (Oct., 1873) 697; Thomas Smith, *The Unity of the Human Race proved to be the Doctrine of Scripture, Reason, and Science* (New York, 1850); Diversity of Species in the Human Race, *Bibl. Reper. and Pr. Rev.*, XXXIV. (July, 1862) 435; The Scepticism of Science, *ibid.*, XXXV. 61; Joseph P. Thompson, Quatrefages and Gordon in Reply to Agassiz on the Origin and Distribution of Mankind, *Bibliotheca Sacra*, XIX. (July, 1862) 607; J. M. Manning, *Half-Truths and the Truth: Lectures on the Origin and Development of Prevailing Forms of Unbelief considered in Relation to the Nature and Claims of the Christian System* (Boston, 1872), p. 18.

¹³ Agassiz, *Classification*, p. 205.

¹⁴ Agassiz, *Corr.*, I. 392; "I find it impossible to attribute the biological phenomena which have been and still are going on upon the surface of our globe, to the simple action of physical forces. I believe they are due, in their entirety, as well as individually, to the direct intervention of a creative power . . ." (*ibid.*, p. 389). "I think we know enough of comparative anatomy to abandon forever the idea of the transmutation of the organ of one type into those of another" (*ibid.*). Earlier in the year Sedgwick had written, "The opinions of Geoffroy St. Hilaire and his dark school seem to be gaining ground in England. I detest them because I think them untrue. They shut out all argument from design and all notion of a Creative Providence . . ." (*ibid.*, pp. 383, 384). Sedgwick had written Darwin: "I have read your book with more pain than pleasure. Parts of it I admired greatly, parts I laughed at till my sides were almost sore; other parts I read with absolute sorrow, because I think them utterly false and grievously mischievous" (Darwin, *Life and Letters*, II. 248); see also pp. 91, 100.

this serial connection . . . is not material; taken singly these groups of species show no relation through intermediate forms genetically derived from the other. The connection between them becomes evident only when they are considered as a whole emanating from a creative power, the author of them all.

From this position the author never varied and when, in 1860, he reviewed the *Origin of Species* he insisted that the views there presented did not make the "slightest impression" upon his mind or in any way modify his former opinions.¹⁵ He expressed his aversion to philosophical or scientific systems which appeared to rest on physical foundations and presented the scientific objections¹⁶ which he regarded as destructive to the theory. In addition he arraigned Darwin and his followers for having violated the laws of thought. "If species do not exist at all . . . how can they vary and if individuals alone exist, how can the differences which may be observed prove the variability of species?"¹⁷ He felt constrained, therefore, to adjudge Darwinism ". . . a scientific mistake, untrue in its facts, unscientific in its method, and mischievous in its tendency".¹⁸ The progress of the new thought disturbed his tranquillity, but he remained confident that in the end the truth would conquer. "My recent studies", he wrote in 1867, "have made me more adverse than ever to the new scientific doctrines. . . . This sensational zeal reminds me of what I experienced as a young man in Germany, when the physio-philosophy of Oken had invaded every center of scientific activity; and yet, what is there left of it? I trust to outlive this mania also."¹⁹

Agassiz was approaching the end of his mortal career, but he prepared his last message on the subject of evolution before death claimed him.

¹⁵ Professor Agassiz on the *Origin of Species*, *Am. Jour. of Sci.*, XXX. (July, 1860) 143; *Corr.*, II. 647.

¹⁶ Agassiz's main scientific objection was based on geological evidence, a field in which he was well qualified to speak. If Darwin were correct the record would show the existence of transitional forms which, he asserted, was not the case. "The fact is that throughout all geological times each period is characterized by definite specific types, belonging to definite genera, and these to definite families, referable to definite orders, constituting definite classes and definite branches . . .". *Am. Jour. of Sci.*, XXX. 154.

¹⁷ Agassiz was employing good philosophical logic which, to quote a modern writer, is all on the side of creationism while "evolution has only correctness to sustain it". Evolution cannot be demonstrated by a formal logic which does not encompass the idea of change. Horace M. Kallen, *Why Religion* (New York, 1927), pp. 15, 17.

¹⁸ *Am. Jour. of Sci.*, XXX. 154.

¹⁹ Tyndall reports Agassiz to have said in a manner which he describes as "earnestly, almost sadly", "I confess I was not prepared to see this theory received as it has been by the best intellects of our time. Its success is greater than I could have thought possible". John Tyndall, *Address delivered before the British Association assembled at Belfast* (New York, 1874), p. 49. Agassiz, *Corr.*, II. 647.

This final message took the form of an article in the *Atlantic Monthly* which was intended to be the first of a series refuting the current "mania". He had receded sufficiently from his initial position to distinguish the work of Darwin from that of his predecessors and his less cautious followers.²⁰ In fact, he was prepared to concede, as he had not been in the first hot flush of opposition, that Darwin would have "... treated his subject according to the best scientific methods had he not frequently overstepped the boundaries of actual knowledge and allowed his imagination to supply the links which science does not furnish". Beyond this he was unwilling to go. The transmutation of species was still as fallacious in 1873 as it had been thirteen years earlier. "It is not true that a slight variation . . . goes on increasing until the difference amounts to a specific distinction. On the contrary, it is a matter of fact that extreme variations finally degenerate or become sterile. . . ." Above all he resented the attitude of extreme Darwinians who apparently refused recognition to a divine agent by ridiculing the idea of special creation. "What of it, if it were true?" he asked, "Have those who object to repeated acts of creation ever considered that no progress can be made in knowledge without repeated acts of thinking? And what are thoughts but specific acts of the mind?"²¹

It is difficult to do justice to the influence of Agassiz as a factor in the controversy over evolution, much less overestimate it. Few men came in contact with his forceful personality without being impressed. His students revered him²² and we have it from one at least, Professor Burt G. Wilder of Cornell University, that he became an evolutionist only "when forced to decide for himself what should be said to earnest and thoughtful students".²³ The care with which academicians guarded their scientific reputations, a factor which exasperated Darwin, is a consideration which should not be neglected in estimating the influence of Agassiz. The weight of his reputation doubtless prevented many, especially among the lesser men and those with incorrigible theological

²⁰ "... Darwin has placed the subject on a different basis from all his predecessors, and he has brought to the discussion a vast amount of well-arranged information, a convincing cogency of argument, and a captivating charm of presentation. His doctrine appealed the more powerfully to the scientific world because he maintained it at first not upon metaphysical ground but upon observation". *Atlantic Monthly*, XXXIII. (Jan., 1874) 94.

²¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 94, 98, 101; cf. above, n. 18.

²² To this statement there is one exception, see article on Henry James Clark, *Dictionary of American Biography*.

²³ Cornell University, *Proceedings at the Unveiling of the Tablet to the Memory of Louis Agassiz* (Ithaca, 1885), p. 25.

opinions, from indorsing Darwinism. It certainly restrained men of reticence from taking an active part in the controversy as was the case with Jeffries Wyman, the Harvard anatomist.²⁴ In general, Agassiz's opposition made an immediate acceptance of Darwin's views impossible,²⁵ thus making the years from 1859 to 1873 a probationary period in which transmutation was on trial before the bar of science. There were accordingly few precipitous flights of interpretation from which sober research would later demand a denial. Instead, American naturalists retired within their studies and prosecuted their labors with the added zest afforded by discussion. The results are best seen in the work of such men as Othniel Charles Marsh, Yale's paleontologist, whose efforts were later rewarded by Huxley's elaborate praise, or in the studies of Edward Drinker Cope and Alpheus Hyatt, who immediately accepted the central idea of the *Origin* but deserted natural selection in favor of Neo-Lamarckism.²⁶ But even Agassiz's opposition could not stem the flow of time and all scientists of note, Agassiz's son Alexander included, ultimately adopted the fundamental principle for which Darwin had labored.

To the beleaguered defenders of the outposts of orthodoxy, Agassiz appeared as a providential David. His rejection of any form of transmutation lent a color of respectability to the theological denunciation and long after his objections had been satisfactorily answered, many an unrelenting cleric continued to invoke his authority in support of the old theology.²⁷

²⁴ *More Letters of Charles Darwin*, Francis Darwin, ed. (New York, 1903), I. 196; Burt G. Wilder, Jeffries Wyman, Anatomist, *Leading American Men of Science*, David Starr Jordan, ed. (New York, 1910), p. 193.

²⁵ Wesley R. Coe, *A Century of Zoology in America, A Century of Science in America* (New Haven, 1918), p. 410; Edward S. Morse, American Association for the Advancement of Science, *Proceedings*, XXV. (Aug., 1876) 140.

²⁶ John Fiske, *A Century of Science, Century of Science and Other Essays* (Boston, 1899), p. 25; *id.*, *Darwinism Verified, Darwinism and Other Essays* (Boston, 1913), pp. 27-28; Huxley, *Letters*, II. 203-205. Emanuel Radl, *History of Biological Theories* (London, 1930), pp. 274 ff.; Edward D. Cope, *On the Hypothesis of Evolution: Physical and Metaphysical* [University Series no. 4] (New Haven, 1870); also his collected essays on this aspect of the subject, *Origin of the Fittest: Essays on Evolution* (New York, 1887), which fully illustrate his point of view; Alpheus Hyatt, *American Naturalist*, IV. (June, 1870) 231-232; A. S. Packard, Alpheus Hyatt, *Proceedings of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences*, XXXVIII. 722 ff.; for Darwin's reaction to the rehabilitation of Lamarckian principles, *More Letters*, I. 341-345.

²⁷ For further information on Agassiz's opposition see Professor and Mrs. Louis Agassiz, *A Journey to Brazil* (Boston, 1868), pp. 40-44; *Scientific American*, n. s., XXX. (Feb. 7, 1874) 85; Edward S. Morse, Jean Louis Roudolphe Agassiz, *Pop. Sci. Mo.*, LXXI. (Dec., 1907) 542 ff.; Andrew Dickson White, *History of the Warfare of Science with*

The history of Asa Gray's activity during the controversy presents almost an exact antithesis to that of Agassiz. While the latter denounced the doctrines contained in the *Origin* even before their publication, Gray adopted them immediately and became one of the leading exponents of Darwinism in America. Yet Gray was almost as unflinching a theist²⁸ as his great colleague but was possessed of greater "flexibility of mind" and a more happily adjusted perspective.

Born in Paris, New York, in 1810, Gray received the degree of Doctor of Medicine at the age of twenty-one. He soon relinquished practice to devote himself to botanical research and the teaching of natural history. His ability and distinction in this field did not long remain unnoticed and in 1842 he was appointed Fisher Professor of Natural History at Harvard, a position he held until 1873 when he voluntarily retired to devote himself entirely to research.²⁹ Gray and Darwin were professional acquaintances of long standing. This acquaintance, inspired originally by a similarity of interest, matured into a friendship continually strengthened by mutual respect and understanding of which a lively correspondence interrupted only by the death of Darwin was the result. The great English naturalist regarded Gray as the foremost American botanist³⁰ and submitted to him an account of his projected work in 1856. To Gray, therefore, probably belongs the distinction of being the first American scientist to have any previous knowledge of Darwin's researches.³¹ He pronounced the work

Theology in Christendom (New York, 1896), I. 68-70 and n.; for an excellent statement of his views which is in some aspects an apologia written by his student, see Joseph Le Conte, Address, California Academy of Sciences, *Proceedings*, V. (1873) 220 ff., which is reprinted and greatly amplified in his later and much better known, *Evolution, its Nature, its Evidences, and its Relation to Religious Thought* (New York, 1891), pp. 32-49, and *passim*; Huxley, *Letters*, I. 181; Darwin, *Letters*, II. 63, 64, n., 80 and n., 103, 123, 152; *More Letters*, II. 160.

²⁸ Asa Gray, *Natural Science and Religion* (New York, 1880), lectures to the students at Yale Divinity School, *passim*; *Fifty Years of Darwinism* (New York, 1909), p. 28.

²⁹ The change came when he was invited to become assistant to Professor Torrey who was a member of the faculty of chemistry in the College of Physicians and Surgeons of New York but whose major interest was in botany. W. G. Farlow, *Memoir of Asa Gray*, National Academy of Sciences, *Memoirs*, III. 165. After 1873 he retained his university affiliation as director of the herbarium.

³⁰ *More Letters*, I. 169; an opinion shared by many others, John Fiske, *Edward Livingston Youmans: Interpreter of Science for the People* (New York, 1894), p. 281; William North Rice, *Christian Faith in an Age of Science* (New York, 1903), p. 252; Fiske, *Guessing at Half and Multiplying by Two, Century of Science*, p. 349.

³¹ James Dwight Dana, Asa Gray, *Am. Jour. Sci.*, XXXV. (Mar., 1888) 196.

done in a "masterly manner"³² and felt that Darwin had made out a better case than he had thought possible. Early in January, 1860, Gray wrote to Darwin's friend, J. D. Hooker, "As I have promised, he [Darwin] and you shall have fair play here. . . . I must myself write a review . . . for 'Silliman's Journal'³³ (the more so as I expect Agassiz means to come out upon it) . . . and I am now setting about it. . . . I doubt if I shall please you altogether. I know I shall not please Agassiz at all." But Gray was not yet a complete convert³⁴ though in his first review³⁵ he outlined the case for Darwinism and made a fervent plea for scientific tolerance. The review did not please him entirely and he felt some explanation to Darwin was necessary to justify its lack of enthusiasm. "It naturally happens", he wrote him, "that my review . . . does not exhibit anything like the full force of the impression the book has made upon me. Under the circumstances I suppose I do your theory more good here, by bespeaking for it a fair and favorable consideration. . . ."³⁶

It was Gray's intention to rid Darwin's theory of its apparent materialism by showing that the concept of evolution by natural selection did not exclude design from nature. He was quick to recognize that Darwin

³² Darwin, *Letters*, II. 62-63; Agassiz, when I saw him last, had read but a part of it. He says it is *poor—very poor!!* (entre nous) . . . he is very much annoyed by it . . . and I do not wonder . . ." (*Ibid.*, 63); and indeed to please Gray the work had to be a "masterly" performance for he no less than other men of science had been a firm believer in the doctrine of immutability. His previous attitude may best be seen in the comments made anent the *Vestiges of the Natural History of Creation* (New York, 1845), a volume published anonymously now attributed to Robert Chambers. In two reviews of this gentleman's efforts Gray championed the current views in the best traditional manner, ". . . it is a revival of the old atheistic hypothesis . . .", he said, and shows no improvement over the attempts of Democritus and Epicurus in either substance or purpose. It is "the most chimerical of all,—the gradual development of the higher orders of being out of those next beneath them in the scale", *Theory of Creation*, *North American Review*, LX. (Apr., 1845) 438, 457; nor was he more kindly disposed to *Explanations: a Sequel to the Vestiges of the Natural History of Creation* (New York, 1846), remarking, "If anything has been settled by human observation, it would seem to be this,—the actual uniform production of each species of seed specifically after its kind", and ". . . species which are now fixed . . . have been so ever since their creation", *Explanation of the Vestiges*, *N. Am. Rev.*, LXII. (Apr., 1846) 471.

³³ Another name for the *American Journal of Science and Arts*.

³⁴ Darwin, *Letters*, II. 63; *Letters of Asa Gray*, Jane Loring Gray, ed. (Boston, 1893), II. 445, 457; George L. Goodale, *The Development of Botany since 1818, Century of Science*, 451.

³⁵ *The Origin of Species by Means of Natural Selection*, *Am. Jour. of Sci.*, XXIX. (Mar., 1860) 153, reprinted in Gray, *Darwiniana* (New York, 1876), pp. 9 ff.; see also Darwin and his Reviewers, *Atlantic Monthly*, VI. (Oct., 1860) 406 ff.

³⁶ Gray, *Letters*, II. 457.

could not obtain a favorable hearing from theologians and devoutly religious men of science unless this were done. "I am determined", he wrote Darwin, "to baptize [the *Origin*] *nolens volens*, which will be its salvation. But if you won't have it done, it will be damned. . . ." ³⁷ Gray accordingly proceeded to prevent its damnation by asserting that Darwin was free from any religious animus and that the theory itself left the problems of religion exactly where they had been before its advent, a method which was subsequently employed by all important reconcilers.

Gray's method had a twofold object. He had first to render Darwinism respectable by ridding "natural selection", "contrivance", and "survival of the fittest" of their obnoxious naturalistic connotations. This was necessary in order to soothe the doubts of scientists and theologians alike that evolution was atheistic in its tendency. ³⁸ He must then assure the timid naturalist that a belief in transmutation was reasonable and convince the suspicious cleric that theology would not suffer by its acceptance.

Gray's principal contention was that Darwin's work, despite its title, did not pretend to account for the origin of life "but for its diversification into the forms and kinds which we now behold". ³⁹ The mystery of creation, of a first cause, vaguely remained "in the beginning" as of old

³⁷ Discussion between Two Readers of Darwin's Treatise on the Origin of Species, upon its Natural Theology, *Am. Jour. of Sci.*, XXX. (Sept., 1860) 226-239, reprinted in *Darwiniana*, pp. 62-86. "The important thing to do, is to develop aright evolutionary teleology, and to present the argument for design from these exquisite adaptations in such a way as to make it tell on both sides with Christian men, that they may be satisfied with, and perchance may learn to admire, Divine works effected step by step . . . in a system of nature; and the antitheistic people, to show that without the implication of a superintending wisdom nothing is made out, and nothing credible". *Letters*, II. 479-480, 656; see Hooker's comment on Gray's attitude in a letter to Huxley, Huxley's *Letters*, II. 205.

³⁸ So intent was he in this purpose that even after Darwinism had successfully weathered the first storm of opposition, he wrote his friend Rev. G. F. Wright (see below, *Letters*, II. 659) that he had seen references to St. Augustine which seemed to indicate a belief in an indirect creation ". . . such as now would be termed . . . evolutionary", and desired to be referred to appropriate sources the better to present his case to doubting theologians. Farlow, National Academy of Sciences, *Memoirs*, III. 172.

³⁹ Gray, *Natural Science and Religion*, p. 47; Farlow, National Academy of Sciences, *Memoirs*, III. 172; *Atlantic Monthly*, XLVI. (Aug., 1880) 274; Evolution and Theology, *Nation*, XVIII. (Jan. 15, 1874) 45, wherein Gray chides theologians who regard the theory of evolution as a premeditated attack against religion and berates them for their "lack of familiarity with prevalent ideas and their history", reprinted in *Darwiniana*, 254; *Natural Selection not Inconsistent with Theology* (London, 1861), *passim*, which appeared separately in the *Atlantic Monthly* in July, August, and October, 1860 (vol. VI.), and were later republished under this title.

and had no relation to the subjects then in controversy. The question was, merely, is derivation scientifically true and if so, does it endanger religion? In answer to the first, Gray concluded affirmatively urging that it was a problem which must be weighed in the scales of science and one which could not be dismissed because obnoxious to theologians. As to the second, there could be no dispute, if the major premise were conceded, for, as he said, "Agreeing that plants and animals were produced by Omnipotent fiat does not exclude the idea of natural order and what we call secondary causes".⁴⁰

Gray's support was admirably timed. It coincided almost exactly with Agassiz's opposition and did much to counterbalance it. Although conjecture is admittedly unsatisfactory, it is reasonably safe to conclude that given Agassiz and no Gray it would have been very difficult for Darwin to have obtained so ready a hearing in this country. It was Gray who braved Agassiz's opposition and prepared the ground for an ultimate acceptance of evolutionary views.

Darwin, who was keenly appreciative of so stalwart a defender, wrote, "I declare that you know my book as well as I do myself; and bring to the question new lines of illustration and argument in a manner which excites my astonishment and almost my envy! . . . Every single word seems weighed carefully, and tells like a 32-pound shot" which, as the late Professor Dorsey remarked, was quite a shot for those days.⁴¹

Gray was accused by a certain unknown minister from Illinois of abetting confusion and unrest by advocating such disturbing views,⁴² but a more accurate index of his influence in theological circles may be gleaned from his friendship with George Frederick Wright, professor at Oberlin Theological Seminary. Wright, who was also a geologist, made the reconciliation of science and religion the main work of his life. In 1875, he prepared a series of articles for the *Bibliotheca Sacra* on the compatibility of Darwinism and design⁴³ in which he enlisted the aid

⁴⁰ Darwin and his Reviewers, *Atlantic Monthly*, VI. 406.

• ⁴¹ *Letters*, II. 119; George A. Dorsey, *The Evolution of Charles Darwin* (New York, 1927), p. 135.

⁴² Speaking of this man Gray said, "He is one of those people who think that if you shut your eyes hard, it will answer every purpose; indeed from the ease with which he confutes Darwinism, I suppose he finds no call even to shut his eyes". *Letters*, II. 657; see White, *Warfare*, I. 79, for similar cases.

⁴³ *The Ice Age of North America* (New York, 1889); *Man and the Glacial Period* (New York, 1892); *Story of My Life and Work* (Oberlin, 1916), pp. vii, viii, 137-138; Divine Method of producing Living Species, *Bibliotheca Sacra*, XXXIII. 448; Objections to Darwinism and the Rejoinders of its Advocates, *ibid.*, p. 656; see also, Some Analogies between Calvinism and Darwinism, *ibid.*, XXXVII. 48; these are all subtitles in a series bearing the general heading Recent Works bearing on the Relation of Science to Religion.

of Gray. Their friendship born of the controversy was nurtured by it and they were drawn increasingly closer by mutual undertakings.⁴⁴

By reason of his church affiliations, Wright was enabled to carry Gray's version of Darwin's message to the innermost precincts of orthodoxy from which Gray, by reason of his notoriety as a champion of Darwinism, was sometimes barred. Wright, despite his scientific avocation, was much more orthodox than Gray and was encouraged to go to greater lengths by the latter's substantial theism.

The third member of the group, James Dwight Dana, occupied a position midway between that of Agassiz and Gray. He took no part in the controversy itself but his conversion from opposition to any form of transmutation to an avowal of belief in the origin of species by descent, is symptomatic of the change which took place in the minds of many naturalists of whose intellectual lives we have no record.⁴⁵ Dana succeeded Benjamin Silliman as professor of geology at Yale and held the chair which bears the name of that distinguished pioneer in American science.

Like Agassiz, Dana was deeply awed by the sublimities of nature whose mysteries became clear only when interpreted in terms of an all-comprehending creative genius. His scientific prowess and lovable character endeared him to his colleagues and students while his resolute but unobtrusive religious faith earned undying favor among the clergy.⁴⁶

⁴⁴ Wright prepared the index for Gray's *Darwiniana* and dedicated his later *Studies in Science and Religion* (Andover, 1882), to the Harvard botanist; see above, n. 38.

⁴⁵ Another scientist whose conversion was similar to Dana's but whose fame was far less widespread was Alexander Winchell, professor of geology at the University of Michigan and at one time (1873) chancellor of Syracuse University, who at first only accepted the concept of evolution as applied to the physical world, *The Doctrine of Evolution and its Theistic Bearings* (New York, 1874, p. 27); he eschewed derivation but admitted that there was a plan or method of evolution (p. 36), and cited all the stock arguments against it (pp. 31, 57 ff.); four years later he still felt that the derivation of all species was a "somewhat hazardous assumption", *Reconciliation of Science and Religion* (New York, 1877, p. 252), but admitted in a note added subsequently that the evidence had all but broken down the "barriers to an acceptance of the derivative hypothesis" (*ibid.*); and finally, *Grounds and Consequences of Evolution, Sparks from a Geologist's Hammer* (Chicago, 1881), he said, "We now think it safer to accept the hypothesis than to reject it" (p. 333), and therewith commenced devoting his efforts to accommodate the fundamentals of theism to modern science.

⁴⁶ D. C. Gilman, *Life of James Dwight Dana* (New York, 1899), pp. 8, 179 ff. Dana's record in the service of religion was a brilliant one. He followed in the footsteps of his predecessor who had dealt such courteous but telling thrusts against Moses Stuart of the Andover Theological Seminary in the early conflict over geology. Gilman, pp. 161-162, 182; White, *Warfare*, I. 209-248. He continued the argument with those who upheld the literal interpretation of Genesis as against the results of geological discovery, notably with Dr. Tayler Lewis, an eminent Presbyterian divine, Gilman, p. 183. In these

When the *Origin* first appeared, Dana was away recuperating from an illness and the duty of reviewing it for the *American Journal of Science and Arts* of which he was editor in chief devolved upon Asa Gray. Dana's illness and accumulating labors did not permit the reading of Darwin's work until well into 1863.⁴⁷ The fact itself is not without significance. Had Dana, religious man that he was, felt his faith endangered by the scientific speculation over the *Origin*, he would doubtless have rushed to the volume to discover its secrets. But so certain was he as to the ultimate truth of his convictions that his attention was not even distracted by the debate which raged about him.

With Agassiz, Dana shared a belief in some form of evolution. His geological researches inclined him to an acceptance of development in the physical world which he regarded as the product of natural law.⁴⁸ He believed the organic kingdom to be the direct work of the Creator who planned and evolved it by successively prearranged steps. He indorsed the current scientific faith in immutability and had already expressed his opinion that a species was "... a specific amount or condition of concentrated force, defined in the act or law of creation".⁴⁹ Gray rightly anticipated that one who held this view could hardly be expected to welcome a theory such as Darwinism.⁵⁰

There was, therefore, a multiplicity of factors which united to prevent Dana from becoming an ardent advocate of derivation and his

articles he displayed the blessedness of humility and the fatuity of unreasoned dogmatism. As a result, his name was known to many who, even if unable to share his views, could deny neither his theism nor his Christianity.

⁴⁷ On December 4, 1862, Dana wrote to Darwin, "Many long months, and now even years, have passed by, and still your book, the *Origin*, remains unopened". Gilman, p. 311. On February 5, 1863, he wrote to Darwin, "I have still to report your book unread", *ibid.*, p. 313. It should be noted that Dana's scientific views were just as secure as his religious convictions and the fact that he had not read his Darwin gave him no reason to believe that the *Origin* was in any way superior to Lamarck.

⁴⁸ See an appraisal of Dana by LeConte printed in full in Gilman, p. 254, but note that Dana's development meant no more than the unfolding of a divine plan. He was not even a complete uniformitarian in his early years and his interpretation of geological history left ample room for many catastrophes. That, of course, did not preclude a belief in development for each catastrophe was but a step in the creative purpose. He gradually relinquished these ideas, however. William North Rice, *The Geology of James Dwight Dana, Dana Commemorative Lectures: Problems of American Geology* (New Haven, 1915), p. 1, and *passim*. See also Rice, James D. Dana, Geologist, in Jordan, *American Men of Science*, pp. 249-250; Charles Schuchert, *A Century of Geology: the Progress of Historical Geology in North America, Century of Science*, pp. 109 ff.

⁴⁹ Dana, *Thoughts on Species*, *Am. Jour. of Sci.*, XXIV. (Nov., 1857) 306.

⁵⁰ *N. Am. Rev.*, XCVII. (Oct., 1863) 372, a masterly review of the *Manual of Geology*, in which Asa Gray succinctly brings out most of the points discussed above.

ultimate conversion is consequently the more remarkable.⁵¹ When the *Origin* appeared Dana was no longer a young man and his opinions in such matters were somewhat fixed. He was trained in that school of Christian apologetics which found the best evidences of divinity in frequent interruptions of the cosmic scheme,⁵² a theory for which he found ample confirmation in his scientific and philosophical opinions.

Dana continued to lecture to his classes at Yale on the errors of transmutation and as late as the 1870 edition of the *Manual* he was still of the belief that the attempt to establish evolution was "vain". "There are no lineal series through creation", he wrote, "corresponding to such methods of development".⁵³ During the next four years, however, he became less certain of these doctrines and admitted that the conclusion "... most likely to be sustained by further research"⁵⁴ was that one to which he had previously objected. He was now prepared to say that "The evolution of the system of life went forward through the derivation of species from species, according to natural methods not yet clearly understood, and with few occasions for supernatural intervention". But it was not until the last edition of the *Manual* that he entirely capitulated⁵⁵ and it will ever remain a tribute to the plasticity of his intellect

⁵¹ Even Darwin himself did not expect it, "pray do not suppose that I think for one instant that, with your strong and slowly acquired convictions . . . you could have been converted. The utmost that I could have hoped would have been that you might possibly have been here or there staggered". Darwin to Dana, Gilman, p. 315.

⁵² Dana *Commemorative Lectures*, p. 6.

⁵³ Dana, *Synopsis of Geological Lectures in Yale College* (New Haven), lecture XXI., pt. iv, nos. 8, 16, 17. Dana, *Manual of Geology: Treating of the Principles of the Science with Special Reference to American Geological History* (New York, 1870), still maintained that the "extermination of species was in general due to catastrophes . . .", and that "Geology appears to bring us directly before the Creator . . . it leads to no other solution of the great problem of creation, whether of kinds of matter or of species of life, than this:—DEUS FECIT", pp. 601, 602; also cf. 398, 573 ff.

⁵⁴ James D. Dana, *A Text-Book of Geology* (New York, 1874), p. 263, in which he also appeared to throw some doubt upon his previous catastrophic beliefs by admitting the conception of gaps in the geological record, pp. 259–260.

⁵⁵ *Manual* (New York, 1874), pp. 603–604; but he hastened to add in a footnote, "There is here no discordance with the Biblical account of Creation . . ."; he still refused to include man within the evolutionary chain because ". . . gifted with high reason and will, and thus made a power above Nature, there was required, as Wallace has urged, the special act of a Being above Nature . . .". From this he finally receded (see *Bibliotheca Sacra*, LII., July, 1895, p. 558), where a letter to the Rev. John G. Hall is published which came to light only after Dana's death (Apr. 14, 1895), and was cited in this instance to show that one could accept evolution completely and still remain orthodox. This is the more important for some have chosen to misinterpret the statement in the final edition of the *Manual* (New York, 1895), p. 1036, in which the objection of Wallace is restated, as in the edition of 1874, but with the qualification that,

and robust manhood that he was able to pass from one extreme to the other with such grace and candor.

Dana's importance is not derived from the part he played in the controversy itself but rather from his historical position. His influence was limited to a relatively small circle of students and friends who looked to his scientific works for guidance. He made no such widespread appeal as the two Harvard professors whose influence extended far beyond the university lecture hall and laboratory.

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although the creative power ordained it, it was nevertheless the culmination of the evolutionary process. In the last edition he said, "The principles . . . are all in accord with a theory of evolution; and, through the added facts of later years, they favor the view of *evolution by natural variation*", p. 1030. But he adds, after discussing Lamarck and his modern followers, Cope, Hyatt, and others, that natural selection is not the sole cause of evolution which may even occur without it, pp. 1033, 1036.

NOTES AND SUGGESTIONS

THE FOUNDERS OF NEW ENGLAND

I.

THE area which we know as New England was better entitled to the name in colonial times than any other group of American provinces, but its people were neither so strongly nor so typically English as generally assumed. The problem of their origins, as well as the origins of other American colonists, has recently been the subject of an elaborate report published by the American Historical Association.¹ This report left the antecedents of many settlers in the New England area uninterpreted, although it was remarkably successful in determining the origins of other early Americans. The authors approached the problem through an analysis of the population in 1790, the year of the first Federal census, selected on account of the importance of this population group and the relative lack of information concerning it. Although there were only 3,200,000 white people in the United States at that time, they are responsible, through their descendants, for nearly one-half of the present white population of the country.

The committee properly placed its emphasis on interpretation of family names and local histories. Professor Marcus L. Hansen was the committee's historical associate and traced the minor stocks and made records of outlying settlements. I carried out complementary studies of family names to develop estimates of the major stocks, namely, the English, Irish, Scotch, and German. Our reports provide the basis for the committee's conclusions.

While more than two-thirds of the people of President Washington's time had traditions of English ancestry, these are not always easily verified. Many American genealogies, to this day, do not go beyond the original settler, in spite of years of effort to establish his European home. By the end of the colonial period many American families had been in this country so many generations that they made little point of their ancestry. Their reputedly English names were often the common prop-

¹ Report of the Committee on Linguistic and National Stocks in the Population of the United States, American Council of Learned Societies, *Annual Report* of the American Historical Association for the year 1931 (Washington, Government Printing Office, 1932), I. 103-408.

erty of Englishmen, Scots, and Irishmen, or—quite as often—rare or unknown in England. Because of these circumstances, the proportion of English among the colonists must be established with the same care as that of other blood strains.

My estimates of Scotch, Irish, and German heredity were based on measurements of usage of distinctive surnames, and similar measurements should be applicable to the appraisal of the English stock. Every people has definite nomenclatural traits and can be recognized by certain common names not used by other people. The English are no exception. It has been shown by recognized authorities that the fifty surnames which they use most frequently account for eighteen per cent. of all Englishmen and that twenty-two of these appellations which are rarely borne by other people account for eight per cent. of the nationality. Since these names are both commonly and regularly used by the English, the numbers of their bearers in a mixed settlement should constitute a definite index of English blood, and are so construed in the report.²

Distinctively English names like *Hall, Parker, Jones, and Williams* do not now seem to have a national flavor, but that is mainly because the whole cloth of American life has an English weave. Such names are as distinctive of the English as *Buchanan, Duncan, Robertson, and McPherson* are of the Scotch, or *Murphy, Farrell, Connor, and Doherty* of the Irish.

Only two important, although exceptional, factors were thought to color the interpretation of distinctive English names: Their fairly frequent use in place of non-English designations in the course of general Anglicization of the population, and the differences between the two areas, Anglican or Cambrian,³ into which England is divided according to nomenclatural traits. When due allowance is made for the second factor, and it is found that the colonists made seven-tenths as much use of the indicative designations as the English did, it would seem that the English were approximately seventy per cent. of the colonial population. But let us compare the detail of that rating with the result reached by subtracting the non-English.

The following table shows the results of measuring the usage of distinctive English names compared with the results obtained by deducting the readily recognizable non-English from the total population of the New England states.⁴

² See pp. 113, 164-205.

³ See p. 705.

⁴ Cf. Table 11, p. 122 of Report.

AREA	Estimate of English obtained by deducting readily recognizable non-English from total population	Maximum English indicated by usage of distinctively English surnames	Discrepancy
	Per cent.	Per cent.	Per cent.
Maine.....	81	60	—21
New Hampshire.....	85	61	—24
Vermont.....	89	76	—13
Massachusetts.....	90	82	— 8
Rhode Island.....	90	71	—19
Connecticut.....	93	67	—26

In some states of the early republic the usage of English names was deficient and in others excessive. The "deficient" group includes the New England states with Delaware; the "excessive" group the other nine states. The excesses are mainly explained by non-English adoption of English designations. Revision of the preliminary figures to allow for voluntary usage of English names indicates that there was an element not readily assignable by nationality throughout the colonial population.

For the situation in New England there are only three explanations possible: That the supposedly distinctive names are not good indicators of English blood; that one or more non-English stocks has been decidedly underestimated; or that the type of Englishmen which converged on New England had a remarkably high ratio of uncommon names.

II.

First, as to the indicative value of the names studied. Tracing the frequencies of common names is something quite different from merely sorting names of high and low degree according to supposed background. While there are to-day some 35,000 surnames used in England and the number may have been quite as great two or three hundred years ago, the bulk of eighteenth century Englishmen were enrolled under some four thousand designations and the more common of these were of regular and almost universal distribution throughout the country. While the frequencies of individual names cannot be anticipated with more than "tolerable certainty", they have almost constant ratios in numerous lists when taken in groups.⁵ Unless there was a breach in the customs of the English or a selective process in operation, the usage

⁵ *Family Nomenclature in England and Wales*, Sixteenth Annual Report of the Registrar-General (London, 1856).

of these names in colonial times should give definite indication of English heritage.

Colonial Americans, like the English, concentrated under a comparatively few names. Of 27,000 family designations in the 1790 record, it requires less than 4000 to account for seven-eighths of the people. All of the distinctive English surnames were among those highly common. The twenty-two names given special consideration averaged use by nearly a thousand families each in the area of record from Maine to South Carolina, and by 334 families each in New England. Over thirty thousand people among the bare million who then peopled New England used one or the other of these designations in its exact English form.

The proportions of English which they seem to indicate form a rather smooth series in two parts. They ascend from Georgia to North Carolina and decline northward to Pennsylvania—with a high point in North Carolina which is partly an index of blood and partly of Anglicization. Northward and eastward from Pennsylvania they rise steadily in New York, Connecticut, and Massachusetts, and decline again northward—with a peak in Massachusetts where typical English of these designations were evidently more than twice as numerous as in Pennsylvania. Throughout the Southern and Middle states as far north as Pennsylvania there is decided consistency in the ratios of the several names, but in New York irregularities appear which continue into New England and become more pronounced.

One of the major possibilities in misinterpreting the indicators is avoided by treating them in two classes called Anglican and Cambrian. The latter consists of names, illustrated by *Jones* and *Williams*, especially common in Wales and southwestern England where little variety in family designations prevailed. The former consists of names, illustrated by *Hall* and *Parker*, characteristic of normally varied English nomenclature from north to south but especially in the east. This classification shows that people with Cambrian, or what might be called Welsh-English cognomens, were less prone to migrate to the New World than were those with Anglican names, and the two-fold division of the English is recognized in summation.

A difficult question is whether the formal spellings of English names did not develop gradually during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. It was only in the latter part of the eighteenth century that general accuracy in spelling—for word and phrase—became the vogue. At first sight it would seem that certain name spellings must have gradually increased in popularity among the English-Americans, but

every argument along this line is denied by consistencies in the usage of standard versions of the indicative names.

The colonists have been suspected of making many willful variations in their appellations. Ernest Weekley, the eminent English etymologist and nomenclaturist, says: "In 1790 one is struck by the prevalence of crude and grotesque nicknames, often obvious preversions of foreign names, but frequently, no doubt, deliberately assumed by or conferred on men who had cut even the surnominal tie with Europe."⁶ This situation is not especially unusual, however, as William Farr, the statistician, says concerning English records themselves: "Some of the terms which swell the list are so odd and even ridiculous that it is difficult to assign any satisfactory reason for their assumption in the first instance as family names . . ."⁷ As a matter of fact, the early New Englanders had a considerable penchant for discretionary spellings of surnames and were not nearly as prone to use established designations as were the Southerners centering in North Carolina. This may partly explain the apparent uncommonness of the distinctive forms and is of sufficient importance to be brought up later in another connection.

The real difficulty in applying a system of distinctive names to the measurement of English blood in New England is that the best studies of nomenclatural usage in the motherland are in insufficient detail and of comparatively late date. They are not as satisfactory as those of Scotch, Irish, or German usage. There is still much that needs to be known about English nomenclature in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries before the early practice of English-Americans in identifying themselves can be described with assurance.

III.

Who besides English settled in New England and in what measure, are the next questions. If the other newcomers had arrived in groups they would be fairly easy to detect by historical evidence and also by their names, but individual arrival is another matter. No non-English stock could have acquired substantial numbers in the American colonies without being mentioned by contemporary historians. What needs to be checked first, therefore, is the estimates of well-known stocks—Scotch, Irish, French, Dutch, German, and Swedish.

In New England there were no Swedish settlements and only one important German one. The Swedes who reached the area filtered

⁶ *Surnames*, reprinted (New York, 1927), pp. 8-9.

⁷ *Op. cit.*, n. 5, p. xvii.

northward from New Jersey and Delaware and were few. Only in Rhode Island did they constitute a noticeable fraction of a per cent. Germans in New England in groups large enough to call settlements seem to be liberally estimated at four thousand, of whom twelve hundred were in or near the Waldoborough cluster in Maine. This gives them a rating of 1.3 per cent. in Maine and less than a half of one per cent. elsewhere—a finding in definite contrast to the estimate of eight per cent. in New York.

The Dutch of the New Netherlands did not work eastward from the Hudson to any great degree except along the Sound. Practically none were known in New Hampshire or Maine and a large part of the others were traders or runaway servants. To rate them as a five hundredth of New England's population seems to be fair; there is a little possibility of understatement on account of changes of name which the historian Pearson⁸ says were prevalent until about 1675.

The French in the area were not mainly from Canada for the *habitants* penetrated only a few regions on the border, principally Maine, the upper Connecticut Valley, and the Lake Champlain district. Some were the scattered Acadians. A few were the lately arrived French professional people. Most were Huguenots. Before the Revolution they are variously estimated to have numbered between one hundred and fifty and five thousand families, with the historians Palfrey and Fosdick taking extreme views. Dr. Hansen says: "But these variations are accounted for in part by differing judgments as to what is or is not a Huguenot. How, for instance, should these families be classified that had lived two or more generations in England before departing across the Atlantic?"⁹ Those that had one or two generations of residence in England were, in our opinion, English and I shall refer to them later in that connection. For the others, Dr. Hansen's estimate of 1770 families, or slightly more than one per cent. of the population in 1790, may be correct, but it seems low because it is equivalent to only about twelve hundred families before the Revolution, and to a still smaller number at the time of immigration.

We now turn to the Scotch and Irish stocks forming definite settlements. The Highland Scotch and the southern Irish are comparatively easy to recognize by their names, but this is not true of the Lowlanders and some of the Ulsterites, nor even of the English Leinsterites. Slight modifications of their appellations enabled these people to pass as Eng-

⁸ Jonathan Pearson, *Early Records . . . of Albany* (Albany, 1869).

⁹ *Report*, p. 382.

lish if they did not already have designations of English style. The southern Irish were certainly not numerous represented in the area in 1790 because their distinctive names occur erratically, and to estimate them at about one and a half per cent., with a range from less than one per cent. in Rhode Island to nearly four per cent. in Maine, is more than most historians would expect. The Ulster Irish had several definite settlements, especially in Maine and New Hampshire, and appear to have been about twice as numerous as the southern Irish, reaching eight per cent. in Maine. Scotch names occur with considerable regularity in the records of our Northern states other than Connecticut and indicate over four per cent. of the nationality in New England's population. There may be some question as to whether they came via Ireland, but the Scotch appellations cannot be mistaken.

There is nothing on the face of the foregoing estimates of non-English to close the gap left when the estimate of typical English is added to them. As far as non-English people settling in groups are concerned, all except possibly the French and the Ulster Irish seem to have been allowed for adequately. The Scotch-Irish from Ulster and the French can make claims to greater percentages than have so far been ascribed to them, but hardly in degrees to dispose of many of the Yankee forefathers so far unaccountable.

We must now turn to the possibilities of infusion of non-English as individuals through contact with the other colonies and of infiltration from across the Atlantic. History records migrations of New Englanders outward to Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Georgia, and elsewhere, but no important reverse movement in colonial times. There were, however, campaigns in the French and Indian wars which drew the young men northward as the Revolution drew them southward. The activity of Yankee skippers from the Grand Banks to the West Indies and across the Atlantic can also be charged with a fair influence on population, accounting for sundry individuals from various points. These persons would not all have been English but would have seemed so if they spoke the language well. Their seemingly English names do not destroy the probability of non-English origin.

Felt's census records of Massachusetts, taken in 1777, designate more than one per cent. of the males capable of bearing arms as "strangers".¹⁰ The absorption of this proportion of strangers would go far toward accounting for the unknown population in the states of the group sur-

¹⁰ Joseph B. Felt, *Collections of the American Statistical Association* (Boston, 1847), vol. I., pt. II., p. 165.

rounding Massachusetts if the flow continued, as seems probable, for a number of decades, and if they did not ordinarily bear characteristic English names but only names which seemed English.

In the light of such conditions it is probable that a definite but moderate proportion of New England's founders were non-English people, not recognized as such because they already spoke the language, because they were British or naturalized by one process or another, and had names no more unusual than many which come from England.

IV.

The proportion of Yankee forefathers still unaccounted for, with appellations not characteristically English, also finds part of its explanation in the nature of English emigration. Let us consider this from the standpoints of social class, region of origin, and type of people involved.

The migrants were mostly of small or moderate means and possessed few noble names. This was also true of the other colonists. Guppy¹¹ has shown that the English gentry and humbler people make about equal use of common designations such as those used as indexes. So the settlers in the North did not get their uncommon names by being poor; but they were dissenters and separatists in religion and probably in other matters, including nomenclature. Their baptismal names often verged on the ridiculous. After they reached our shores they developed an unusual number of variant surname designations, as an examination of the catalogues of Savage, Dexter, Holmes, and others will show. They were of independent fiber not quite typical of the motherland's population.

This social peculiarity, however, was no more important in the evolution of the Yankee strain than was the influence of their geographic background. There are two important reasons for believing that the main body of New Englanders were drawn from more limited regions of England than were the English colonists as a whole. It is known that a goodly proportion of the Puritans were from eastern and southern England¹² and it can be shown that the heads of families in 1790 favored Anglican names in contrast to Cambrian.

The area from which Cambrian names spring comprises Wales, Monmouth, Gloucester, Shropshire, and Hereford—the southwestern part of the dual domain. *Jones* and *Williams* are the outstanding

¹¹ Henry B. Guppy, *Homes of Family Names in Great Britain* (London, 1890).

¹² Charles O. Paullin, *Atlas of the Historical Geography of the United States* (Baltimore, 1932), plates 70C and 70D.

patronyms in the simple Cambrian nomenclature and were, with other names of like background, relatively uncommon in New England. The normal English ratio is two bearers of Cambrian designations to each nine bearing Anglican and this ratio was fairly well maintained in the states of 1790 from New York south, but in New England the ratio was less than one to ten. *Lewis*, the most common Cambrian patronym in New England, and *Philipps*, the most common one in Massachusetts, may both be suspected of French usage additional to the Welsh-English. If the Cambrian rate of migration had applied to all of the English going to New England, the stock would not have constituted more than a third of the population of the area.

The counterbalance must be found in a rapid rate of migration on the part of certain groups of Anglicans. Their nomenclature being much more varied than the Cambrian is harder to analyze. The outstanding fact available so far is that Anglican designations diverged widely in ratios of Yankee usage. The proportion of *Parkers*, *Halls*, and *Bakers* indicates several times as many Anglicans as does the proportion of *Coopers*, *Turners*, and *Robinsons*, but these designations were so largely used in eastern and central England from north to south that slight clew is offered as to the parts of England most connected with migration to New England.

The types of people indicated by the Anglican-Cambrian classification are more important than the regional backgrounds. People with Cambrian patronyms are ordinarily Welsh or mixed Welsh and English, and represent, in general, the ancient Brythonic type which gave its name to Britain. Their reluctance to migrate is highly significant, and makes it worth while to trace the flow of migration into England to see if there was a reversal in the outward movement.

The Brythonic peoples were driven westward and northward by the invading Angles and Saxons, and the descendants of the survivors of the two stocks were raided and partially displaced by the Scandinavians, soon followed, as the centuries go, by the Norman French who established themselves in overlordship. From the Norman Conquest on, there was invasion without bloodshed, and, after the opening of the sixteenth century, large migrations of Flemings, Dutch, Walloons, French, and Germans traceable to religious persecutions in Germany, France, and the Low Countries. This movement came to be dominated by the French and reached its climax after the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes in 1685, when it has been estimated that half a million French people were driven abroad and that a hundred thousand took refuge in England and Ireland.

Let us set up for subsequent testing the presumption that the element in New England heretofore unaccountable was largely composed of English having French or Low Country blood. The answer will not necessarily come from purely historical records because people who had been settled in England for many years may not have left a record of hyphenation, as Theodore Roosevelt called it. Study of their names will tell pretty clearly, but the proper materials are not yet at hand. The official English study¹³ is rudimentary and of too late date. Guppy's work on the *Homes of Family Names in Great Britain* is based on name usage of the yeoman class which received few accessions after the Norman Conquest had become effective. The Anglicization of Low Country and Huguenot names has not yet been thoroughly investigated. We know, for example, that *Detray* may stand for *D'Estrees*, *Money* for *le Moyne*, *Phillips* for *Philippe*, and *Darling* for *D'Orleans*, but we lack a comprehensive story of these transitions comparable, let us say, with L. Oscar Kuhns's work on early German and Swiss designations.¹⁴

Three factors, however, strongly support our presumption: The partial disappearance of these sub-stocks in England, some evidence of their remigration after several generations of residence, and an agreement in the timing of probable developments.

The French migrants who fled almost directly to the New World have been recognized in the estimates of the French in colonial New England, but those that became naturalized English have not yet been considered, nor have the Walloons, Flemings, Dutch, and Germans who were associated with them. Several English authorities have noted the disappearance of Low Country and French names from English records. In his popular book, *The Story of Surnames*,¹⁵ Bowman says: "It seems difficult to understand why so few foreign names are to be found in the Directories." "It is remarkable that the majority of these are German, and that the countries, France and Flanders, which have done more than any other to swell our census returns are but poorly represented." He presumes that they became thoroughly Anglicized, but should bear in mind his observation that "the people looked upon them with jealousy and suspicion, and as interlopers who had come to steal away their bread".

The fact that Huguenots who promptly migrated to the New World were rejoined by others who had tried to be content in Europe, especially England, accounts for part of the disagreement between Palfrey and

¹³ *Op. cit.*, n. 5.

¹⁴ L. Oscar Kuhns, *Studies in Pennsylvania German Family Names* (New York, 1902).

¹⁵ William Dodgson Bowman, *The Story of Surnames* (New York, 1931).

Fosdick which has been referred to as bearing on the count of Huguenot settlers in New England. Since the economic position of the Low Country people was similar to that of the Huguenots in England, the two stocks can be looked upon as forming one element of lately naturalized English likely to migrate to the New World. This element would also include some Germans.

The element in New England which had seemed unaccountable entered the country some time between 1650 and 1750. It was not involved in the nuclear settlement in eastern Massachusetts where the ratio of people with distinctive English surnames was high. It possibly had its beginning in the latter part of the exodus of some five thousand families from England before the Puritan supremacy, but it did not continue far into the eighteenth century. The later phase, it will be noted, agrees very closely with the movement of the Huguenots beginning in 1685.

The special nomenclature of New England was established by 1750. The census of 1790 shows, for New England other than Maine, so few names borne by single families as to prove that settlement had practically ceased some time before. In the five states other than Maine, only about a third of the family names were borne by single families, when, in the rest of the country, this ratio was more nearly a half. Outsiders came into Maine throughout the eighteenth century, but Vermont which was also settled late got little new blood. In New England, generally and especially in Massachusetts, the number of families per name was relatively high and indicates a definite amalgamation of the population early in the colonial period with smaller additions in the latter part of the eighteenth century than were experienced in the Middle and Southern states.

The low ratios of distinctive English names in New England and the almost universal English tradition combine with the circumstances just stated to indicate that the perplexing element in New England was largely composed of people who were English by naturalization before migration, French, Walloon, Dutch, and Flemish in blood, and closely affiliated with the Huguenot migration.

V.

Colonial New England was England's stepchild. Its people were not so English as they have seemed and yet they were more largely English than their relatively scant usage of common English surnames would indicate. Some of these people were only near-English—natural-

ized sailors, fishermen, soldiers, and travelers. Many of them were *new* English—the descendants of people who had settled in England not many years before the removal to America.

The exodus from England to some extent reversed that country's original peopling, the last to come being first to go. New England received few of the Cambrian and other indigenous types and many of the descendants of the refugees which England sheltered in modern times.

As was the case elsewhere in Europe during this period, the indigenous people of England stayed on while those who had but recently migrated, moved again. Circumstances directed the *new* English northward and gave New England a population quite at contrast with that in the Southern states where the English were more typical and more clearly mixed with foreigners.

Massachusetts was one center and Virginia another of two English colonizations which were almost separated by the German and Irish dominion in Pennsylvania. Around the hub in Massachusetts formed an aggregation of exiles devoted to individuality, which contrasted sharply with the more conformable group centering on Virginia, and of striking importance in North Carolina. Up the Connecticut Valley and eastward in New Hampshire and Maine were colonists who were anything but conformists. In their self-reliance and pride in being unique lies one of the explanations of the civil war which occurred within seventy years of the close of the colonial period.

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DOCUMENTS

Adam Smith on the American Revolution: an Unpublished Memorial

THE Rosslyn MSS. in the William L. Clements Library, Ann Arbor, Michigan, contain official and other papers that were in the possession of Alexander Wedderburn, solicitor-general in Lord North's administration, and one of the main pillars of the ministry during the crisis following the news of Saratoga. Among these papers is a memorial indorsed "Smith's Thoughts on the State of the Contest with America, Febr^y 1778", and it seems almost certain that this was the work of Adam Smith.¹ It is printed below in its entirety. The handwriting is probably that of a copyist, and yields no conclusive evidence.

In their efforts to reconstruct an American policy after Saratoga, the English government invited suggestions from many sources. The "consequences of this most fatal event", wrote North on December 4, "may be very important and serious and will certainly require some material change of system. No time shall be lost, and no person who can give good information left unconsulted in the present moment".² That Adam Smith was among these persons is highly probable. In November, 1777, Lord North had appointed him commissioner of customs in Scotland, and might well claim the opinions of his distinguished nominee so soon after appointment. Adam Smith was certainly consulted on a similar problem of Irish policy in 1779, being approached through Eden and Lord Carlisle, members of the same political group as Wedderburn. Wedderburn, moreover, was a former pupil of his.

In the memorial, the author refers to himself as "a solitary philosopher", a description which, with the surname, narrows the field almost sufficiently to constitute proof. The style bears a strong resemblance to that of the known works of Adam Smith, as readers of the *Wealth of Nations* will notice. Another good basis for comparison can be found in the memorial on Irish affairs, which is printed, with other correspondence relating to it, in John Rae's *Life of Adam Smith* (pp. 350-355).

¹ I understand that Miss Edna Vosper, of the Clements Library, had already suggested that this document might be by Adam Smith, before I came to the same conclusion in examining photostat copies of the Wedderburn Papers.

² *The Correspondence of King George the Third*, The Hon. Sir John Fortescue, ed. (London, 1928), III. 504.

The opinions expressed are, wherever they can be tested, in perfect accord with those of Adam Smith; and there are at least two instances of specific parallels between passages of this document and those in the chapter Of Colonies in the *Wealth of Nations*. Twice in each work the author lays stress upon the ambition of the leading Americans for the preservation of their own importance in political leadership; and if the two passages in this memorial are compared with those in the known work (II. 115, 118, in the Everyman edition), a close resemblance will be seen at once. The second parallel occurs in the treatment of technical difficulties which might obstruct the representation of America in a British Parliament. In the *Wealth of Nations* (p. 120) Adam Smith explains that there would be no danger of the parliamentary doorkeeper failing to distinguish American members from unauthorized rabble, and thereby ruining the constitution as that of Rome was ruined. In the paper printed below the author deals similarly with the possibility of disputed elections, and gives much the same impression of disproportionate attention to a minor difficulty in a great problem.

In the memorial of 1778 there are two striking proposals to which attention may be called for their intrinsic interest alone, although in both there is more than a suggestion of the uncompromising and ingenious author of the *Wealth of Nations*. One is the recommendation that for a satisfactory settlement Canada should be restored to France and the Floridas to Spain, in order that the independent American states might be drawn back to friendship with England through the revival of their former enmities. The other is a proposal that the English ministry and the American leaders should agree to restore the old colonial relationship of 1763, with the understanding, not communicated to the English people, that gradually the link should be severed. The author concludes with much reason that so subtle a scheme would probably fail in the execution.

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SMITH'S THOUGHTS ON THE STATE OF THE CONTEST WITH AMERICA.
FEBR^y 1778.

There seem to be four, and but four, possible ways in which the present unhappy war with our Colonies may be conceived to end.

First, it may be conceived to end in the complete submission of America; all the different colonies, not only acknowledging, as formerly, the supremacy of the mother country; but contributing their proper proportion towards defraying the expence of the general Government and defence of the Empire.

Secondly, it may be conceived to end in the complete emancipation of

America; not a single acre of land, from the entrance into Hudson's Straits to the mouth of the Mississippi, acknowledging the supremacy of Great Britain.

Thirdly, it may be conceived to end in the restoration, or something near to the restoration, of the old system; the colonies acknowledging the supremacy of the mother country, allowing the Crown to appoint the Governors, the Lieutenant-Governors, the secretaries and a few other officers in the greater part of them, and submitting to certain regulations of trade; but contributing little or nothing towards defraying the expence of the general Government and defence of the empire.

Fourthly and lastly, it may be conceived to end in the submission of a part, but of a part only, of America; Great Britain, after a long, expensive and ruinous war, being obliged to acknowledge the independency of the rest.

The probability of some of these events is, no doubt, very small; and it may not, perhaps, be worth while to say any thing about them. For the sake of order and distinctness, however, I shall say a few words concerning the advantages and disadvantages which might be expected from each.

1^{mo} The first event might be conceived to be brought about, either altogether by conquest, or altogether by treaty, or partly by the one, and partly by the other.

If the complete submission of America was brought about altogether by conquest, a military government would naturally be established there; and the continuance of that submission would be supposed to depend altogether upon the continuance of the force which had originally established it. But a military government is what, of all others, the Americans hate and dread the most. While they are able to keep the field they never will submit to it; and if, in spite of their utmost resistance, it should be established, they will, for more than a century to come, be at all times ready to take arms in order to overturn it. The necessary violence of such a government would render them less able, than they otherwise would be, to contribute towards the general expence of the empire. Their dislike to it would render them less willing. Whatever could be extorted from them, and probably much more than could be extorted from them, would be spent in maintaining that military force which would be requisite to command their obedience. By our dominion over a country, which submitted so unwillingly to our authority, we could gain scarce any thing but the disgrace of being supposed to oppress a people whom we have long talked of, not only as of our fellow subjects, but as of our brethren and even as of our children.

But whatever may be the impracticability of bringing about the complete submission of America in this manner, it arises altogether from the resistance of America. A plan of this kind would be agreeable to the present humour of Great Britain where, if you except a few angry speeches in Parliament, it would meet with scarce any opposition.

If the complete submission of America was brought about altogether by treaty, the most perfect equality would probably be established between the mother country and her colonies; both parts of the empire enjoying the same freedom of trade and sharing in their proper proportions both in the burden of taxation and in the benefit of representation. No expensive military force would, in this case, be necessary to maintain the allegiance of America. The principal security of every government arises always from the support of those whose dignity, authority and interest, depend upon its being supported. But the leading men of America, being either members

of the general legislature of the empire, or electors of those members, would have the same interest to support the general government of the empire which the Members of the British legislature and their electors have at present to support the particular government of Great Britain. The necessary mildness of such a government, so exactly resembling that of the mother country, would secure the continuance of the prosperity of the colonies. They would be able to contribute more largely; and, being taxed by their own representatives, they would be disposed to contribute more willingly.

That the complete submission of America, however, should be brought about by treaty only, seems not very probable at present. In their present elevation of spirits, the ulcerated minds of the Americans are not likely to consent to any union even upon terms the most advantageous to themselves. One or two campaigns, however, more successful than those we have hitherto made against them, might bring them perhaps to think more soberly upon the subject of their dispute with the mother country: And if, in this case, the Parliament and people of Great Britain appeared heartily to wish for a union of this kind, it is not, perhaps, impossible but that, partly by conquest, and partly by treaty, it might be brought about. Unfortunately, however, the plan of a constitutional union with our colonies and of an American representation seems not to be agreeable to any considerable party of men in Great Britain. The plan which, if it could be executed, would certainly tend most to the prosperity, to the splendor, and to the duration of the empire, if you except here and there a solitary philosopher like myself, seems scarce to have a single advocate. A government which has failed in accomplishing, what seemed to them to be very easy, is, perhaps, with some reason, afraid to undertake what would certainly prove very difficult. After the unavoidable difficulty, however, of reconciling the discordant views both of societies and of individuals, whose interests might be affected by this union; the greatest difficulty which I have heard of, as resulting from the nature of the thing, is that of judging concerning the controverted elections which might happen in that distant country. A Worcestershire election of which the witnesses were to be brought from America, it must be acknowledged, would prove an endless business. There should not, however, seem to be any great inconveniency, or such as could essentially alter the constitution of Parliament, in establishing particular courts of justice for deciding such controverted elections as might occur, either in that or in the other parts of the empire. The genius of the present election Committees of the house of Commons is in reality more different from that of the antient judicature of the whole house; then the genius of such courts of justice might be from that of those election Committees.

• II^{do} The complete emancipation of America from all dependency upon Great Britain, would at once deliver this country from the great ordinary expence of the military establishment necessary for maintaining her authority in the colonies, and of the naval establishment necessary for defending her monopoly of their trade. It would at once deliver her likewise from the still greater extraordinary expence of defending them in time of war; whether that war was undertaken upon their account or upon our own. The two most expensive wars which Great Britain ever carried on, the Spanish war which began in 1739, and the French war which began in 1755, were undertaken, the one chiefly, the other altogether on account of the colonies. During the reign of the late king, and that of his royal father, we used to complain, that our connexion with Hanover deprived us of the

advantages of our insular situation, and involved us in the quarrels of other nations, with which we should, otherwise, have had nothing to do. But we, surely, have had much more reason to complain, upon the same account, of our connexion with America. If in those days it was the general wish of the people that Hanover might some time or other be separated from the Crown of Great Britain; it ought to be much more their wish now that America should be so. If, with the complete emancipation of America, we should restore Canada to France and the two Floridas to Spain; we should render our own colonies the natural enemies of those two monarchies and consequently the natural allies of Great Britain. Those splendid, but unprofitable acquisitions of the late war, left our colonies no other enemies to quarrel with but their mother country. By restoring those acquisitions to their antient masters, we should certainly revive old enmities, and probably old friendships. Even without this restitution, tho' Canada, Nova Scotia, and the two Floridas were all given up to our rebellious colonies, or were all conquered by them, yet the similarity of language and manners would in most cases dispose the Americans to prefer our alliance to that of any other nation. Their antient affection for the people of this country might revive, if they were once assured that we meant to claim no dominion over them; and if in the peace which we made with them, we insisted upon nothing, but the personal safety, and the restoration to their estates and possessions, of those few unfortunate individuals who have made some feeble, but ineffectual efforts to support our authority among them. By a federal union with America we should certainly incur much less expense, and might, at the same time, gain as real advantages, as any we have hitherto derived from all the nominal dominion we have ever exercised over them.

But tho' this termination of the war might be really advantageous, it would not, in the eyes of Europe appear honourable to Great Britain; and when her empire was so much curtailed, her power and dignity would be supposed to be proportionably diminished. What is of still greater importance, it could scarce fail to discredit the Government in the eyes of our own people, who would probably impute to mal-administration what might, perhaps, be no more than the unavoidable effect of the natural and necessary course of things. A government which, in times of the most profound peace, of the highest public prosperity, when the people had scarce even the pretext of a single grievance to complain of, has not always been able to make itself respected by them; would have every thing to fear from their rage and indignation at the public disgrace and calamity, for such they would suppose it to be, of thus dismembering the empire.

IIIth The restoration, or something near to the restoration, of the old system would sufficiently preserve, both in the eyes of foreign nations and of our own people, the credit and honour of the government. Our own people seem to desire this event so ardently, that what might be the effect of mere weakness and inability, would by them be imputed to wisdom, tho' to late wisdom, and moderation. But this event would not preserve the honour of the British Government in the eyes of the Americans. After so complete a victory, as even this event would amount to; after having, not only felt their own strength, but made us feel it, they would be ten times more ungovernable than ever; factions, mutinous and discontented subjects in time of peace; at all times, upon the slightest disobligation, disposed to rebel; and, in the case of a French or Spanish war, certainly rebelling. This event, however, does not at present seem very probable. The Americans, I imagine,

would be less unwilling to consent to such a union with Great Britain as Scotland made with England in 1707; than to the restoration, or to any thing like the restoration, of the old system. The leading men of America, we may believe, wish to continue to be the principal people in their own country. After a union with Great Britain, they might expect to continue to be so; in the same manner as the leading men of Scotland continued to be the principal people of their own country after the union with England. But after the restoration, or any thing like the restoration, of the old system, the appointment of the principal people among them, of their Governors, Lieutenant Governors, &c., will revert to the Crown of Great Britain.

The Americans, it has been said, when they compare the mildness of their old government with the violence of that which they have established in its stead, cannot fail both to remember the one with regret and to view the other with detestation. That these will be their sentiments when the war is over and when their new government, if ever that should happen, is firmly established among them, I have no doubt. But while the war lasts they will impute, and with appearance of reason too, the greater part of the oppressions which they suffer to the necessity of the times. Those oppressions will serve to animate them, not so much against their own leaders, as against the Government of the Mother country to which they will impute the causes of that necessity. It was not till some time after the conclusion of the civil war that the people of England began to regret the loss of that regal Government which they had rashly overturned, and which was happily restored to them by such a concurrence of accidental circumstances as may not, upon any similar occasion, ever happen again.

An apparent restoration of the old system, so contrived as to lead necessarily, but insensibly to the total dismemberment of America, might, perhaps, satisfy both the people of Great Britain and the leading men of America; the former mistaking, and the latter understanding the meaning of the scheme. It might, at the same time, gradually bring about an event which, in the present distressful situation of our affairs, is, perhaps, of all those which are likely to happen, the most advantageous to the State. But the policy, the secrecy, the prudence necessary for conducting a scheme of this kind, are such as, I apprehend, a British Government, from the nature and essence of our constitution, is altogether incapable of.

IV^{to} The submission or conquest of a part, but of a part only, of America, seems of all the four possible terminations of this unhappy war, by far the most probable; and unfortunately it is the termination which is likely to prove most destructive to Great Britain. The defence of that part, from the attacks of the other colonies, would require a much greater military force than all the taxes which could be raised upon it could maintain. The neighborhood of that part would keep alive the jealousy and animosity of all the other provinces, and would necessarily throw them into the alliance of the enemies of Great Britain. If all the seventeen provinces of the Netherlands had completely emancipated themselves from the dominion of Spain, their situation, as soon as their independency was acknowledged, would have rendered them the natural enemies of France and consequently the natural allies of Spain. Spain would have suffered little more than the mortification of losing the dominion of a great country, which, for some years before the revolt, had never paid the whole expence of its own government. To compensate this mortification, she would have gained the solid advantage of a

REVIEWS OF BOOKS

GENERAL BOOKS

Report of the Commission on the Social Studies. Part II., An Introduction to the History of the Social Sciences in Schools. By HENRY JOHNSON, Professor of History, Teachers College, Columbia University. [American Historical Association, Investigation of the Social Studies in the Schools.] (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1932. Pp. vi, 145. \$1.25.)

THIS is the second volume of the Report of the Commission on the Social Studies appointed by the Council of the American Historical Association. The commission is composed of fifteen representatives of the various fields of history, political science, civics, economics, sociology, geography, school administration, and educational research. The entire report is to consist of fifteen small volumes. Liberally financed and ably staffed, the commission is under heavy obligations, and it is gratifying to see the fruition of its work in these attractive little volumes. Taken together, they should constitute the most elaborate report thus far made of any group of studies in our educational system.

The first volume, *A Charter for the Social Sciences in the Schools*, by Dr. Charles A. Beard, appeared last year and attracted much favorable attention. The present volume, so the editor tells us, was developed from a stenotype of Dr. Johnson's lectures on the subject. It is a brilliant, if somewhat eclectic, survey of history and history teaching in the past. The conclusions will be disconcerting to the enthusiast for reform on the "educational frontier" of the social sciences—"if", asks Dr. Johnson, "apart from bringing history down to 1932 and utilizing new material aids such as motion pictures, most of our discoveries about the teaching of history . . . are only rediscoveries of ideas exploited, and some of them exploded, in the more or less remote past,—what then?" (p. 4). The "New History", for example, is not new; the "Changing World", democratized history, socialized teaching, the project method, the use of illustrations, true and false tests, the integration of the Social Sciences and other "new" devices of our time, were discussed long before we discovered them anew. According to Dr. Johnson, altogether too much zeal is spent in making twentieth century contributions to eighteenth century thought. After all, "How old the new!"

Joachim Heinrich Campe (1746-1818) was dimly conscious of the "culture epoch" theory while his contemporary, Salzmann, developed "the community approach to history" in his insistence that the pupils study the history

of their "own Schnepfenthal"! Frederick the Great wrote history and outlined school programs, advocated *Kulturgeschichte*, and claimed that history developed the reasoning faculties in that it called for discrimination between essentials and non-essentials. All the elements of a first-rate lesson in history, even the approach to the past through the needs of the present, are found in Joshua's instructions concerning the twelve stones commemorating the crossing into Canaan. The plan of teaching history backwards, that is, "from the known to the unknown", was expounded by Basedow in a dissertation published in 1752, and Priestley deliberately used history to explain their own times to English boys, a method which, laconically observes Dr. Johnson, "obviously implies an understanding of the past". Like the "Education for a Changing World", this widely acclaimed mode of approach to history is subjected to severe criticism by the author. Both are apt to lead to "much innocent distortion of facts . . . and to some deliberate falsification".

Even world history with its disregard of subjects has its prototype in Wilhelm Harnisch's program on *Weltkunde* in 1817. Following Pestalozzi, he brought together geography, mineralogy, physics, botany, zoölogy, anthropology, statistics, and history in a fusion program beginning with the study of local history, *Heimatkunde*, and adapted at each stage to the age and stature of the pupil. In the wake of this movement, there came the "concentration" theory developed by Herbart and more fully by Ziller in his treatise of 1865, in which a central, or core, subject is postulated for all instruction. Out of this came the cry of "down with school subjects"; carried to extremes by the "close concentration" advocates. According to them, a single object like an egg could serve to teach all subjects—"arithmetic in measuring and weighing the egg, geography in displaying the egg as an article of commerce, nature study in contemplating the presence of a possible chick, literature through Humpty-Dumpty and history through the egg story about Columbus". Professor Johnson adds that at the end there might be a composition by the pupil on "Eggs That I Have Eaten". During the last twenty years, general correlation has given way to a correlation in groups of studies, as, for example, general science, general mathematics, and the social studies.

As a part of an official report by a commission, this readable and interesting little volume is unique. Its clever and forceful argument, its kindly humor, accentuated here and there by biting sarcasm, should serve as a wholesome corrective to the excessive fervor of many would-be reformers in the field of our social sciences. On the other hand, there is danger that the casual reader may be misled by it into a belief that all is well with the social studies. One can live too much under the shadow of the past. Even in the social sciences, the dead hand is apt to have a cramping effect. Each generation must do its own thinking, its own planning, and, of course, its own teaching. That a knowledge of the thought and practice of the past, and, as Dr. Johnson

slyly suggests, some knowledge of the subject matter, will serve greatly to guide our planning, is sound philosophy. Any program that is worth while must be built on past experience, but it must also be adapted to present conditions. Here, as in history itself, the law of continuity, the "ceaseless process of becoming" is fundamental, and the social sciences are under constant need of being adapted to the processes of evolution and progress. Even if the "Changing World" came on the stage of human history with the expulsion of the first pair from the Garden, there is ample justification for especial emphasis upon this feature of our own times, in which accelerated change is making for a world interdependence hitherto unknown and of which our educational program, if it is to survive, must take cognizance.

Students familiar with Dr. Johnson's earlier writings will feel that by his own test the thesis of this stimulating little volume is not altogether new. They will also note the tendency to overweight the significance of ideas of individual writers of the past. In many cases these represent views which if put into practice at all had so limited an application as to have very little bearing on the needs of the mass training in the social sciences in the great national school systems of to-day. The relatively slight attention paid to the social studies other than history is out of accord with the title which suggests a broader treatment.

There is a good index, a list of the names of the members of the commission and a brief introduction by Professor Krey, the chairman of the commission.

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BOOKS OF ANCIENT AND MEDIEVAL HISTORY

Athenian Tribal Cycles in the Hellenistic Age. By WILLIAM SCOTT FERGUSON. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1932. Pp. xiv, 197. \$1.50.)

PROFESSOR FERGUSON'S latest contribution to Athenian chronological studies is at once a tribute to Dinsmoor's book, *The Archons of Athens in the Hellenistic Age* (reviewed in this journal, XXXVII. 529 ff.) and a detailed criticism of many of its conclusions. Though the book is small, it is so packed with minutiae as to make the task of a reviewer difficult. In brief, Ferguson accepts the cycles postulated by Dinsmoor for the period between 295/4 and 263/2, and again between 145/4 and the capture of Athens by Sulla. For the intervening period Ferguson proposes alternative arrangements. One must remember, however, that Ferguson's subject is Tribal Cycles, not the archons of Athens. Thus the approval which he gives to Dinsmoor's table of cycles does not necessarily involve agreement as to the dates of specific archons.

For the first half of the second century Ferguson's dates are in general

one year later than those of Dinsmoor, but for the second half of the third century the divergence is much greater. Except for placing Thrasyphon in 221/0, there is almost no agreement between them. Within this period falls one of the most difficult and complicated chronological problems, affecting as it does nearly the whole Hellenistic world, *viz.*, in what year (Polyeuktos being archon) did Athens receive an invitation to participate in the reorganized Soteria at Delphi. Dinsmoor's answer to this question (249/8), so far as I know, has found no supporters; and since his book was published, new evidence has come to light. Ferguson's analysis of the evidence, old and new, is for the most part convincing. He favors a date immediately after the peace of 355, in agreement with the majority of scholars; yet for the benefit of those who prefer a later date, he shows how his system of cycles can be modified to suit the needs of such an hypothesis.

From this book one gains a new idea of the part played by tribal cycles in Athenian public life. We read of a new type of cycle, hitherto unsuspected, one in which offices were distributed among the tribes according to an order determined by lot, not according to the official tribal order. The results were the same in each case, for no tribe held a particular office more than once in any given cycle. Ferguson believes that such "allotted cycles" were used from time to time, and he tabulates evidence to show that this method of selection was used for the three senior archons.

Although, to quote from the epilogue, "one by one historic facts which seemed to be recalcitrant, and at times were actually such, have ceased to be obstacles, and have become instead supports", still we cannot be more optimistic than the author himself, who does "not dare to hope that the Tribal Cycles of Athens in the Hellenistic Age are now established beyond the possibility of subsequent change". He states the fundamental difficulties in these words: "Excepting Thrasyphon (221/0 B. C.) and Archon and Epicrates (147/5 B. C.), there is not a single archon in this entire interval (*i.e.*, 262-147), and consequently not a single secretary, whose precise year is incapable of being moved, and with him the secretary-cycles, by one twelve months or more—ordinarily more." May I add, with some hesitation, that the date of Thrasyphon, to which all cycles during the second half of the third century are anchored, is debatable, to say the least. The evidence for Thrasyphon comes from Magnesia, and if the Magnesian year was like that of its Ionian neighbors, as seems likely, Thrasyphon can probably be dated in 222/1. Then the cycles from 293/2 to the end of the century, and probably those at the beginning of the first century, must be modified accordingly. If we retain the traditional date for Thrasyphon, Ferguson's cycles are to be preferred to any which I have examined. Despite this lack of finality, one may be permitted to felicitate Professor Ferguson on the contributions he has made to our knowledge of the workings of tribal cycles.

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The Legacy of Alexander: a History of the Greek World from 323 to 146 B. C. By M. CARY, M. A., D. Litt., Reader in Ancient History in the University of London. [The Dial Press History of the Greek and Roman World, volume III.] (New York: Dial Press. 1932. Pp. xvi, 448. \$4.00.)

THIS volume accomplishes the feat of giving in a lucid, lively, and delightful style an intelligible account of the tangled history of the Greek-speaking world from the death of Alexander the Great in June, 323 B. C., to the time of the Roman conquests in the second half of the second century B. C. It is written as only a great scholar with a thorough mastery of all the intricate details of Hellenistic history could write it, and at the same time every page is alive with a freshness of expression and a subtle wit. There is not a trace of either careless statement or heaviness of utterance in this book.

The introduction in two pages shows clearly what the meaning and value of Hellenism is: "In a word the Greeks were called upon to play for higher stakes and the Hellenistic Age was their supreme testing time." This is followed by a vividly interesting story of the years that remained of the fourth century after the death of Alexander and the doings of the Successors down to the battle of Ipsus (301 B. C.). The third chapter follows the various streams of political and military action down to the year 275 B. C., which "may be taken as marking the end of the long period during which the fragments of Alexander's empire were being heaved and tossed in the melting-pot". In the descriptions of the men who made and unmade kingdoms at this time a single word often has an extraordinarily illuminating power: *e.g.*, in the summing up of the character and value of Demetrius the Besieger on page 52, "In the politics of the day he was merely a disturbing factor, and the Greek world could never regain its equilibrium so long as he lurched out of one adventure into the next". No better picture of this brilliant and unstable man was ever given. After the tale of the passing of Alexander's marshals and that of Demetrius, son of Antigonos, is told, Dr. Cary relates events in the separate kingdoms of Syria, Pergamum, Thrace, and Egypt, the Greek Homeland and Macedon, the doings of the Greeks of the Western Mediterranean, and the earlier contacts with Rome. After the break-up of the various Hellenistic kingdoms is described, there follow important chapters on Hellenistic warfare, and the political and administrative aspects of the Hellenistic monarchies and the Hellenistic cities. The final chapters treat of Hellenistic art, literature, philosophies, and religion. These subjects are all set forth with the same freshness and originality of interpretation that are found in the earlier historical part and one never has the impression that one is reading old stuff, even when familiar ground is gone over.

I know of no other work on Hellenistic history which gives so coherent and brilliant a picture of these centuries, the history of which as Dr. Cary

well says is "not like a fringe of different material pinned on to the fabric of earlier Greek history, but forms part of its texture".

There are several appendixes, in the first of which there is an account of the sources and authorities for the Hellenistic period; in the succeeding appendixes various moot points are discussed with the same vivid clearness that marks the whole book. Lists and *stemmata* of the various dynasties, a select bibliography, and an analytical index conclude the volume.

As a student and a teacher of the Hellenistic civilization I am profoundly grateful to Dr. Cary for this invaluable book. And it may be confidently commended to the more general reader who is interested in the course of history and of the modern world, which, as Dr. Cary says, the Hellenistic world helped to fashion in science, ethics, and religion.

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GRACE H. MACURDY.

Claudii Ptolomaei Geographiae Codex Urbinas Graecus 82. Phototypice depictus, Consilio et Opera Curatorum Bibliothecae Vaticanae. JOSEPH FISCHER, S. J. Two volumes in four. (Leiden: E. J. Brill; Leipzig: Otto Harrasowitz. 1932. Pp. xvi, 605; [map plates, facsimiles] lxxxiii; 37, [double page] 78; viii, [map plates, facsimiles] lvii. 450 fl.)

THIS sumptuous work by a well-known cartographer and geographer forms volume XIX. of the famous series *Codices e Vaticanis selecti*. It purports to be the first complete edition of the *Geography* of Ptolemy, the last of the Greek geographers, who worked in or near Alexandria in the second century A. D., based on the most important and influential of all Greek MSS. of that work, whose value for Ptolemaic studies the editor was the first to point out.

The work is in two main sections, each of which is subdivided into a text and map volume: I., 1 is a comprehensive *Commentatio*—albeit in German—on the life, works, and influence of Ptolemy, with a historico-cartographic bibliography, list of MSS. used in the present compilation, and various indexes; I., 2 reproduces 83 maps from 53 MSS.—24 Greek, 2 Arabian, and 57 Latin; II., 1 is a facsimile reproduction of *Codex Urbinas Graecus* 82, the Greek text of Books I.-VIII. of the *Geography* with a critical apparatus in Latin, the work of the Italian Hellenist, Dr. Pio Franchi de' Cavalieri; and II., 2 is a facsimile reproduction in original size of 57 maps from the *Geography*—27 from *Codex Urbinas Graecus* 82, 27 from *Codex Vaticanus Latinus*, 5698, and 3 from *Codex Vaticanus Urbinas Graecus* 83, accompanied by introductory remarks by the editor.

This great publication, wherein the best of Ptolemaic MSS. is brought into relation to many others, both Greek and Latin, in various libraries, is the result of labors extending over a quarter of a century. To the interruption caused by the World War and its immediate aftermath we are

indebted for the inclusion of several recent publications and discoveries of source material, notably the finding by Dr. A. Deissmann, of the University of Berlin, of three important codices of the *Geography* in the Seraglio Library at Constantinople—*Cod. Constant. Seragl. gr. 57, lat. 44, and lat. 84*, the latter a printed edition of the *Geography* by Francesco Berlinghieri dedicated to Sultan Mohammed II., who reigned 1451-1481.

The most attractive part of the work to the lay reader interested in ancient geography is I., 1. In three books are discussed all questions relative to the life of Ptolemy, the man and scholar; the manuscript tradition of the *Geography* with a list of the chief Greek and Latin MSS. corresponding to the A and B redactions, based on the division into Byzantine and Asiatic made by C. Müller in his first edition of the Greek text in 1867; and the secular influence of Ptolemy's work down to the Renaissance, a millenium after his day. In Book II. is an extensive section on the history and date of *Cod. Urbinas 82*, which shows that it was brought to Urbino in the fifteenth century, probably from the great cloister of the Studium at Constantinople, and that it dates from the twelfth or beginning of the thirteenth century.

This publicaion, then, along with the first complete translation of the *Geography* into any modern language by Dr. Edward L. Stevenson, published in 1932 by the New York Public Library, reviewed here last April, has placed Ptolemaic studies upon a new basis. We are now ready for a definitive critical Greek text of the *Geography*, which will supersede the earlier imperfect attempts by F. G. Wilberg and C. K. F. Grashof (Essen, 1836-1845), C. Müller and C. T. Fischer (2nd ed., 1883 and 1901), and C. F. A. Nobbe (2nd ed., 1898-1913). The critical text of Ptolemy's work by J. L. Heiberg and others is still in progress, I., 1, 2, *Syntaxis Mathematica*, having appeared in 1898-1903, and II., *Opera Astronomica Minora*, in 1907. It is hoped that volume III. of this work may give us the long needed text of the *Geography*.

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WALTER WOODBURN HYDE.

Les Celtes et l'Expansion Celtique jusqu'à l'Époque de la Tène. Par

HENRI HUBERT, Directeur d'Études à l'École des Hautes Études,

- Conservateur Adjoint au Musée des Antiquités Nationales. [L'Évolution de l'Humanité Collective, dirigée par Henri Berr, première section, tome VI.] (Paris: La Renaissance du Livre. 1932. Pp. xxvi, 403. 40 fr.)

SINCE the beginning of the 20th century Celtic archæology has made steady and almost amazing progress. In fact, so rapidly has one discovery come after another that a few years ago the distinguished French archæologist, Camille Jullian, told the reviewer that by the time a completed article of his had passed through the different stages of printing it was almost out-of-date. And now that the Harvard University Archæological Expedition has begun

systematic excavations in Ireland, we may expect even more important revelations in the near future.

It is, therefore, obvious that the late Joseph Déchelette's *Manuel d'Archéologie Préhistorique Celtique et Gallo-Romaine* (Paris, vol. I., 1908; vol. II., 1910), excellent though it is, has become antiquated and that new evaluations and interpretations of these discoveries are now more than ever necessary. The late Professor Henri Hubert's monumental work—published after his death by three of his devoted colleagues and pupils, Marcel Mauss, professor in the Collège de France, P. Lantier, conservateur adjoint au Musée de Saint-Germain, and Jean Marx, directeur à l'École des Hautes Études—more than supplies this need, for it consists of a well-organized presentation of facts, interpreted with a broad and sound judgment, although significant details are not overlooked. This volume, indeed, makes us realize what an irreparable loss historical and archæological scholarship suffered in the premature death of this brilliant, erudite, and most versatile genius. For even if we turn to the very problematic field of linguistics, we find in the few chapters devoted to this subject a careful array of facts interpreted with a judgment that is almost uncanny when we consider how divergent—and, at times, unsatisfactory—are the conclusions of the philologists themselves.

One outstanding fact that is left in the mind of every reader as he closes the volume is that scholars in the so-called Romance field must, in the future, traverse the narrow Latin frontiers that they have built about their investigations and consider the contributions of other races to the development of the French language, history, and culture. Professor Hubert well says (pp. 19-20): "Bref, la civilisation des Celtes est au fond de la nôtre, comme la nation que commençaient à former les Celtes de Gaule est au fond de notre nation." As to their influence on French culture, we find the following significant passages (p. 20): "Le rôle historique des Celtes n'a pas été un rôle politique. . . . Mais ce fut un rôle civilisateur . . . Ce sont des professeurs gaulois, formés à l'école des druides, qui ont donné à la Gaule sa culture classique, et il y en eut du reste pour enseigner à Rome . . . Plus tard, au moyen âge, des moines irlandais rappelèrent l'Europe au culte des lettres et de la philosophie grecque et latine. Auparavant, les Celtes avaient été, pour l'Europe centrale, les intermédiaires de la civilisation grecque et n'avaient pas manqué d'y propager la leur." And finally with regard to their influence on the French language, we may note the following (p. 19): "Mais le français est du latin prononcé par des Celtes et mis au service d'esprits celtiques. Le caractère analytique de son verbe, l'emploi des démonstratifs et des particules démonstratives, l'allure de la phrase parlée lui sont communs avec les langues celtiques." Thus, the rôle of the Celts in the formation of the Central European nations is now shown to be far more pronounced than has been believed heretofore. This important aspect of linguistics Romance philologists have

neglected in seeking to adhere to the legendary belief of the French that their language and culture go back solely to Greek and Latin sources.

And so M. Hubert makes a complete survey of prehistoric Celtic civilization up to the epoch marked by the archæological remains found at Tène on the southern shore of Lake Neufchâtel in Switzerland. In the first part of his work entitled "Ce que sont les Celtes", he analyzes "Le nom et la race", "La langue", and "Les données archéologiques". In the second part, dealing with "Mouvements des populations celtiques", he discusses "Les origines des Celtes", "L'expansion des Celtes dans les Iles Britanniques", "L'expansion des Celtes sur le continent à l'âge du bronze—Goidels et Bretons", "L'expansion des Celtes sur le continent à l'époque de Hallstatt", including their spread in the Hispanic peninsula. At the end of the volume are to be found an excellent bibliography, an index of names, as well as lists of maps and archæological objects reproduced in the text. There are various errors, to be sure—usually of a typographical character—scattered throughout the volume and the paper on which it is printed is, unfortunately, abominable, but these shortcomings—for which the author, of course, is not responsible—should not in any way detract from the value of this really remarkable work. After a careful perusal of it, one is enabled to estimate at its true worth A. Grenier's more recent *Manual d'Archéologie Gallo-Romaine* (Paris, 1932).

Columbia University.

JOHN L. GERIG.

The Administration of Normandy under Saint Louis. By JOSEPH REESE STRAYER, Princeton University. [Monographs of the Mediaeval Academy of America, no. 6.] (Cambridge: Mediaeval Academy of America. 1932. Pp. 133. \$3.25.)

THE quality of Dr. Strayer's studies was shown four years ago by his chapter on "Knight Service" which appeared in the *Haskins Anniversary Essays*. That chapter reappears now as part of a description of Norman institutions under the Capetian kings prior to Philip IV. With scientific caution the author has confined himself very strictly to Norman evidence, giving careful account of whatever may be observed in Norman documents but avoiding any attempt "to bridge over deficiencies" in his sources by citing apparently analogous institutional developments described in recent studies relating to other provinces. The future scholar wishing to study the thirteenth century French monarchy can turn to this work confident that he will find a detailed picture, drawn from the local sources, of secular administration in Normandy.

The present work provides a valuable supplement to the earlier studies of Borrelli de Serres, Delisle, Haskins, Powicke, and Packard, upon whose researches Dr. Strayer leans, and whose conclusions he illustrates, corroborates, or corrects from his own investigations of the manuscript materials

to be found in the Paris and Norman archives. The picture which he presents is not one of dramatic or decisive constitutional developments but is concerned rather with administrative trends and tendencies the study of which requires patient and thorough investigation of a large number of documents, and the presentation of which precludes startling or brilliant generalizations. We are shown the introduction of the French *baillis* and the consolidation of the Norman *bailliages*. The slow process by which appellate jurisdiction to the exchequer and to the parlement of Paris was developing is indicated. At the same time it is made clear that Norman institutions were permitted to continue along their own line without any systematic effort from Paris to weaken Norman jurisdiction. This did not prevent that persistent encroachment by the *baillis* on all feudal, communal, and ecclesiastical jurisdictions, which was the process whereby royal authority waxed strong. Most interesting is the discussion of the financial administration. Under St. Louis this was still dealing with a revenue almost entirely feudal, but the transition from a service to a money basis was nearly completed. The author asserts that the most probable influence exerted by Norman institutions upon those of the French monarchy is to be found in the efficient mechanism of financial administration.

While there is an interesting chapter on The Royal Administration and the Towns the author himself admits that there is still much to be learned about the relations of the communes to the crown. He makes clear that the thirteenth century sources support Packard's theory that the communes were not created in order to increase military resources. He pictures the commune as a dying institution in process of being subordinated to the royal authority. For the theory that the crown deliberately protected towns and fostered commerce he says there is no evidence. "Almost complete peace and relatively honest government" provided all that a medieval community needed to insure prosperity. Study of the personnel of the royal civil service leads to the conclusion that the chief officials acted according to "a high standard of honesty, as honesty was then measured" and that their subordinates were "no worse than a modern police force".

Williams College.

RICHARD A. NEWHALL.

Le Droit Coutumier de Cambrai. Par E. M. MEIJERS et A. S. DE BLÉCOURT, Professeurs à la Faculté de Droit de l'Université de Leiden. [Institut Historique de Droit, Leiden, série II., 4.] (Haarlem, Willink and Sons. 1932. Pp. 250. 12.75 fl.)

WHILE preparing his *Le Droit Ligurien de Succession aux Pays-Bas*, Professor E. M. Meijers of the law faculty at the University of Leiden was much impressed by the number and the value of the unpublished sources for the customary law possessed by the various towns in the Tournai-Cambrai region. Having abandoned the idea of printing relevant excerpts from this

material in an appendix, partly because of the excessive quantity and partly because it seemed essential that these documents should be printed, if at all, *in extenso*, he now publishes the present volume, with the aid of a colleague and some twenty students, as the first of a series of editions of the sources for the customary law of this district.

The Cambrai material, as here printed, is based upon seven manuscripts mainly from the municipal archives at Douai and Cambrai (although the most interesting one, the *Livre bleu*, is privately owned at Douai) and upon various original documents from the departmental archives at Lille and the municipal archives at Cambrai. The collection comprises the well-known *Lex Godefridi* of 1227 (Latin text and contemporary French translation, both superior in accuracy to previous editions, are carefully printed in parallel columns), an early thirteenth century collection of inquests, an unofficial compilation of the thirteenth century called *Les coutumes des francs hommes*, various collections of cases, notes, and judgments arising from the customary law and compiled by individual practitioners (ranging in date from the late fourteenth to the sixteenth century), unofficial chronological lists of judgments and decisions made by the *chambre de la paix* of Cambrai in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, a selection of charters and ordinances of Cambrai (1258-1508), and a miscellaneous group which includes official oaths of the thirteenth century and an ordinance for the judicial duel of the same period. A second volume, nearly ready for the press, will print judgments and inquests from the official registers and from the *Livre bleu* and will present a general survey of the customary law of Cambrai in the form of a systematic table.

The editors have searched the archives thoroughly for their material, have edited their documents with great care and skill, and have added very considerably to the printed sources for the study of the customary law of the region concerned. They point out rightly the great value of these documents for the comparative study of medieval institutions since they belong to the customary law of the Low Countries yet are closely related to that of northern France. The editors have necessarily limited themselves to the subject in hand, rigorously excluding even the most valuable material concerning the municipal organization of Cambrai and similar topics.

In addition to the introduction, which describes the material printed and the manuscripts used, there is an alphabetical table of *coutumiers* and a chronological table of judgments and decisions. The book, with its wide margins, clear type, excellent paper, and attractive binding, is a beautiful example of the printer's art.

Smith College.

SIDNEY R. PACKARD.

BOOKS OF MODERN HISTORY

The Evolution of the French People. By CHARLES SEIGNOBOS, Professor of Modern History, University of Paris. Translated from the French by CATHERINE ALISON PHILLIPS. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 1932. Pp. xv, 382, xii. \$4.25.)

WHEN one of the leading historical scholars of France, and for that matter of Europe, publishes at the age of seventy-eight, after three years of labor, a history of the *Evolution of the French People* in one small volume of 382 pages, he does a great service to his fellow countrymen and to all who are interested in France.

This book is not a mere summary of events. It is sprinkled with expressions of opinion which sometimes accord with the ordinary opinion and sometimes not. For instance, he writes that financial embarrassments provoked the crises which gave birth to the Revolution: Neither anger at abuses nor desire for Liberty and Equality was enough to change the system. The government and the privileged classes still had power to prevent reform. It was the need of money which provoked the conflict.

The Revolution gave every region of France its own elected administration completely independent of the central power, as in the United States, and conferred on it police and even tax collecting power. The government now appointed only ministers, diplomatists, and army officers.

His judgment of Napoleon is familiar, but lucidly put: "Napoleon never succeeded in feeling himself a Frenchman. His last farewell to her [France] in his will uses an expression no Frenchman would have dreamt of using. He knew the clan of his native Corsica. He was ignorant of the power of national sentiment either in France or elsewhere." Less familiar is the judgment on Louis XIV. A foreign envoy wrote that the Court of Versailles was not suited to the genius of the nation. "It was never gay. Louis XIV may have appeared as the incarnation of the greatness of France but he never represented the French character."

It is to be regretted that the writer has "relegated literature, the arts, and science to a secondary position". Surely it is a little strange to read a history of France whatever the title and not find in it the name of Pasteur.

M. Seignobos points out that up to the sixteenth century the records give us a knowledge of the facts "incredibly incomplete and fragmentary and historians have presented legends or conjectures or rash generalizations. It is this inaccurate and biased history that obtained a foothold among the cultured public alike in France and abroad." For example he says: "We know hardly anything about the towns in the greater part of France."

Perhaps the most valuable characterization is made just before the close of the book:

From the middle of the 17th Century on, the essential features of the average Frenchman's character are plainly apparent—in spite of very great

individual diversities—a peasant, artisan and bourgeois type of character, prudent, distrustful and economical, greatly inclined to vanity, very sociable though not very hospitable, endowed with a swift, clear and precise intelligence, prone to mockery rather than to enthusiasm, ready of speech and fond of talking, skilled in psychological observation, more circumspect and calculating than its easy flow to words and frequent gestures would lead foreigners to suppose, inured by long tradition to a regular life, greatly attached to its everyday habits and better suited to individual work than to collective enterprises.

The work has now appeared in a French edition, entitled *Histoire Sociale de la Nation Française: Essai d'une Évolution du Peuple Français* (Paris, Rieder, 1933, pp. xii, 510, 16 fr. 50).

Princeton University.

PAUL VAN DYKE.

Christopher Columbus: Documents and Proofs of his Genoese Origin.

Published by the City of Genoa. English-German Edition. (Bergamo: Istituto Italiano d'Arti Grafiche. 1932. Pp. 288.)

To the general reader the question as to where Christopher Columbus was born is not of great interest or importance. To the city of Genoa, credited by historians with being his birthplace, and claiming and proclaiming that distinction in an imposing monument of stone, it is a major question. The distinction has been contested on behalf of other places, and the authorities of Genoa have consequently come to its defense. A commission of fourteen members, under the presidency of the mayor, has produced a volume of which the work before us is a version in French and German. The two languages are in parallel columns on the same page, which makes the reading more convenient than in the Italian edition, where the lines run the width of the expansive page. The weight of the volume, nine and one-half pounds, and the lack of continuity and arrangement of the text, are serious defects. An excellent feature is the correspondence of the pagination of the translation to that of the original—a great convenience in the use of the two works.

The translations are anonymous. They are well done, but not flawless. The author of the English was apparently not quite up to his task. A master of the language would hardly have started off with such a blunder as *rivendication* (p. v) or have written: "the existence of which had already been signalled by Navarrete" (p. 238) . . . "Prof. Altolaquire notified it to the Academy" (p. 239) . . . "original native country" (p. 90). The translation was the more difficult for the use made, without definition, of such ambiguous terms as *Genova* (town or province), *appartenenza* (residence, citizenship, or birth), *Italianità* (same), *cittadino* (born or naturalized). *Atti dimonstranti l'appartenenza a Genova* is rendered *Deeds proving . . . Genoese origin* [birth]. There is no deed that proves origin. The author does not pretend that there is. He proves the origin to himself, if not to others, without positive evidence, by a sophistical *tour de force*. ". . . His

place of birth", he says, "is revealed by Christopher himself, who when living in Savona . . . describes himself in a legal deed as a wool worker of Genoa . . . by this last declaration, made in a Ligurian city other than Genoa, it is evident that Columbus wished to indicate that part of Liguria in which he was born" (p. 138). How awkward for Christopher, if in Genoa he had declared himself, as he might truthfully have done, a wool worker of Savona, thus proving himself born in both places. The author's handling of this crucial question is hard to reconcile with the implication of the title and the professions in the preface and introduction, that the work was to prove its thesis by unimpeachable documents.

The facsimiles are well executed, but a number of them, shorn of head and tail, do not attest their date or authenticity. These are generally furnished by the author. The pertinent passages are reproduced in print, as transcribed and as translated. A few, that are not printed, are illegible except to trained paleographers.

The work as a whole is ill adapted both to reading and to consultation. It has no index or running titles. Its table of contents is slender. It has no designated chapters. Neither lines nor paragraphs are numbered for reference. It seems designed to defy orientation and thus oblige a reader to go through it.

The preface is written by the mayor, the introduction by a member of the commission, Dr. G. Pessagno, and the body of the work by another member, Professor G. Monleone, with the assistance of Dr. Pessagno.

The body of the work is devoted to making out a case by circumstantial evidence, based on facsimiles of printed matter and manuscripts. The only positive evidence adduced is the discoverer's alleged will of 1498, containing the phrases: 'I being born in [the city of] Genoa' and 'from it I came, and in it I was born'. The original of this document is lost. There is evidence that it was repudiated by the testator. This point is not touched on by the author. The text which he presents in manuscript is an unauthenticated, unsigned, extract copy, apparently of a draft or project made in 1497. He represents this manuscript as procured from Spain by the ambassador of the Republic of Genoa at Madrid in 1586. He quotes passages from the letter of instruction, but not these opening words: "Columbus of Cogoletto is very great in Spain, as you know". The ambassador is to get a copy of the will reported to have been made by the great Columbus [of Cogoletto] and to lend his support to Genoese pretenders to the Veragua succession [as descendants of this Columbus]. He presents in print a facsimile of part of the will or draft, as published about 1607 in the report of the lawsuit over the Veragua succession, and refers to the publications of Navarrete (*Coleccion de los Viages* . . . ed. 1859), but does not produce or cite a single complete authenticated copy of the will, or for the secondary sources, any indication of their authority or foundation. Was the text in the lawsuit contested? Was it

accepted by the court as valid? Was it accepted as probative; if so, of what? Where did Navarrete get his text? What, if anything, does he say about his source? Such questions are left to the reader's guess or speculation.

This incomplete compilation and disjointed, chauvinistic discussion is not without value as a contribution to systematic, impartial investigation. May it serve to awaken and quicken interest in the subject, and bring about a commission representing the scholarships of Italy and Spain, and equaling or exceeding their joint delegation, the scholarship of the rest of the world.

Washington, D. C.

JOHN BIGELOW.

Gesammelte Studien zur Geistesgeschichte der Renaissance. VON ERNST WALSER. Mit einer Einführung von WERNER KÆGI. [Schriften herausgegeben durch die Stiftung von Schnyder von Wartensee verwaltet von der Zentralbibliothek Zürich.] (Basel: Benno Schwabe. 1932. Pp. lx, 359. 20 fr.)

IN recent years it has been made abundantly clear that the intellectual movement commonly called the Renaissance was not a revival of a dead or neglected civilization, but that throughout the Middle Ages classical literatures were studied with care and appreciation. Comparatively few historians, however, have been aware of the fact that, contrary to the views of J. Burckhardt, J. A. Symonds, and Ph. Monnier, the majority of the Humanists were not irreligious, nor semi-pagan, nor hostile to the clergy.

It is most refreshing to follow the career of Professor Ernst Walser of Basel, who labored diligently for a period of thirty years to familiarize himself with the thoughts of the more important Italian and French Humanists. The results of his labors have been set forth in an admirable biography of Poggio, in numerous articles and reviews, and in a series of published lectures. Professor Walser was eminently equipped for his task, partly because he was a Swiss and therefore readily mastered the German, French, and Italian languages. His sojourns in Italy and France enabled him to note details which had been overlooked by other scholars.

A very readable account of Walser's life and an excellent analysis of his views have been presented by Dr. Werner Kægi. His introduction will prove a useful guide to the articles and lectures which he and Mrs. Walser selected for publication in the volume now under discussion.

The two most important compositions in this volume are those dealing with the essence of the Italian Renaissance. Illuminating also are the six lectures given in the University of Cambridge on "Human and Artistic Problems in the Italian Renaissance". Finally, the selections devoted respectively to Boccaccio, Salutati, and the Renaissance in France show clearly how profound was Walser's understanding of Italian and French Humanism.

Walser disposes very ably of the misleading classification of religious

leaders and scholars under the heads of Humanists, mystics, and scholastics. He proves with distinct facility that many a Humanist used the scholastic method, that other Humanists were mystics or favorably disposed toward ascetics, and that not a few were monks themselves or friends of monks. He has taken pains to shed much needed light on the religious views of such notorious characters as Poggio and Valla, and he skillfully analyzes the characters of Lorenzo de' Medici and Machiavelli. He corrects the fallacy propounded and repeated by leading authorities according to which the Renaissance ushered in a radically altered conception of God, the world, and man (see especially pp. 97-102).

But there is one difficult problem which Professor Walser does not seem to have solved. He entertains a definition of Christianity which differs considerably from that of such thinkers as Pastor and Monnier. In asserting that Poggio throughout his life, both inwardly and outwardly, acted as "ein papsttreuer Christ und ein begeisterter Jünger der Antike" he obviously regards Poggio as a good Christian. This was his privilege, but he apparently did not take cognizance of a similar privilege assumed by Pastor. He deserves credit for having depicted Lorenzo Valla in a more sympathetic manner than was possible for other writers, but he seems to have ignored the distinction between Humanists who wrote obscene literature part of the time and those who seldom read and never produced a single page of such literature. Consequently, Pastor was moved to write to Walser in the following words: "Uebrigens Pomponius Laetus war doch sicher kein Christ mehr." He might have said the same about Poggio or Valla.

The University of Michigan.

A. HYMA.

Deutschland vor der Reformation: eine Zeitenwende. Von WILLY ANDREAS. (Stuttgart: Deutsche Verlags-Anstalt. 1932. Pp. 644. 14 M.)

THIS book presents a synthesis of the history of German civilization in the half century before the Reformation. Its first section holds a remarkably drawn picture of the unity of the medieval world-scene and its disintegration, with full display of the ecclesiastical and religious life of the late Middle Ages. A central section of four chapters reveals the critical developments of political and social life in Empire and territorial states, the economic and cultural life of the cities in this their golden age, the hard problems and struggles of rural existence. The final chapters grapple with problems more subtle and intricate, for they undertake to analyze and assay the intellectual and artistic life of Germany in a period of transition and ferment.

Founded throughout on the multitudinous monographs and special studies which in the course of at least a generation have explored almost every detail of this vast historical panorama, Andreas has attempted a composite and interpretative history, which shall serve not only to satisfy the

appearances in the judgment of the scientific specialist but also "to portray the period of transition on the threshold of the Reformation as seen and understood by a German of to-day who, in the midst of a changing world and national collapse, has never abandoned the belief that destruction can also carry with it the promise of new life".

Unmistakably, the melancholy, the crude, the seamy, the horrible, are evident in fifteenth century life; authors who devote books to it, Huizinga, Stadelmann, and others, mislead only if they claim the whole is identical with a part. And the unlovely as well as the beautiful catch the eye in the very heart of Andreas's book, in his admirable chapters on the life and culture of the German cities. The data are full, the judgment enlightened. Here is no indulgence in dawdling melancholy, nor overwrought civic panegyrics such as those of Conrad Celtis on Nuremberg in which Andreas marks the evidence of unhealthy and declining culture. Yet in how much were crisis and woe, as Andreas shows, the manifestations of a new order of things struggling to birth! Profoundly essential to realize that this Germany, in deep commotion, moved "im Zwielficht von Mittelalter und Renaissance".

With all the author's interest in the macrocosm, it is on the microcosm that he must focus sharply in this early age of individualism. Whether concerned with Paracelsus or Erasmus, with Trithemius, Dürer, or Jacob Fugger, his characterizations are distinctive and discriminating. To appreciate their quality the reader may compare Andreas's finely etched portrait of the Emperor Maximilian with the too flattering monotone in the pages of Johannes Janssen's first volume.

It is profoundly gratifying that Andreas has proved equal to an undertaking of formidable dimensions and baffling complexity. He rises everywhere superior to the mere trader in historical facts. Nowhere in contemporary historiography, to my knowledge, is there a comparable presentation of German Humanism and the Renaissance. The detail of their description, the criticism of their manifestations, the exposition of the Italian differences and the Italian debt, reveal a historian of learning, acumen, philosophic power, and controlled judgment. Upon these matters the work is a stanch and healthy corrective of the superficial and summary views, explicit and implicit, in the pages of so many books in the English language, pretending often, with their cheap clichés, to rid historical society of an arch-cliché, the Renaissance!

Duke University.

ERNEST W. NELSON.

Francesco Guicciardini, Diario del Viaggio in Spagna. A Cura di CONTE PAOLO GUICCIARDINI. (Florence: Le Monnier. 1932. Pp. 123. 70 l.)

IN 1512, the young Francesco Guicciardini was sent to Spain by the Florentine Republic, as a "good will" ambassador, charged with the delicate

and responsible task of winning the allegiance of Ferdinand of Aragon, but in such a way that neither France nor the papacy should be antagonized by the alliance. In his various reports and private letters, collected in the *Opere Inedite*, Francesco has reported at length the success of this mission. The account of his journey from Florence to Logroño, a short distance from Burgos, where Ferdinand was holding court, has been only recently discovered, and while it has no especial political importance, it is of more than passing interest for the information it gives of the cities through which Francesco passed, and the general conditions, political and social, which confronted the traveler of the *Cinquecento*.

The manuscript was discovered during the cataloguing of those sections of the famous Guicciardini Archives, recently opened to the scholarly public by their owner, the Conte Paolo Guicciardini, one of the most eminent of modern Italian historians. It is a small paper book in the author's own handwriting, but apparently not intended for publication, since it quite lacks the tormenting corrections, correction of corrections, additions and correction of additions which characterize most of the existing manuscripts belonging to Francesco. He seems to have written merely to satisfy his innate need for recording his own experiences, much as he jotted down the notes forming the *Ricordanze*, likewise a recent discovery, published by the same scholarly editor.

This mission marks the beginning of Francesco's diplomatic career. He was then still under thirty, and quite aware of the honor his appointment conferred on one of his years. Florence had up to that time been able to maintain a fair degree of neutrality, but she was learning how poor a defense neutrality is when one's neighbors are all at war. Soderini was not willing to declare himself as favoring either France or the papacy, nor was he willing to commit the government to a definite proposal to Ferdinand. Consequently Guicciardini's instructions were vague and difficult. He seems to have acted according to his own judgment in whatever decisions were to be made. For the journey, he was told to follow the Riviera, passing through Genoa and Marseilles. Instead, he went to Lucca, struck northward to Piacenza, then through the Po Valley to the Alps, then angled southwestward, passing through Carpentras, Avignon, Nîmes, Narbonne, Perpignan, Barcelona, and then westward, through Lerida and Saragossa and along the Ebro to Logroño where the *Diario* ends. Judging from the entries, he chose this way as being the more adventurous. He dwells at length upon the difficulties of wind and weather, of brigands and custom duties, and he was as keen to search out the historical monuments as any modern tourist. Of his mission, he says nothing; he does not even mention his companions. The journey lasted fifty-two days, during which time they covered over a thousand miles; "a happy voyage" he calls it. One can understand the omission of any reference to the purpose of the embassy. The chief charm of the *Diario* lies in the brief and

pungent comments concerning what he saw—people, market places, chapels, and agricultural conditions.

The document is admirably edited, with adequate notes and with reproductions of contemporary maps showing the line of march taken by Francesco and his companions from Florence to Logroño. As one of a projected series based on the rare collection of papers, public and private, belonging to the Bardi, the Albizzi, the Venturi, as well as the Guicciardini families, all now a part of the Guicciardini Archives, the little volume is of more than passing interest.

Boston.

GERTRUDE R. B. RICHARDS.

A Political and Cultural History of Modern Europe. By CARLTON J. H. HAYES. Volume I., *Three Centuries of Predominantly Agricultural Society, 1500-1830.* (New York: Macmillan Company. 1932. Pp. xix, 863. \$3.50.)

THIS work when completed will be much more than a revision of the author's *Political and Social History of Modern Europe*, issued in 1916. Volume I. is virtually a new book. Not only is it a third longer than its predecessor but by far the greater part has been rewritten, reinterpreted, and reordered. With the introduction of carefully selected contemporaneous illustrations and maps, the appearance of the book has also been improved. The sketch maps, however, are unsatisfactory; they are either too small in scale, poorly projected, or actually inadequate to the text. The dynastic charts, on the other hand, are admirably constructed and carefully interlarded. The chapter bibliographies have been brought up to date and have been assembled conveniently in the appendix.

Professor Hayes has been among the first in recognizing the importance of factors other than political in the treatment of general history. That this conviction has gained ground is amply demonstrated in the new volume. Deeming the term *social* too narrow in scope, he has adopted the term *cultural*, with a broader anthropological connotation, to designate his interest in the whole range of the non-political activities of mankind. Without relaxing interest in political, social, and economic phenomena, Professor Hayes has deliberately expanded those portions of the work dealing with intellectual development. The account of the sixteenth century intellectual awakening has been amplified and the rise of nineteenth century romanticism is treated at some length. A large chapter entitled *The Intellectual Revolution* has supplanted the meager pages devoted to the intellectual activities of the eighteenth century. The student, though burdened with the task of identifying innumerable *objets d'art* and the phrases of natural science, should gain in appreciation of the richness of his social heritage.

The new volume is characterized by a greater wealth of fact and evidence which in turn has enhanced the value of both the skeletal organization and

the interpretative sections. Thus Part III., formerly entitled Liberty, Equality and Fraternity, now, Revolutionary Developments of the Modern World, includes a treatment of the British revolutions and the intellectual revolution, as well as of the French Revolution and its aftermath. In passing it may be remarked that Volume I. concludes with The Era of Metternich, formerly the introductory chapter of the second volume. The style employed is as vigorous as ever but facts and conclusions are no longer hammered out in one, two, three manner. Thus the three cardinal effects of the Commercial Revolution have given way to an enlightening essay upon the rise of modern capitalism and the five significant results of the Protestant revolution to a well integrated discussion upon the status of Christianity after the religious upheaval. The author, however immersed in his task, never forsakes the present, and his observations upon nationalism, toleration, and subjects of kindred importance will challenge the understanding of the discriminating student. All that is new, however, represents not so much the increase of historical knowledge during the past fifteen years as the maturing of a scholar.

Princeton University.

J. E. POMFRET.

English Public Finance, 1558-1641. By FREDERICK C. DIETZ, Professor of History in the University of Illinois. [The American Historical Association.] (New York: Century Company. 1932. Pp. xviii, 478. \$4.00.)

THIS volume, a culmination of preliminary studies, surveys the entire field of English governmental receipts and expenditures from the accession of Queen Elizabeth to the opening of the Long Parliament. It is a work of great labor and considerable importance; and it deals with a subject so slightly investigated that the praise due a pioneer must be accorded to its author.

More than half of the book is devoted to a historical survey of the government's fiscal problem throughout the period in question, and the methods employed in meeting the needs of the national exchequer. Correctly beginning with the administrative reforms of Lord Treasurer Winchester and the surprisingly large military expenses before 1570, Professor Dietz passes on to the quieter period of prudential frugality between 1572 and 1585, in which Burghley actually acquired a small surplus. In the last years of Elizabeth, however, military expenses turned the exchequer into a bottomless pit from which the early Stuarts were unable to extricate themselves, due chiefly to the prodigality of James, the foolish war policy of Charles, the rise of prices, and the quarrel with Parliament. The desperate shifts of early Stuart lord treasurers clearly illustrate the changes that had taken place. A second portion of the book contains studies of the financial productivity of crown lands, customs duties, and parliamentary grants and something (but none too much) of the administration in collecting and handling these

revenues. There are also special chapters on expenditures in selected military and civil departments.

Professor Dietz has given us the first comprehensive study of a very large subject during a period in which to an unusual extent governmental policy must be interpreted in the light of the financial situation. He has also made possible enlightening comparisons of the relative importance of individual items of revenue and disbursement. Recusancy fines, for example, are shown to be of small significance and the preponderating drain of military over all other expenses is given the emphasis it deserves. The book contains a mass of information about all sorts of methods for raising revenue, ephemeral as well as fundamental. The chapters on the customs are especially interesting.

Several criticisms may be made of this work. There is a surprising number of minor errors, some of them in transcription from the manuscripts from which the figures are drawn. The reviewer has tested five lists of figures taken at random and has found such errors in three. Although these errors are all minor, they impart an uneasy suspicion that there may be many more. The author also occasionally seems to ignore the general spirit and broader currents of the time with which he deals. The rising opposition of the Commons against the crown, for example, is ascribed almost entirely to their miserly and tight-fisted reluctance to part with their money. There is perhaps a tendency to accept statements in manuscript material without sufficient question. Sometimes also a looseness of phraseology obscures the author's meaning.

The University of Minnesota.

DAVID HARRIS WILLSON.

The Development of Religious Toleration in England from the Beginning of the English Reformation to the Death of Queen Elizabeth.

By W. K. JORDAN, Ph. D., Instructor in History and Tutor in the Division of History, Government, and Economics in Harvard University. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1932. Pp. 490. \$5.00.)

"PHILOSOPHICAL toleration . . . rests upon the power of truth to overcome error" and "presumes a mind which has definite and pronounced religious opinions, but which is able and willing to concede to other minds the right to retain and practice contrary beliefs". This ideal conception of Creighton and Brooks, Jordan holds before him. In Elizabethan England, however, he finds only a "legal toleration" which "signifies simply a refraining from persecution" and "presumes an authority which has been and which again may become coercive". The laws of Elizabeth reveal little even of this latter brand, but the practice of Elizabeth found expedient a winking at laws which made England moderately comfortable for the religiously unorthodox. Besides, a painstaking analysis of Elizabethan theory discovers in all groups writers whom expediency drove to promulgate pleas for toleration. Acontius,

indeed, produced in 1565 a philosophical justification of toleration which Jordan believes was not equalled until Locke's day, if then.

Prior to Elizabeth the state persecuted religious beliefs as such because it felt responsible for a pure faith; Elizabeth persecuted for political reasons. Elizabeth had no desire to punish opinion, but public order demanded outward conformity. Her interests were secular; her aims were peace and loyalty to the crown; her ideal was an Erastian establishment comprehensive enough to embrace diverse groups; her method was enactment of severe laws for use in emergencies, coupled with leniency through nonenforcement so long as political loyalty was preserved. Her executions were in theory, at least, for treason, not heresy. Political exigencies, papal interference, or Puritan zeal forced her at times to rigorous measures. But during her first and last decades, she was lenient indeed—though she retained the right to persecute. Jordan discovers a public opinion which necessitated repeated disclaimers of interference with belief, even when she did, in the troubled middle years, punish religious offenders for "treason".

- Jordan describes the factors which nourished toleration. He analyzes in detail the theory of each religious group. He finds each unwilling to relinquish in the abstract its right to impose the true belief on others by force, but each promulgating new arguments for toleration in order to meet practical needs of the moment. The government contributed the practice of limited toleration; Anglicanism, the importance of reason in religion, and freedom for *belief* as opposed to worship; Puritanism, the right of private judgment; Brownism, the idea that only spiritual persuasion could win converts and a declaration that persecution was anti-Christian; lay thought, the theory of relativism, the separation of spiritual and civil power, the ideal of reconciliation through agreement upon great fundamentals, and a denial of the possibility of absolute truth; English Catholicism, the argument that religious conformity was not essential to civil loyalty, even that religious liberty must be the basis for a united state.

A fuller treatment of the economic and social factors underlying toleration would have been valuable. The book deals too exclusively with political theory and governmental policies. One feels that after all, though he left few records, that inscrutable ordinary mortal who was neither cleric, counselor, nor theorist must have influenced the development of toleration. To have shown this would have tied theory to reality. A concluding chapter is needed to gather together, compare, and evaluate the contributions of the various groups considered.

The book contributes richly to intellectual history. Its style is good, the presentation thorough, the bibliography impressive. Contemporary quotations and author's narrative are skillfully interwoven to produce vividness and clarity without verbosity. Throughout 420 pages of theory the author sustains keen interest. He covers an almost new field. Seaton dealt similarly

with the next century but is summary by comparison. Klein's work was less exhaustive and gave much time to political facts which Jordan wisely assumed. Read had treated government policy admirably. But Jordan has done pioneer work in tracing the development of an important idea through its little known beginnings. His analysis of contributing forces is brilliant. He discovers a surprising liberality in practice. He brings to light unguessed theoretical support of toleration. He makes it clear that toleration grew out of practical necessities of warring groups who disliked it but found it necessary to their living together.

Washington, D. C.

HOWARD K. BEALE.

The Cabinet Council of England in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries, 1622-1784. By EDWARD RAYMOND TURNER, Ph. D., Late Professor of European History in The Johns Hopkins University. Edited by GAUDENCE MEGARO, Ph. D., with an Introduction by E. R. ADAIR, M. A., McGill University. Volume II. (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1932. Pp. xix, 480. \$7.50.)

At the time of his premature death, December 31, 1929, Edward Raymond Turner had already published three volumes of his exhaustive study of the privy council and the cabinet with particular reference to the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The fourth volume was left "complete in typescript". After it had been sent to the printer and had reached the stage of page proof, Dr. Gaudence Megaro, one of his former students, was asked "to go over it as thoroughly as possible and to add a bibliography and an index". In pursuance of this difficult and delicate task Dr. Megaro states: "I have restricted myself to making only the modifications and changes which I feel sure Mr. Turner would have made had he seen the volume through the press." He gratefully acknowledges the assistance of Mr. J. A. McKnight, jr., a graduate student at The Johns Hopkins University, who went over the galley sheets; and, thanks to their united efforts, there seem to be practically no typographical errors. An appendix contains a list of two pages of slips in the volume previous to this: whether drawn up by the author or the editor is not stated. There are thirty-seven pages of bibliography which, although Dr. Megaro says that it "makes no pretense to completeness", is, nevertheless, extremely full, at least in source material, since the chief secondary works are enumerated in the introduction. In referring to William Blathwayt (p. 430) the various positions which he held might have been enumerated. The fact that the chief collections of public and family papers are not merely enumerated but described adds to the value of the bibliography. While the index is detailed enough so far as page references are concerned, it is not the type that the reviewer finds most helpful; but the text is so crowded with names and allusions that an analytical index might have run into scores of pages.

Professor Adair's introduction on the work of the late Dr. Turner, with particular reference to the privy council and the cabinet, and to the contributions of other investigators in the field is excellent. Owing to his own researches he is well qualified to speak; moreover, his appraisal is marked both by discrimination and sympathetic understanding. Mindful of the difficulties confronting a student of one of the most elusive institutions in English constitutional history, Professor Adair undertakes, among other things, to answer two general criticisms that have been directed against Turner's work. The first has to do with his treatment of the council in the sixteenth century—the link between the period where Professor Baldwin's indispensable *King's Council* terminates and his own real researches begin. In bridging over this gap he professedly depended much on the findings of others and sought to base conclusions on evidence far less ample than he was to accumulate for the two subsequent centuries. The explanation advanced is that Turner discovered after he started that such a preliminary survey was necessary and that any other method would have delayed unduly his main work. The second criticism is of precisely the opposite character—the presentation of a superfluity of material in describing the growth of the council from the time of the Stuarts and the emergence of the cabinet from the parent institution. As Professor Adair points out this was an evidence of Turner's conscientious thoroughness, his irresistible conviction that he must offer every scrap of evidence that would bear in any way upon the vast and baffling problem to which he devoted the greater part of his all too short life.

Perhaps the most significant contribution of this posthumous volume, the second on the cabinet, is the candid and painstaking discussion as to whether there was, during the middle years of the eighteenth century previous to 1783, a double cabinet, an inner and an outer, as Professor Temperley has aimed to show, or whether the former was really an indefinable group of the more active and influential members with no fixity of personnel or status. While the problem is puzzling, a rather convincing case is presented for the latter conclusion.

Thanks to Edward Raymond Turner's persistent industry we have a monumental collection of evidence which not only throws much light on the growth and functions of a most important institution but will help to illuminate studies in related fields of English constitutional history.

The University of Michigan.

ARTHUR LYON CROSS.

The French Revolution. By CHARLES DOWNER HAZEN, Professor of History in Columbia University. Two volumes. (New York: Henry Holt and Company. 1932. Pp. vii, 1078. \$7.50.)

PROFESSOR HAZEN's two volumes have the virtues one expects from his pen. They tell the story of the French Revolution neatly, briskly, and above all, clearly. The work is not a textbook. The banishment of footnotes to the

back of each volume, the condensed but critical bibliography, the simplicity and liveliness of the style, the willingness of the author to explain everything to a possibly ignorant or confused reader (in marked contrast to the allusiveness and obscurity of the much-read Madelin)—all these are qualities which should help win over the general reader, as they are certainly qualities which make the book more useful didactically than many a professed textbook. The proportions of the book are excellent. The thousand pages give room enough for color, for direct quotations, for pregnant details; yet they will not frighten the modern reader, as might the many-volumed sets of Michelet, Taine, or Jaurès. It is perhaps not unfair to say that Professor Hazen has done, with the benefit of a hundred years of historical writing, a job comparable in many ways to that done first by Mignet. Both books are clear, readable, unembittered narratives, written by men in the great tradition of the Revolution itself, heirs, not of the frenzy of that Revolution, but of its calmer moods, of its aspirations and its myths.

No doubt careful search of these volumes would unearth certain errors of fact, inaccuracies—such as the all but universal one of including the Tarn-et-Garonne on a map of Revolutionary France—but such errors would be neither numerous nor important. Professor Hazen is too conscientious a scholar, his reading has been too long and too varied, to make any such critical approach to his book profitable. Discussion is possible, not as to facts, but as to the use made of facts. Now Professor Hazen uses his facts as a good nineteenth century Continental liberal would use them. Naturally enough a royalist, a Tory, a relatively disinterested and logical person, or even, perhaps, a twentieth century liberal, must consider such use to be abuse, distortion of the facts. Of Professor Hazen's picture of the Old Régime criticism can hardly be as tentative as the preceding. Frankly, the Old Régime as seen in this book no longer exists save in the minds of a few French politicians and in the pages of a great many French schoolbooks. The men of the great French Revolution built up a myth about the Old Régime in order to justify themselves. This is a common political process, and may be compared with our own popular myths about George III., North, the Hessians. But while American historians have for some time been aware of the mythical element in their own revolution, and have been able to discount it partially, French historians have not until quite recently shown any signs of criticizing these stereotyped notions. Even Taine, loathing the Revolution, accepted, and indeed added to, the Revolutionary myth of the Old Régime. The late Albert Mathiez began to abandon the official position here as elsewhere, and there are signs that, with men like M. Gaston Martin, even French professional historians of the left are willing to revise their views of the Old Régime. As evidence of Professor Hazen's preservation of the older stereotypes, we can here cite but two examples. He repeats (p. 78) the hoary instance of the peasant giving up four-fifths of his income to king, lord, and

priest, and supporting himself and family with the rest. He gives the impression that Voltaire was martyred, that in general the censorship of the Old Régime was cruel and not ineffective (p. 79). Now the peasant mulcted of four-fifths of his income may have existed as an isolated exception, but he is not the statistical generalization he pretends to be. The basis for such statistics certainly does not exist in print, and probably does not exist in the archives. As for Voltaire's "exile" in Ferney, one can only point out that it was a bit too profitable to have been wholly involuntary. The censorship of books fell chiefly upon obscure theological works; when it did strike a book meant for the general public, it merely helped the sale of that book.

Professor Hazen's treatment of the Revolution itself is much less affected by his misunderstanding of the Old Régime than one might expect. But historians need no longer feel that failure to grasp "causes" will invalidate "effects". Indeed, the fact that Professor Hazen sees the Old Régime with the eyes of the Revolutionists makes him a sympathetic narrator, if not a profound critic, of what they did. One chapter alone (ch. XXXVI., Economic Aspects of the Terror) calls for comment. It will seem to some that Professor Hazen has here been led astray by too close an adherence to M. Marion, and that he has completely misunderstood the work of Mathiez. Now the subject is, as Professor Hazen says "complex and difficult". But it is not simplified by making paper money a sort of personal and therefore unreal villain. M. Marion almost literally sees the assignats as an embodiment of the devil himself, a poetic procedure in a way, and perhaps natural to the *rentier* temperament, but certainly not a method to be recommended to the economist. Since we historians are bound to go to the economic theorist in these matters, we ought to go to the best available—in this case to Mr. S. E. Harris, whose book, *The Assignats*, is based on a sound training in modern monetary theory. Professor Hazen's wholesale condemnation of the *maximum* would seem to deny that it was successful even as a method of rationing. Yet he cites (p. 734) oats, which, at first free from price-fixing, rose so high that people fed their horses wheat at fixed prices. This condemnation of the *maximum* is certainly a strange conclusion to draw from the work of Mathiez; and Mathiez and M. Marion, even as sources, make a strange pair.

Harvard University.

CRANE BRINTON.

Metternich and the British Government from 1809 to 1813. By C. S. B.

BUCKLAND. (London: Macmillan and Company. 1932. Pp. xxii, 534. 25s.)

Metternich. By ARTHUR HERMAN. (New York: Century Company. 1932. Pp. 370. \$5.00.)

MR. BUCKLAND, whose kindly ministrations at the Public Record Office in London have endeared him to many scholars, has taken as his theme the tortuous course of relations between Britain and Austria in the years from

1809 to 1813. Not only has the author thoroughly studied the rich manuscript resources of the Public Record Office and the British Museum, he has also made judicious use of the more important printed works, primary and secondary, which impinge in any wise on his subject. The product of his thoughtful and diligent research is a welcome and valuable addition to the literature dealing with the tangled diplomacy of the late Napoleonic age.

Inasmuch as the Peace of 1809 prohibited normal diplomatic intercourse between Austria and Britain, communication had to be carried on unofficially and clandestinely. Only the ingenuity of the diplomatists limited the character of the contacts. Both powers maintained secret missions which informed their respective governments, as well as they might under the rigors of the Napoleonic spy system, of the views of the other. The author has an unfortunate faculty for introducing personalities into his narrative without any explanatory data so that the reader is left at sea; eventually, however, they are characterized in swiftly and skillfully drawn vignettes. Of the British intermediaries in Vienna, the Hanoverian, Count Hardenberg, a "shrewd searcher of hearts", enjoyed most fully the confidence of the astute Metternich and sent to London the most authoritative and reliable reports. King, whom the British foreign office dispatched to Austria in December, 1810, though it was August before he reached his destination, established formal diplomatic relationships in an informal fashion. Never in Metternich's confidence, King forfeited what little favor he had earned by his connivance in insurrectionary plans, of which the Austrian statesman learned by a most detestable stratagem. Honest, but impetuous and clumsy, King served Downing Street well until his recall at Metternich's behest in March, 1813. Apart from these principal advisers, there must have been a full dozen other secret agents and roving diplomats who endeavored to keep London posted on the sinuous course of Austrian diplomacy. Woefully little did they relate concerning the parlous financial conditions of the Hapsburg state and the friction prevailing between Vienna and the stiff-necked Hungarians. What immense technical difficulties existed in the transmission of intelligence Mr. Buckland has clearly explained. Sometimes communications were months on the way so that the governments were but inadequately acquainted with the facts upon which they based their diplomatic policies.

Metternich pursued toward Bonaparte a "creeping and crawling" strategy, yielding to the French ruler when advisable, but, apparently, keeping foremost in mind an ultimate union with Britain in order to accomplish the "Good Cause". Great Britain was justly suspicious of the sincerity and the reliability of the Austrian foreign minister. Did not Metternich, during his long sojourn in Paris in 1810, broach to Napoleon a plan, drafted by his aide Gentz, for negotiating peace between Britain and its implacable adversary? Above all, did he not, despite his fervent assurances to the British agents to the contrary, enter into active alliance with France in March, 1812? The

explanation given Hardenberg that this alliance was necessary in order to save Austria from French spoliation was unconvincing to the British foreign office. Metternich, on his part, had reason for irritation because British emissaries encouraged, even though moderately, the patriotic insurrectionary ferment in the Tyrol and Adriatic lands. Scarcely less annoying was the appearance in November, 1812, of Lord Walpole in Vienna. Sent from St. Petersburg by Cathcart, British envoy there, without the specific sanction of London, Walpole sought to persuade Metternich to divorce himself from France, make peace with Russia, and prepare for active participation in the "Good Cause". Metternich, who regarded the mission as a thinly-disguised Russian enterprise, spurned the overture and obliged Walpole to quit the country. On several occasions the Austrian foreign minister voiced to Hardenberg and in London directly his desire to serve as an "honest broker" between France and Britain. Not until just a month before Austria renewed the warfare against Napoleon did Britain evince any willingness for mediation. Promises of British subsidies were influential in leading Austria to share in the "Good Cause".

On all these topics, Mr. Buckland has shed much fresh light, illuminating them by copious excerpts from the dispatches. One regrets that an occasional sentence or paragraph was not introduced to show the nexus between the events narrated and the broader European scene. It is regrettable, too, that the book lacks an index.

Mr. Herman has composed the best, full-length biography of the greatest of Austrian diplomats available in the English language. He appears to have leaned heavily upon Professor Heinrich von Srbik's exhaustive and authoritative *Metternich, der Staatsmann und der Mensch* (Munich, 2 vols., 1925), though he makes no reference to his obligation other than mentioning the work in his unannotated bibliography.

For two full generations Prince Metternich controlled Austrian foreign policies, and the excellent survey of those policies forms the distinguishing feature of the biography. More attention might legitimately have been awarded the decisive years 1809 to 1814. And part of the space devoted to the prince's romance with the charming Princess de Lieven—almost exactly as much as that devoted to the Congress of Vienna—might advantageously have been bestowed on Metternich's policy with respect of the Prussian *Zollverein*. The rôle of Metternich in internal politics is capably dealt with for the period 1835 to 1848, but there is little for the years before 1835. Like Bismarck later, Metternich after his forced retirement from official political life did not hesitate to express disapproval of the conduct of Austrian diplomacy. He opposed not only the ungracious and neutral attitude toward Russia during the Crimean War, but also the conduct of relations with Sardinia which precipitated the war of 1859. In the interesting concluding section, "Retrospect", Mr. Herman discloses the wide variety of the prince's

interests, and summarizes succinctly the opinions on the man reached by historians and publicists. In common with Von Srbik, the author interprets Metternich's career in a much more favorable light than has traditionally been the case.

The University of Rochester.

ARTHUR MAY.

Italy in the Making, 1815 to 1846. By G. F.-H. BERKELEY. (Cambridge: University Press; New York: Macmillan Company. 1932. Pp. xi, 292. \$3.25.)

MR. BERKELEY has set himself the task of giving us a new account in English of the critical period of the Italian national movement. The present volume is introductory. The turning point, the great test of temper and methods, came, he believes, between 1846 and 1849, and in another volume Mr. Berkeley expects to present the crisis.

The author comes to his task prepared by thirty years of consideration, long periods of residence in Italy, much consultation not only with books but with men, and an obvious enthusiasm for the exposition of his theme. He focusses the reader's attention sharply on five main forces, which he designates as "the Conservative Reaction", "the Revolution", which he finds incarnate in Mazzini, "Piedmont", "the Papal State", "the Moderate Movement". He states the position of Austria in the peninsula, and presents the portrait of Metternich as retouched by Professor Srbik; he defines once more the ideals of Mazzini; gives much attention to Charles Albert as well as the Piedmontese reformers, Gioberti, Balbo, and D'Azeglio; and goes into detail in depicting the political organization of the Papal States, the popes Gregory XVI. and Pius IX., and the peculiar issues that they had to face. But the real subject of the book, Mr. Berkeley insists, is the Moderate Movement, and this he presents by giving us a close analysis of the works of Gioberti, Balbo, Durando, and *Gli Ultimi Casi di Romagna* of Massimo D'Azeglio.

It is difficult to decide for whom Mr. Berkeley's volume is written. He has adopted a highly schematic method of treatment, which has resulted in the banishment from his pages of the great world of eaters and drinkers and doers, the "big buzzing booming confusion" of reality, without which history grows "pale and spectre-thin". Whether this simplification is for the benefit of the general reader, to enable him to find a way through an exceedingly complicated story, or is designed to adapt the book to the needs of undergraduates, is not manifest. In either case what we are given is a "movement", of ideas and policies, but not Italy developing into a nation.

It is a bold stroke of simplification to exclude from a history of "Italy in the Making" all of its parts but Piedmont and the Papal States. It can be defended only on the thesis that Italy was made by policy and a few great books. Mr. Berkeley has indeed attempted nothing more than a political and intellectual sketch of the period 1815-1846. But in fact the policies and the

literature which he describes were important chiefly as an attempt to construct a new framework for a civilization that was undergoing a change. Under the influence of a great revolution in European society and of an active propaganda in Italy, journalistic and literary, an influential part of the nation in all of its divisions was assuming new habits and new points of view and eagerly cultivating in Italian soil institutions appropriate to "the century". Mr. Berkeley has overlooked all this, and also the works of Prato and Professor Ciasca, who have established the need for a corresponding reconstruction of the whole history of the moderate national movement.

If Mr. Berkeley had seen this broader perspective, he would not have failed to distinguish between the two wings of the moderate liberals, the Neo-Guelf wing on one side and the secular liberals on the other. Their divergence turned not merely, as Mr. Berkeley seems to think, on their respective loyalties to the papacy and Piedmont, but no less on the contrasting ideals of the Liberal Catholic movement and the industrial-scientific movement of the century. This distinction is a background necessary to any discussion of Gioberti, Balbo, and D'Azeglio. But Mr. Berkeley has not only left a growing Italy out of his picture, but, if one excepts diplomacy, Europe as well.

It is clear that Mr. Berkeley has lived with his sources, and he delights in telling his story and has a keen sense of its dramatic turns. But his volume will be a disappointment to historians. Not only has he oversimplified his difficult undertaking, but he has used too little new material, overlooked too much of the best work in print, used opinion too uncritically as the basis of broad generalizations, and remained too much an amateur, though in the best sense of that term, to fulfill the hopeful promise of his enterprise. But if used critically, his book will serve a good purpose for students without a knowledge of Italian who need a sharp definition of the tangled political issues and clear summaries of the most important literary documents of the period which his volume covers.

The Johns Hopkins University.

KENT ROBERTS GREENFIELD.

Lamartine et le Peuple. Par ETHEL HARRIS, Docteur de l'Université de Paris. (Paris: J. Gamber. 1932. Pp. ix, 549. 35 fr.)

ALPHONSE DE LAMARTINE has always presented to historians a perplexing problem. From his début in politics during the latter part of the Restoration to his retirement from public life, he was regarded as an enigma. And the general consensus of historical opinion has been that he was only a *force passagère* in the social history of France. Poet-statesman that he was, he was often ridiculed by his contemporaries, and to later generations he has appeared more in the light of a romantic idealist whom fortune placed for a moment in power, but whose influence was soon eclipsed by the more practical policies of Orleanist, Bonapartist, and Socialist. This interpretation,

however, is not the one proposed by Miss Harris in her detailed study *Lamartine et le Peuple*.

Miss Harris admires the poet-statesman for his undeniably lofty idealism. Possibly, however, she makes too high an estimate of his personal influence during the last ten years of the July Monarchy. Lamartine's *discours* were magnificent orations but they caused amusement to a number of his more hard-headed and less human contemporaries. His influence in France was great, but it is doubtful if he was ever taken very seriously by many of his fellow gladiators in the chamber of deputies. The reviewer cannot agree with the estimate of his personal influence that is made by the author of this book. There is, however, another aspect of this study of Lamartine that is of very real importance.

In the course of four hundred odd pages, Miss Harris traces the development of the *pensée politique* of Lamartine. This part of the work is exhaustively and excellently done, and the sum total is that the author has portrayed in lucid fashion not only the evolution of Lamartine's social philosophy, but also a very interesting and suggestive social study of Lamartine's own times. In following the story of his friendships and his journeys the reader is introduced into the society of the *petite noblesse* and of the peasant in Burgundy, he sees the growth of humanitarian sentiment and social work in the provinces, and, once the young poet has established himself in Paris, the reader witnesses the interplay and clash of the utopian schemes of Lamennais, Louis Blanc, Arago, and others. Among them all, the thought of Lamartine is the only one that is free from the idea of social struggle and that insists on social amelioration through reconciliation of the various classes of French society. Coöperation, peace, and fellowship were the bases for that type of humanitarian reform that was advocated so eloquently by "le solitaire de la Chambre". Idealistic as they were, their growth was retarded by the more sinister political forces represented by Cavaignac, Molé, Thiers, and the adherents of Louis Napoleon.

There was, however, a more practical phase to the thought of the poet-statesman. It is frequently ignored, and one is grateful to Miss Harris for her treatment of it. Lamartine dealt not only in fiery speeches and poetic rhapsodies, he also wrote social and economic pamphlets. In this work he was associated with such honored names as those of Tocqueville, Beaumont, and Courcelles. He wrote and discoursed on prison reform, railway expansion, and slave trade. In these fields of study the poet showed himself to be far in advance of some of the best minds of his time. It is, then, rather as Prophet of the People than as leader that Lamartine finds his real importance. A romanticist, he could not escape from flights of fancy that were often too high for his colleagues to understand, but the fact remains that today many of the social doctrines that he uttered are truisms.

Yale University.

JOHN M. S. ALLISON.

Ireland and Irish Emigration to the New World from 1815 to the Famine. By WILLIAM FORBES ADAMS, Ph. D., Assistant Professor of History in the University of California at Los Angeles. [Yale Historical Publications, Miscellany, XXIII.] (New Haven: Yale University Press. 1932. Pp. vii, 444. \$4.00.)

THE migration of a people is an unusually difficult subject to investigate, unless treated in a very restricted way. The material is of necessity scattered, whilst social and economic conditions in at least two widely diverse countries must be mastered. If the migration is not planned and regulated by some government, but is spontaneous, the problems confronting the investigator are multiplied. This book, which in an earlier form was a Yale doctoral dissertation, overcomes most of the difficulties, and fills very adequately a gap in the general history of migration.

Among the motives for emigrating from Ireland in the period, Professor Adams assigns first place to "distress". He analyzes the social and economic Ireland of 1815, emphasizing the effects of over-population and a notoriously bad land system. The absentee landowner gets off with a light sentence, and the government also. Here, as so often, an attempt to show why a given population in the nineteenth century increased so fast, is not entirely convincing. The emigrant trade is studied, and the relation shown between cargo carrying and the conveyance of emigrants, particularly in the timber trade. After 1830 the stream of emigration swelled, and the author estimates that between that year and 1840 about 650,000 people left Ireland—some two-thirds going to North America and the rest to Great Britain. In this period for the first time, more than a half of the emigrants are Roman Catholics.

The policy of the British government is dealt with very fully. The author shows that planned and assisted emigration usually had its champions, and these their definite schemes. It was the *laissez-faire* doctrine, however, together with considerations of economy and the government's frequent pre-occupation with other matters, that won the day. The opinion is advanced that independent emigration achieved the desired result, and that conditions on board the emigrant ships, ameliorated as they were by the Passenger Acts, were reasonably good except in years of famine.

The concluding chapter shows the Irish immigrant in his new home, what he achieved there, and what in turn was wrought upon him—and the picture is a very interesting one. Here the author confines himself almost entirely to the United States, and when he does turn to the immigrants in Canada his touch becomes less sure. The judgment passed on the Irish immigrants and their descendants is that, considering their initial handicaps, they have succeeded as well as have the men of other races.

An appendix contains a valuable critical estimate of that very unsatisfactory type of source material, the statistics of early nineteenth century

migration from Ireland. Two colored maps, showing where the principal seed-beds of Irish emigration were situated, add to the usefulness as well as to the appearance of the book. The voluminous materials on which this work is based, have been used critically and adroitly. The subject contains so much that is or has been controversial, that it particularly requires the impartial treatment which it here receives.

Yale University.

GILBERT TUCKER.

An Economic History of Modern Britain. By J. H. CLAPHAM, Litt. D., F. B. A., Professor of Economic History and Fellow of King's College. Volume II., *Free Trade and Steel, 1850-1886.* (Cambridge: University Press; New York: Macmillan Company. 1932. Pp. xiii, 554. \$5.50.)

THE second volume of Clapham's great economic history of Great Britain makes an even more significant contribution to knowledge than the first, since it explores a field which is comparatively unknown to even serious students of the nineteenth century. Here is history in the grand manner. On the vast sweep of the canvas there is developed nothing less than the story of the mid-Victorian prosperity and the transformation to a modern industrial state of a society in which agriculture had only just yielded to manufacture.

Biographies and autobiographies, files of the *Economist*, trade journals, hunting novels, monographs, census reports, and other official papers, all sorts of materials, in fact, except the records of industrial and commercial companies, probably much less available now than for an earlier period, have been ransacked for information about detail and general tendencies. There is much less reliance than in the first volume of the book on the reports of parliamentary commissions, simply because in the days of their prosperity the Victorians had fallen out of the habit of investigating themselves. They returned to it only during the depression of the seventies. The volume is a synthesis of all that has been written on the economic history of the period.

The burden of the work is the story of the rise of Great Britain's industrial supremacy under the ægis of free trade through her leadership in the production of steel. The main thesis is accompanied by an encyclopedic mass of information and succinct and excellent discussions of topics covering every phase of the economic history of the time. The chapter on the Course of Industrial Change gives virtually all that is essential about the new processes and technological developments in iron and steel production, shipbuilding and shipping, engineering, the textile trades, the food industries, the clothing trades, mining, gas and the chemical industries, and electricity. Other chapters cover in equally complete fashion the Development of Industrial Organization; Communications, including the history of railways and railway policy, canals, cabs and omnibuses, turnpike trusts, and the telegraph; Over-

seas Trade and Commercial Policy; Agriculture, with a study of the agricultural depression of the seventies; the Organization of Commerce, with attention to the grain trade, the coal trade, the London food trades, the co-operative movement, speculation, arrivals and futures, the stock exchange, and insurance; the Economic Activities of the State, with a detailed account of public expenditure, taxation, the national debt, the abandonment and imposition of restrictions upon free enterprise, such as the usury and shipping laws, and the factory acts, health legislation, and the new poor law; and the Face of the Country in 1886-1887, a description of housing in town, suburbs, and country, of woodlands and forest, crops, fields, and fences, the geography of industry, and the coasts and the pageant of sea power. The sections on Money, Prices, Banking, and Investment, and those on Life and Labour in Industrial Britain, which take up the growth of population, the hours of labor, rates of wages, the cost of living, the burden of taxation, friendly societies, and radicalism and socialism, are the best treatments of these difficult matters to be found. The text is accompanied by nine elaborate maps and diagrams, showing the railways and canals, exports of iron and steel, wages, prices, and discount rates for the period, and occupations according to the census of 1851.

Through the entire book there is real objectivity. With no thesis to advance or cause to prove, Clapham has buried the economist in the historian. Occasionally, there is a suggestion of pride in the British achievement, or a tendency to correct some of the gloomier pictures of the sociologists of the eighties and nineties, who were engaged in preparing the emotional basis for the acceptance of social reform. There is in the volume no discussion of economic imperialism, certainly under way by 1886. Perhaps this is reserved for the third volume, which it is to be hoped will appear very soon.

The University of Illinois.

F. C. DIETZ.

The Schleswig-Holstein Question. By LAWRENCE D. STEEFEL, Assistant Professor of History in the University of Minnesota. [Harvard Historical Studies, volume XXXII.] (Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1932. Pp. xii, 400. \$4.00.)

THIS notable contribution to American historical scholarship does not cover in a detailed fashion the whole Schleswig-Holstein question. The author leaves the earlier history of the problem to "antiquarians, legists, and specialists in local history". In an introduction of fifty-three pages he then summarizes the history of the question from the rise of nationalism among Danes and Germans early in the nineteenth century to the issuance of the March Patent. The main portion of the work, nearly two hundred pages, is devoted to an exposition of the interplay of the complex diplomatic and military events of the period between March 30, 1863, and October 30, 1864, the date of the signing of the Treaty of Vienna, the agreement by which Denmark surrendered its claims to the three duchies of Schleswig, Holstein,

and Lauenburg. A final chapter sketches the main outlines of the later phases of the problem. Ten appendixes give important excerpts (many of them published for the first time) from the diplomatic documents. A selected critical bibliography of sixteen pages gives an excellent introduction to the manuscript and printed sources. The index gives adequate aid in making the contents accessible. Three maps throw additional light on the subject.

The Schleswig-Holstein question has evolved very slowly from the status of news of the day to scientific history. From the time the situation became tense documents and interpretations intended to justify the policies of the different governments began to make their appearance. Contemporaneously or soon afterward considerable documentary material was published in the *Archives Diplomatiques*, a series of British *Blue Books*, the *Staatsarchiv*, and the *British and Foreign State Papers*. In 1890 Heinrich von Sybels's third volume of his *Begründung des Deutschen Reiches durch Wilhelm I.* came out. Based on the still unavailable Prussian archives it at once became the classic account of the whole question. In 1897 appeared Karl Jansen's *Schleswig-Holsteins Befreiung*, and the first volume of Heinrich Friedjung's *Der Kampf um die Vorherrschaft in Deutschland*, which gave the Augustenburg and the Austrian points of view. In 1910 the publication of the first volumes of *Les Origines Diplomatiques de la Guerre de 1870-1871* threw new light on French policy. This was supplemented somewhat by Hermann Oncken's *Die Rheinpolitik Kaiser Napoleons III. von 1863 bis 1870 und der Ursprung des Krieges von 1870/71*. For the most part American scholars have hitherto neglected the valuable work of Danish, Swedish, and Norwegian historical investigators.

The book under review supplements and supersedes much of this earlier work. Its author has studied with praiseworthy objectivity the papers bearing on the subject to be found in the archives of London, Copenhagen, Paris, Vienna, and Berlin, has diligently explored the work of the Scandinavian scholars, and has carefully read and digested the older literature on the Schleswig-Holstein question. From these materials he has constructed a narrative, characterized by a Gallic clarity of organization and exposition, which throws much new light on the whole subject. He gives particular emphasis to the comparatively little known Scandinavian movement that goes so far toward explaining the obstinate stubbornness of Denmark during the crisis.

The author, however, might possibly have added to the value of his contribution in a number of ways. As the reviewer laid down the work he felt that some of the pertinent facts in the early history of the problem (such as Erich Brandenburg gives in his *Reichsgründung*)—an explanation of the *Nationalverein*, a fuller and clearer account of the military events, and more correlation between the diplomatic moves and political and economic conditions might profitably have been given. There is no indication in the text of

the narrative, for example, that the declarations of the diplomatic documents concerning the state of public opinion have been checked by a survey of the leading journals or parliamentary debates. In this respect, however, the author merely follows well-established traditions of diplomatic studies.

The University of Wisconsin.

C. P. HIGBY.

Life of Sir Michael Hicks Beach (Earl St. Aldwyn). By Lady VICTORIA HICKS BEACH. Two volumes. (London: Macmillan and Company; New York: Macmillan Company. 1932. Pp. xi, 351; vii, 414. \$12.00.)

SIR MICHAEL HICKS BEACH was one of Lord Salisbury's most trusted lieutenants, and he held high offices in the governments of Disraeli and Salisbury—Irish secretary, colonial secretary, president of the board of trade, leader of the House of Commons, and chancellor of the exchequer. But he was not, during his lifetime, placed in the front rank among Victorian statesmen. Nor are the reasons therefor hard to find. Stern, reserved, and competent, "Black Michael" scorned to use the popular arts of politicians; both in Parliament and on the hustings, he was outshone by contemporaries belonging to his own side of the house, notably Lord Randolph Churchill, Arthur Balfour, and Joseph Chamberlain; and many of his virtues were looked upon as old-fashioned in the period of "the Victorian Sunset". Indeed, he was far from being happy in his position as chancellor of the exchequer, 1895-1902. Hicks Beach belonged to the Pitt-Peel-Gladstone school of financiers. Stoutly he resisted raids upon the treasury for new social services, swelling of armaments, and risky colonial and foreign ventures. He watched uneasily the policies pursued by Rhodes and Chamberlain in South Africa, scrutinized the expenditures in Egypt, the Soudan, and China, deplored the growing demands from the war office and the admiralty, and lamented that the reduction of the national debt, carried on steadily for more than a generation, ended with the outbreak of the Boer War. Realizing that he was out of step with his colleagues, he seized upon the retirement of Lord Salisbury in 1902 as a golden opportunity for relief from burdensome duties. In retirement Sir Michael, or Lord St. Aldwyn as he became in 1906, joined the Conservative "free-fooders" and tried vainly to check the conversion of his party to protection and imperial preferences.

Hicks Beach was in many respects a typical conservative of the Victorian era. He loved hunting, farming, the soil and those who live close to it, and the Church. Efforts to disestablish the Church were classed practically in the same category as attempts to grant home rule to Ireland—they were anathema to him. But withal, he was fair-minded and enlightened. The exploiting Irish landlords of the type of Lord Clanricarde were as objectionable to Sir Michael as were Parnell and his friends; coal miners of Wales engaged his services as arbiter in wage disputes; he regretted the Lords' opposition to the budget of 1909; and he urged Liberal Chancellor of the

exchequer, 1914-1916, to adopt as far as possible a pay-as-you-go policy. Though the thought might have shocked him, Hicks Beach was on many points a Gladstonian.

Lady Victoria has done the work as biographer of her father extremely well. She is candid and critical. That Hicks Beach was brusque, at times easily aroused to anger, and somewhat of a martinet, she admits. But naturally, the more than compensating virtues are stressed. She has searched painstakingly through both private papers and official records, and some of the letters and memoranda printed in full or in part add much to our knowledge of the period 1874-1916. The volumes are of special value for students of the Conservative attitude towards and treatment of Ireland, the South African situation, 1878-1880, financial issues and imperial policies, 1895-1902, party and cabinet problems, and the financial situation, 1914-1916. But also on other topics connected with the social, economic, and political history of the period covered will this biography be found useful. Extracts from letters written and a journal kept during a visit to the United States and Canada, 1870, contain items of interest. The rising statesman was favorably impressed with our schools; but of President Grant he wrote, "I never saw a meaner looking man".

The University of Wisconsin.

PAUL KNAPLUND.

The Life of Joseph Chamberlain. By J. L. GARVIN. Volume I., 1836-1885. (London: Macmillan and Company; New York: Macmillan Company. 1932. Pp. xiv, 624. \$5.00.)

THIS is the first volume of the much-heralded biography of Joseph Chamberlain upon which the distinguished editor of the *Encyclopædia Britannica* and of the *Observer* has been working for ten years. Mr. Garvin is noted for vigor and piquancy of style and in this book he is at his best. By training and temperament he is just the one to appreciate at his full worth a man like Joseph Chamberlain. Following English tradition, he gives much attention to Chamberlain's ancestry and boyhood days—in this instance a difficult task which in hands less skillful would make dull reading. We then follow Chamberlain's life through his business years, his career as mayor of Birmingham, his entry into Parliament, his inclusion in Gladstone's second cabinet, and his political activities to the election of 1885.

The Chamberlains were Dissenters rather than Nonconformists. As Unitarians they belonged to the "dissidence of dissent", and were considered "more heretical than Jews". But "if they believed in only one God they paid twenty shillings to the pound" and were a highly respected and hard-working family. The lucky purchase of an American patent for making screws sent them up in the world, and Joseph Chamberlain amassed a comfortable though not fabulous fortune. While still on the sunny side of forty he was able to retire from active business to devote himself to politics.

His first interest therein came from his religious training. As a young man he was accustomed to arise at six to teach Sunday School before breakfast, and he was stirred to the depths by what seemed to him the betrayal of the Nonconformists by Gladstone's education bill of 1870. Chamberlain opposed this measure, ran for Parliament, was defeated. In 1873 he became mayor of Birmingham. "In twelve months, by God's grace, the town shall not know itself." This was Chamberlain's pledge, and it was fulfilled. The city was speedily "parked, paved, assized, marketed, gas-and-watered, and improved". All this was done by an uncompromising radical who stood on his own special platform of "free land, free schools, free churches, free labour".

The Birmingham mayor became a national figure. He was made much of by John Morley. He wrote violently in the *Fortnightly* demanding that Liberalism swing to the left and cease identifying itself with the Whigs. He adapted the methods of the American caucus to British party government, built up a local political machine, and in 1876 became an M. P. Within four years the radical trouble-maker was a member of Gladstone's second cabinet. It was a "forced entry". Gladstone did not want him, neither did the queen; but if the Liberal party was to hang together representation had to be given to the left, and it was either Dilke or Chamberlain.

During the troubled years of Gladstone's second ministry Chamberlain grew in power. The Grand Old Man had great difficulty in curbing what *Punch* called the "daring duckling". Chamberlain had radical ideas in regard to everything; he objected to coercion in Ireland; he insisted on local Irish self-government; and he demanded land reform not only in that island but in England. "What ransom will property pay for the security it enjoys?" This question of his seemed rather socialistic to the queen and to Mr. Gladstone.

Chamberlain was pressing the prime minister hard. Gladstone two decades before had thus acted toward Lord Palmerston; now rôles were reversed. The young man from Birmingham threatened to revolt. Gladstone, as Palmerston had done in his case, tried to keep him in order. The parallel was a deadly one; youth would be served. Power had lain with Palmerston; but with the passing of the years Gladstone had forced him to the wall. Now he in turn was on the defensive before this upstart who talked glibly of an "unauthorized program" and of "ransom".

And so ends Volume I. If we may judge from the span of years covered the complete biography will be in at least three volumes. If the last two retain those literary qualities which characterize the first, the excitement and the ozone of it, this will be none too long. The reviewer can find no fault whatever with this book, except a curious reference to the University of Virginia as the University of Charlottesville (p. 33).

Princeton University.

WALTER PHELPS HALL.

Documents Diplomatiques Français, 1871-1914. Série 1 (1871-1900), tome IV., 13 Mai, 1881-20 Février, 1883. [Ministère des Affaires Étrangères, Commission de Publication des Documents relatifs aux Origines de la Guerre de 1914.] (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale. 1932. Pp. xxxvii, 614. 60 fr.)

It is significant of France's inactive Continental policy during this period that only five of these 614 documents are reports from St. Petersburg. Due to the supposed irreconcilable differences between Slav and German, the union of the three emperors was regarded as temporary (nos. 39, 58), but there was no doubt that Russia had accepted Germany's lead. Saint-Vallier, in Berlin, was filled with despair by the evidence of Italy's *rapprochement* with Germany and Austria (no. 116). He warned Paris that Bismarck's friendly support, which was continued during this period in questions relating to Tunis (nos. 2, 16, 306), was at the mercy of another Cherbourg speech, of an anti-German demonstration, and in general that the ministry's optimism was not justified by the international situation (no. 62).

Of the numerous colonial questions illustrated in this volume, the Egyptian crisis is by far the most important. It accounts for a majority of these documents, although a third were printed, usually with minor textual changes and omissions, in the *Livres Jaunes*. Fear of a possible Pan-Islamic movement in North Africa stands out more clearly than before as a chief cause of France's opposition to the proposed Turkish intervention in Egypt. The new material is most valuable, however, for the light it throws upon the triangular relations between France, England, and Germany. Saint-Vallier feared that the growing anti-French feeling in England would make France too dependent upon Germany's good will (no. 69). Bismarck did not, in fact, see eye to eye with France in Egypt; he once told Courcel that the best solution of the question would be the purchase of the nationalist leaders like Arabi Bey (no. 392). He was said to have suspected the Gambetta ministry of intending to use the affair as an occasion for a diplomatic offensive (no. 244), but he explained his continued reserve under the more moderate Freycinet as caused by concern for Germany's relations with Turkey (no. 392). Courcel thought that Bismarck intended to establish German influence at Constantinople (nos. 269, 309), to supplant France in Egypt, and to divide France and England (no. 512).

Freycinet was left in doubt as to Bismarck's attitude toward the proposed European mandate for an Anglo-French occupation of the Suez Canal on the eve of the critical debate in the chamber, July 29, 1882 (nos. 463, 467, 475, 480, 482-484). The effect of the adverse vote was at once evident in France's standing aside while England defeated Arabi Bey and established her control in Egypt, although French diplomacy promptly showed in other ways and elsewhere that its policy was not to be one of renunciation. Tissot, in London, advised the acceptance of the situation in order to retain England's neutrality

(no. 539). Bismarck, according to Courcel's first impression, would prepare a new Congress of Berlin for England (no. 584), but further reflection persuaded him that England might secure Bismarck's support if the Conservative party should return to power (no. 512). "*Ni conflit, ni intimité entre la France et l'Angleterre . . .*" was Courcel's apparently final opinion as to Bismarck's wishes (no. 573). These documents as usual are richer in the reflections of ambassadors than those of responsible ministers as to the direction of French policy. There is here no direct evidence of a desire for an entente with Germany, except in connection with France's support of Austria's motion at the Conference of Constantinople that no settlement of the Egyptian question should be valid without the approval of Europe (no. 517).

Duke University.

E. MALCOLM CARROLL.

British Documents on the Origins of the War, 1898-1914. Edited by G. P. Gooch, D. Litt., F. B. A., and Harold Temperley, Litt. D., F. B. A. Volume VIII, *Arbitration, Neutrality, and Security*. (London: H. M. Stationery Office. 1932. Pp. lxiv, 797. 17s. 6d.)

HAVING devoted each of the preceding volumes to large, fairly unified subjects, Messrs. Gooch and Temperley have taken advantage of the present volume to bring together a number of small, heterogeneous subjects—arbitration, neutrality, and security—which fall within the general period from 1898 to 1914. It therefore lacks the unity, though not the interest and the meticulous and impartial editing, of its predecessors. As before, documents from representatives of foreign governments have been laid before these governments for their approval; "the response has been less completely satisfactory than usual" (p. ix). For instance, the French General Chamoin remarked to the British military attaché in 1909, "that all the large war games played by the [French] 1st Army Corps command turned on an advance through Belgium". The French government requested the editors to insert a note saying that General Chamoin was merely giving "expression to personal opinions such as are wont to be put forward in any private conversation upon the assumption that it will never be reported officially", and calling attention to a reference in the French diplomatic documents; this stated that in the early part of 1912 the French considered the question of entering Belgium before the Germans, if the latter's concentration on the Belgian frontier seemed threatening, and decisively rejected the idea, for fear of losing the possibility of English support. In an appendix the editors also open their pages to a characteristically vigorous denunciation by Caillaux of Sir Eyre Crowe, because the latter in a memorandum of 1912 expressed the suspicion that Caillaux was secretly attempting to come to an understanding with Germany at the expense of the Entente with England.

This omnibus volume opens with some additional material on England's

Mediterranean agreements of 1887 with Austria and Italy. These looked toward the preservation of the status quo against Russian or French encroachment. Lord Salisbury would not promise definitely that England would fight, but only that England desired to coöperate, the nature of the coöperation to be decided upon when the occasion for it should arise and according to the circumstances of the case. This was as close to an alliance as the parliamentary nature of English institutions permitted. These secret agreements serve as the introduction to the negotiations of 1901 concerning the future of Tripoli, English surmises as to the nature of the Triple Alliance, and a Greek proposal of 1907 for a naval agreement.

England's traditional close relations with Portugal, strengthened by the secret London agreement of 1899 for the protection of Portuguese colonies, and by the Windsor Treaty of 1904 for arbitration, find expression in England's taking the lead in recognizing the Portuguese republic after the assassination of Carlos I. in 1908.

More important is the long chapter on the consequences of the separation of Norway from Sweden in 1905. This led to the Treaty of 1907 by which England guaranteed the independence and integrity of Norway. The abrogation at the same time of the Treaty of 1855, concerning the integrity of Norway and Sweden, was complicated by the proposal to abrogate also the Convention of 1856 forbidding the fortification of the Åland Islands.

Documents on the Second Hague Conference explain in detail the difficulties caused by Germany's downright refusal to discuss the limitation of armaments, Grey's hopes that the Americans could be induced to raise the question during the conference, and England's final proposal of the unobjectionable resolution that the question of great expenditure on armaments was an urgent one for governments to study. Here, and in the chapter on the London Naval Conference, interesting light is thrown on England's attitude on the rights of neutrals, prizes, and contraband. Closely allied with these subjects are the chapters dealing with the Anglo-American negotiations for a general arbitration treaty, and the renewal of the Anglo-Japanese Alliance in 1911 in a form designed to prevent Great Britain from being involved in war with the United States.

Most interesting, perhaps, are the documents bearing on the question of the security and neutrality of the two small states, Switzerland and Belgium. In the former the British military attaché believed he discovered some evidences of a very strong pro-German tendency, which caused him to send alarmist reports to London. Belgium also for a brief period in 1912 was feared to be lacking in firmness to live up to her neutrality obligations; in this connection there are published documents illustrating Great Britain's views on Belgian neutrality between 1872 and 1913.

Harvard University.

SIDNEY B. FAY.

Austro-German Diplomatic Relations, 1908-1914. By OSWALD HENRY WEDEL, Associate Professor of History, University of Arizona. (Stanford University: Stanford University Press. 1932. Pp. viii, 233. \$3.00.)

To Mr. Wedel the Dual Alliance of 1879 was a step towards the solution of the age old problem of Central Europe. It was a return to the *Grossdeutsch* ideal after the *Kleindeutsch* principle had scored a victory in the unification of Germany. This was only a partial solution, for the partners refused to recognize common problems. To Andrassy and his successors the alliance meant support in Austria's Balkan policy. For Bismarck it provided an opportunity to dominate Central Europe, to the exclusion of Balkan affairs. Germany did retain direction of the alliance until Bülow, in order to assure himself of at least one ally after the isolation at Algeçiras, gave Aehrenthal complete support in the annexation crisis. It was this change in interpretation—Bülow's for Bismarck's—which through the course of events in the following years made it impossible for Germany to stand aside in 1914. "The alliance represented a logical creation only so long as it followed the natural situation, which was that it was a phase of the old problem of holding Central Europe together. In departing from this it lost its real mission and became something else which it was never fit to be. Bülow's choice was therefore fateful both for his own country and for Austria." But was not this support of Austria's Balkan policy just an attempt to hold the Dual Monarchy together in the face of new national problems, with the same end in view—to dominate Central Europe? The author evidently thinks not.

Mr. Wedel gives us a good account of Kiderlen's policy. The attempt to arrive at an understanding with Russia in 1910 is termed a second re-insurance treaty. Kiderlen's desire for a closer relationship with England is underlined. By his death on December 30, 1912, the strong hand is removed from German foreign policy. Emperor William takes a more active rôle, but the leadership of the alliance centers more and more in Vienna.

Mr. Wedel's appreciation of Berchtold is deservedly favorable. He has a good statement of Berchtold's policy during the first Balkan war and rightly declares that the Austrian statesman wanted peace. It is, however, incorrect to quote (p. 138) a memorandum of Count Szapary (Austrian Doc., no. 3991, which contains the count's personal view) as Berchtold's statement. In view of Berchtold's memorandum on the Sandjak problem (Austrian Doc., no. 4171), it is also difficult to see how Mr. Wedel can say Berchtold would have been glad to have Austrian troops in that territory in 1912 (p. 58).

The author does not follow a strict chronological order, which is at times confusing. The author quotes (p. 188) a document of February 5, 1913, as proof that Jagow was anti-Austrian at the end of March, when the international situation was entirely different as a result of Berchtold's surrender

of Djakova; he mentions (p. 200) Berchtold's desire to revise the Treaty of Bucharest (August 10, 1913), and then works in a series of negotiations dating from July as if they applied to this period. Various other minor slips were noted, which do not, however, affect the general conclusions of the author. In spite of a great deal of detail, hardly any reference is made to the Conrad-Moltke conversations of 1909-1910, the Haldane mission, the interviews at Baltischport, the Springe meeting, November, 1912, or the interview between Berchtold and the German Emperor in October, 1913, an interview which led Berchtold to believe he could rely on German support.

These criticisms, however, should not obscure the general worth of the book. It is carefully done, based on a thorough analysis of the great documentary collections, memoir and newspaper material. The elaborate footnote references serve as a virtual *Wegweiser* through the German and Austrian documents. The only unpublished sources used, the papers of Dr. Heinrich Kanner in the Hoover War Library, contribute interesting sidelights, although they add nothing of importance.

Bowdoin College.

E. C. HELMREICH.

Nationalism and Imperialism in the Hither East. By HANS KOHN.

Translated from the German by Margaret M. Green. (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company. 1932. Pp. viii, 339. \$5.00.)

IN his *History of Nationalism in the East* Herr Kohn explained, among other things, the bases of the new political structures created by the World War and the Peace Conference in the Hither East. In his *Orient und Okzident* (apparently not yet available in English translation) the problems involved therein were briefly summed up. In the present volume he seeks to present the history of this region during the past decade. The volume is, moreover, intended "as a contribution to the endeavor to understand the historical and sociological character of nationalism and of the forces which are determining the history of our own day" (p. 4).

It may be doubted whether the author has turned out a satisfactory history of the Hither East during the past decade. (The "Hither East" includes Egypt, Palestine, Trans-Jordania, Syria, Iraq, and the Arabian peninsula). Obviously, events are too recent to warrant the expectation of such a work at this time. Yet, in a series of chapters (V. to X. inclusive) devoted to the countries in question, there are some points of view which the historian of the future will find interesting. The Statesman's Year Book may list Egypt as an independent state, yet, in Herr Kohn's opinion, it is a "fictitious independence". Nevertheless, "in the struggle now going on in Egypt between the Wafd and the autocracy [backed by Great Britain] the Wafd will undoubtedly prevail and parliament be restored to its rights" (p. 113). Iraq he regards as the only territory where the mandatory system created in Article 22 of the League Covenant has been carried out in the spirit of that article.

As for Palestine, in spite of the fact that this was an A mandate, it differed from those for Syria and Iraq in placing Palestine on the level of a British colony. "The causes of Syrian discontent, which burst forth in the insurrection [of 1925], were not rooted solely in political conditions, nor in the destruction of Syrian hopes of unity and freedom, but in the very nature of French administration and in the suppression of all personal and political liberties" (p. 189). Somewhere between the extreme position of the self-appointed bearers of the "white man's burden" and the unbalanced diatribes of representatives of the "backward" races lies a middle ground dominated by reasoned observation. In spite of the necessarily tentative nature of Herr Kohn's appraisals, he has for the most part laid down his course within that area.

The work in one important respect is undoubtedly of lasting value. The author is eminently successful in making his reader feel the force of nationalism. "The East is entering upon an epoch in which nationalism is the highest and most vitally symbolic social and intellectual form. . . . A few years back religion was the determining factor in the East. Nationalism is not ousting religion, but more or less rapidly it is taking a place beside it, frequently fortifying it, beginning to transform and impair it. National symbols are acquiring religious authority and sacramental inviolability. The truth which men will defend with their lives is no longer exclusively religious, on occasion even it is no longer religious at all, but in increasing measure national" (p. 19). And speaking of imperialist methods Herr Kohn says (p. 61): "What is peculiar to the present era is that more than ever those who apply such methods cloak their lust for power beneath a veil of morality, and that instead of pleading the instinct of self-preservation, the impulse to expand, and the extension of national power, they put forward the appeal, consciously or unconsciously untruthful, to justice and benefits to be conferred on the other party."

The author's possession of the key to an understanding of nationalism and imperialism, his use of this key in unlocking the problems of the Hither East, and his observations concerning the value of these emotional loyalties to Western civilization place him in the front rank of students of nationalism. And in putting these ideas in an English translation the translator, Miss Green, has once more put us in her debt.

In addition to informative supplementary notes the volume possesses a valuable bibliography and an index.

Williams College.

DONALD C. BLAISDELL.

Foreign Affairs Bibliography: a Selected and Annotated List of Books on International Relations, 1919-1932. By WILLIAM L. LANGER, Associate Professor of History, Harvard University, and HAMILTON FISH ARMSTRONG, Editor, *Foreign Affairs*. [Publications of the Coun-

cil on Foreign Relations.] (New York: Harper and Brothers. 1933. Pp. xvii, 551. \$5.00.)

ONLY those who have attempted to compile bibliographies of the post-war world can appreciate the difficulty of the task undertaken by Messrs. Langer and Armstrong. From the flood of books issued since January 1, 1919, they have selected 7000 titles which have been grouped in ten main divisions, these in turn being subdivided into a total of 380 different headings. They have also provided an alphabetical index of authors. The quarterly lists in *Foreign Affairs* have served as a *point de départ*, but items of minor importance have been dropped, while very many new titles have been added, especially on economic subjects and in Slavonic languages; the annotations have been revised and often expanded. Documents of the League of Nations and government documents are generally omitted (because they are well listed elsewhere), as well as pamphlets and propaganda, but significant exceptions show how carefully the compilers have done their work. As the title is somewhat ambiguous, it should perhaps be explained that the subjects covered are general international relations—geographical factors, economic factors, international law and organization, war, peace, security and disarmament; the World War, including twenty-three pages on diplomatic history from 1871 to 1914; the international relations of all parts of the globe; and the internal problems of the various countries except the United States.

No selective bibliography will ever satisfy all tastes and demands, and since the authors recognize that they have no doubt made mistakes of both inclusion and exclusion, it may seem invidious to single out any section for criticism. Nevertheless, the reviewer has been surprised by certain omissions in the section devoted to the war and its antecedents. Among the diplomatic documents there is no mention of Dirr's *Bayerische Dokumente zum Kriegeausbruch und zum Versailles Schuldpruch* (Munich, 1922, 3d enlarged edition, 1925) or the Bulgarian *Orange Book* of 1919. The Englished *Official German Documents relating to the World War* does not contain the important second part of the German original (not cited), which is important for the military measures of July, 1914. Since many studies of pre-war diplomacy are listed, it is surprising not to find Langer's own excellent *Franco-Russian Alliance* (though Michon's inferior book of the same title is cited) or the two books on the Moroccan crisis of 1905 by Anderson and Hale. Missing also are the *Memoirs* of Izvolsky and Sir Almeric Fitzroy, the various volumes by Eckardstein, Caillaux's *Agadir*, the posthumously published papers of Moltke, and Moukhtar Pacha's *La Turquie, l'Allemagne et l'Europe*. The two volumes by Daisy, Princess of Pless and Klobukowski's *Souvenirs de Belgique* were perhaps worth including.

For the crisis of July, 1914, the accounts of the Russian mobilization by Eggeling and Dobrorolski, though pamphlets, should not have been omitted;

nor should Lord Morley's *Memorandum on Resignation*. The two *Gutachten* by Gooss and Lutz, especially the latter's, presented to the Investigating Committee of the German Reichstag fully deserved mention.

For the period of the war, one misses the second part of Cadorna's apologia, Marghiloman's *Note Politice*, H. P. Hanssen's *Fra Krigstiden Dagbogsoptegnelser*, and Captain Wright's *At the Supreme War Council*. "Justus", V. Macchi di Cellere *all'Ambasciata di Washington*, and V. V. Tilea, *Actiuneă Diplomatica a României* should have been listed for the Peace Conference.

Perhaps the most surprising omission of all is any section on American neutrality from 1914 to 1917. The fifteen titles on this subject are listed under five headings, which is somewhat confusing. The *War Memoirs of William Graves Sharp* are not included. When all is said, however, this bibliography is the best thing of its kind and will no doubt become indispensable.

The University of Chicago.

BERNADOTTE E. SCHMITT.

BOOKS OF AMERICAN HISTORY

Fall of the Inca Empire and the Spanish Rule in Peru, 1536-1780. By

PHILIP AINSWORTH MEANS. (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1932. Pp. xii, 351. \$4.50.)

THE purpose of this volume is to carry "onwards the story of the Andean area from the point where it was left in *Ancient Civilizations of the Andes*" to 1780, the year in which the great rebellion of Tupac Amaru broke out. Mr. Means promises a third book on *The Andean Republics in Modern Times* and when that appears the student of the area embraced in the *audiencias* of Quito, Lima, and Charcas will have at his command a complete and definitive history from the pre-Columbian period to the present.

As the title indicates, the book consists of two parts. The first five chapters give a chronological account of the Inca empire and its vicissitudes from the Inca Huayna Capac to its termination with the execution of Tupac Amaru I. at the hands of the Viceroy Toledo. Following a description of the Inca empire in its last days is a narration of the Coming of the Castillians, the Conquest of Peru, the Civil Wars and other tumults which were the chief feature of the next twenty-five years, and the Consolidation of the Colonial Government.

The rest of the book, well over half of it, gives what will undoubtedly stand as one of the best treatises on Spanish colonial government and institutions in the English language. It is divided into four parts, the Theory of Spanish Colonial Government in Peru, the Reality of the Colonial Régime in Peru, Commerce and Foreign Envy, and Intellectual Life in Viceregal Peru, 1530-1780. In the first of these chapters the reader will be interested in the

author's conclusion that "the final form of the colonial version of the native administrative hierarchy was largely the product of Toledo's activities" while "the minor government . . . was an adaptation of the Incaic system, and had as its pinnacle either an *encomendero* or a *corregidor de Indios*" (p. 153). If Toledo's system had been properly operated, results would not have been bad, but "there was a lamentable contrast between the theory and the facts of colonial government" (p. 292). "In the early days leaders were too often of low social origins . . . with the consequence that they were enabled to act in the unpleasant ways typical of *parvenus* everywhere" (p. 291), the later Creole "nobles were not a great source of strength to the colony" (p. 210), and "the servants of God were no less iniquitous . . . than were the servants of the King" (p. 197). In his discussion of the Spanish Colonial Commercial System which "would be more accurately described by the term European colonial system in Late Renaissance time" (p. 218), the author shows clearly that despite foreign envy "the commercial system was carried on with some degree of success" (p. 241). This success was not so great, however, but what the crown had its bitter critics, especially the Marquis of Varinas and the so-called Don Vitorino Montero. In its intellectual development it would appear that viceregal Peru was somewhat behind that of its rival in the plateau of Anahuac. In Peru there was little blending of native and European architecture and it is doubtful if the Jesuit Fathers José de Acosta and Bernabé Cobo can be considered the equal of Don Carlos de Sigüenza.

Throughout the book the author's attitude is one of regret that the Incaic civilization should have had to yield to "Spanish culture, bringing with it Christianity and money-worship" and he proves quite conclusively that "the fundamental and universal source of evil brought into Peru by the Spanish was the money-complex whence arose all the endless misery which have weighed down the Andean peoples ever since the money-less empire of the Incas was shattered" (p. 12). In his criticism of the Spanish colonial system, however, Mr. Means is not moved by any Anglo-Saxon, Protestant prejudice as is shown by the following statement, "At the same time, one perceives that the English, the Dutch, and the French would have been affected in much the same way as the Spaniards in like circumstances. Of all the European nations to colonize in America only the Swedes seem to have been relatively free from mercenary and fanatically religious motives" (p. 289). Furthermore, he is not merely destructive in his criticism, in fact his proposal that Spain might have succeeded had she established a social system in which the *encomiendas* were "converted into permanent feudal fiefs, whose lords would have possessed full seigniorial jurisdiction" (p. 295) will give food for thought to all students of colonization.

The scholarship of Mr. Means is beyond cavil, and even more than in the case of *Ancient Civilizations of the Andes* the reviewer regrets that the notes are placed at the end of each chapter. The reader who lets his lethargy

get the better of him will miss some of the most valuable portions of the book. The discussion of the identity of Atahualpa's mother, the names of Pizarro's comrades on Gallo Island, the location of Zemuquella, the northern boundary of Pizarro's grant, the value of Atahualpa's ransom, the three saints which Peru has produced, and good Bishop Casas's importance as a propagandist are just a few of the choice morsels which will escape the casual reader. The bibliography of twenty-five pages is extremely comprehensive and prepared in excellent form. The combined index and glossary will be very useful to one for whom the Quechua and Spanish terms are difficult. The sketch map is complete and the publishers have done the reader the favor of so inserting it that it can be in sight all the time the book is being read. In his mode of expression Mr. Means is most happy and there is a constant vein of humor which makes even institutional history interesting.

Occidental College.

OSGOOD HARDY.

Documents Illustrative of the History of the Slave Trade to America.

Edited by ELIZABETH DONNAN, Professor of Economics and Sociology in Wellesley College. Volume III., *New England and the Middle Colonies*. [Carnegie Institution of Washington, Publication no. 409.] (Washington: Carnegie Institution of Washington. 1932. Pp. xiii, 553. \$5.50.)

As Miss Donnan aptly points out in her preface, "Economic sources do not lend themselves to concise treatment". The truth of her remark is well illustrated in this series. What was to have been the final volume, covering the slave trade of all the continental colonies, is entirely occupied with documents relating to New England and the Middle Colonies alone. A fourth volume is to deal with the Southern Colonies. The documents are, in general, similar in source and content to those in the previous volumes (*Am. Hist. Rev.*, XXXVI. 407-408; XXXVII. 763-764). There are, however, fewer reports of experiences upon the African coast and more information on the disposal of cargoes in the West Indies and Southern Colonies. The editor has wisely chosen to illustrate her subject by treating only one or two colonies extensively and merely sampling the documents from the others. Approximately three-fifths of the space is devoted to the activities of Rhode Island, one-fifth goes to Massachusetts, and the remainder is divided among New York, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania. The disproportionate attention given to Rhode Island would be open to criticism were it not for the great importance of that colony in the slave trade and the masses of material available in the papers of the Browns, the Vernons, and the other merchants there. Even so, the reader is left in some doubt as to the extent of Rhode Island's trade in comparison with that of other colonies and the mother country. What proportion of the entire traffic did the busy ships of Rhode Island control? To this question Miss Donnan's documents give no clear answer.

The materials presented are extremely varied. Arranged by colonies and chronologically, they depict equally the fortunes and the misfortunes of the slave trade. An owner exults over selling for £13,000 a cargo that cost only £1800. A captain debits his owner's account with eight gallons of rum paid "To the Docters for Cutting off your Boys Toe and Curing". A factor in South Carolina complains of a recent consignment of "refuse Slaves", describing them as "a wretched Cargo", "a most scabby Flock", three of them "very puny Children", and six or eight afflicted with "the worst infirmity of all others . . . (*vizt.*) Old Age". Necessarily, the title of this volume is slightly misleading. A large part of the material really deals with the slave trade to the "Staple Colonies", and few of the Negroes whose transportation to America is described ever reached Northern ports. But because the ships and owners belonged in New England the documents are properly included here. Occasional papers show the imports of the North. Especially valuable are the detailed tabulations of slaves brought into New York and New Jersey between 1715 and 1765. Among other problems of the owners which the papers illustrate are the financing of the traffic, the insuring of ships and cargoes, and, ultimately, the attacks of the Friends and other opponents of the slave trade. But by far the most illuminating documents are those which deal with the traffic further south. The relations of local agents with owners and masters, the rates of exchange, the terms of sale, and the dependence of the market upon current prices of sugar and other staples are amply illustrated, though the items are often buried amid a mass of less significant data. The investigator of West Indian and Southern economic conditions, no less than the student of New England, should find here much to reward a careful perusal. When the fourth volume is completed this series will rank as one of the outstanding contributions of recent years to the economic history of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

Yale University.

LEONARD W. LABAREE.

The Life and Writings of Hugh Henry Brackenridge. By CLAUDE MILTON NEWLIN, Ph. D., Assistant Professor of English, Michigan State College. (Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1932. Pp. vi, 328. \$5.00.)

THE frontiersmen who cleared away the forests, developed the farms, and fought the Indians on the American frontier were followed by pioneers of culture who promoted the transit of civilization across the continent. Hugh Henry Brackenridge was an outstanding pioneer of culture in western Pennsylvania. When at the age of thirty-three he established himself in Pittsburgh, he had been graduated from Princeton, had taught school, studied the classics, theology, and law, written and published two long poems and two dramas in verse, founded and edited a magazine, and acquired a standing and numerous acquaintances among the literati of the seaboard. In Pitts-

burgh in 1781 he found himself in a frontier community isolated from the older settlements by the mountains and lacking most of the appurtenances of culture. His wide interests and his talents in law, politics, oratory, and literature made him the leading citizen of Pittsburgh for a generation. In 1786 he induced John Scull to establish the *Pittsburgh Gazette*, the first newspaper west of the mountains, and began a flood of contributions to its columns. When those columns were closed to him by political differences he brought about the founding in 1800 of a rival paper, the *Tree of Liberty*. Brackenridge was also one of the promoters of the Pittsburgh Academy, which later developed into the University of Pittsburgh. A study of the reactions between this man and his environment, his part in the civilization of a frontier community and the influence of that community on his thought and writing, should be a contribution to the understanding of the evolution of American culture.

Dr. Newlin's work, as the title indicates, is a literary biography. The author is interested primarily in illustrating, explaining, and evaluating the writings of Brackenridge. In order to do this he necessarily presents a personal biography of the writer and considers the influence of his environment upon him, but he fails to give his readers an adequate understanding of the nature of that environment or of the significant part that Brackenridge played as a cultural missionary in the wilderness. About half of the book is devoted to quotations from Brackenridge's writings, of which the most noted are his satirical novel, *Modern Chivalry*, and his *Incidents of the Insurrection*, a defense of his part in the Whiskey Insurrection. Most of the readers will probably agree with the author that these writings "are not completely satisfying if judged only from the literary point of view"—that the main interest in them is historical rather than æsthetic. It is unfortunate, therefore, that the author has not devoted more attention to the other than literary aspects of Brackenridge's career and to the history of the period and the region in which he flourished. The first of these lacks may be accounted for in part by the paucity of material, but ample material is available for the study of the environment. On the subject of the Whiskey Insurrection, for example, there is an extensive collection of papers in the printed *Pennsylvania Archives*, which was apparently unknown to the author. The book is interesting, well written, informative, and useful, but it is not a wholly adequate biography of Hugh Henry Brackenridge.

The University of Pittsburgh.

SOLON J. BUCK.

American Population before the Federal Census of 1790. By EVARTS B. GREENE, De Witt Clinton Professor of American History, Columbia University, and VIRGINIA D. HARRINGTON. (New York: Columbia University Press. 1932. Pp. xxii, 228. \$3.50.)

HISTORIANS do not possess a natural craving for statistics. It is a taste that must be acquired. Federal and state census reports are still unworked mines

of economic and social history. When they have been opened and explored and the profession has been trained to use their riches, then the work of Professor Greene and his collaborator will be fully appreciated.

Almost fifty years ago F. B. Dexter published his *Estimates of Population in the American Colonies*. This, although brief, has been an indispensable work of reference. But since its appearance many local records have been made accessible; diaries, travels, and legislative proceedings have been published; many of the documents in the colonial office have been printed or transcripts have become available. The preparation of this volume has involved a careful combing of all these sources for statistical data and the presentation of the findings in tables arranged in geographical and chronological order. The first step involved an incredible amount of painstaking labor; the second was done in a clear and logical way. General estimates of the thirteen colonies as a whole are followed by local estimates that range from "New England" down through the several colonies into the "Northwest" and the "Southwest", closing with the "Western Indians".

After admiring the comprehensive columns of figures, the reader (if he can be thus designated) looks in vain for the customary "historical introduction" which is to be his guide through the pages. Why it has not been prepared is understandable. To be satisfactory it would be a complete economic, social, cultural, and biological history of the colonies. But after working so carefully with their materials, even the general impressions of the compilers would be a valuable aid to all investigators. It is hoped that such comments will appear elsewhere.

Less easy to forgive is the inadequate "note on methods of calculation" which presents ratios for translating militia, taxables, families, houses, etc., into terms of general population. These ratios certainly varied in time and space. The family of Boston was not the same numerical unit as that of the Pennsylvania frontier; nor was it the same in 1775 as in 1765. An investigation of these ratios should be undertaken as a preliminary to further studies.

Every future historian of continental and local development will use this volume gratefully, and a student with broader interests can glance through the pages with profit. In every column he will see the expression of a cardinal factor in early American history: a young, vigorous, and growing population constantly breaking the bonds of the institutions by which it was curbed until at last it overthrew the whole imperial framework which hampered growth and substituted a new order in its place.

The University of Illinois.

MARCUS L. HANSEN.

From Frontier to Plantation in Tennessee: a Study in Frontier Democracy. By THOMAS PERKINS ABERNETHY, Richmond Alumni Associate Professor of History in the University of Virginia. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 1932. Pp. xi, 392. \$3.50.)

PROFESSOR ABERNETHY tells us quite plainly with what conceptions he has

approached the study of Tennessee's development from a frontier community to a status in which the plantation had become typical of the economic life of the state and dominated its politics. The study of our national history in the large necessarily leaves in obscurity the development of the several parts, while histories of individual states, on the other hand, "have ordinarily dealt with local politics in a local way". The author proposes, then, to study the history of the state, not from the point of view of its own internal politics, but with concentration upon its growth as a part of the national whole; and Tennessee, he thinks, offers an admirable specimen for such a study.

As free land is the master key to the history of the United States during the first century of its existence, so also land (even if not so free as in other parts of the national domain) is the key to the politics of Tennessee through many years. Not only did the state inherit a land problem peculiarly its own, in a sense it had its origin in a land problem—or, to speak more accurately, in land speculation. Indeed the "Great Land Grab", as Professor Abernethy terms it, leavened the whole lump of the state's beginnings, and most of the upstanding patriots of the time were involved in it. It is certain, he declares, that Sevier, Shelby, and the rest were "seeking lands rather than freedom". Even that noble experiment, the Franklin movement, usually supposed to have been a manifestation of frontier democracy, was little else than a device of the land speculators for their own purposes (here every good Tennessean will shed a few tears!), and even in its collapse the speculators did not fail to obtain their reward. It was a case of "heads I win, tails you lose". "The first offspring of the West", asserts Professor Abernethy, "was not democracy but arrant opportunism."

From the planting of the Watauga and the Cumberland all the way down to the Civil War, traditional heroes are tumbled over by the author like tenpins before a well-directed ball. Some of them will no doubt be set up again, but they will probably be a bit unsteady. And now arises a new figure, hitherto somewhat obscure, yet he does not rise, be it said, as a worshipful hero. His name is William Blount, and he was "the greatest speculator politician of them all", the real empire-builder of the Southwest. When Blount made a miscue and was expelled from the Senate, his toga went to Andrew Jackson; but the latter did not know how to wear it, although many other lessons he had learned well from his preceptor. Far from being a leader of democracy, a champion of the people's cause, Jackson's forte, in the view of Professor Abernethy, was in persuading the people to champion his. "He was not consciously hypocritical in this; it was merely the usual way of doing business in those primitive and ingenuous times." Jackson not only gave no aid to the liberal movement of his time, ably led by William Carroll, "but definitely set himself against the movement and its leader". Here and there through the years appeared a man who was sincere in his desire to serve the cause of the people, but his voice was usually smothered by the deceptive clamors of those who knew what they wanted—and obtained it.

After Jackson, when "the frontier had made way for the plantation, and the militia colonel had been replaced by the lawyer and the professional politician", James K. Polk becomes the outstanding and the typical figure. But between 1836 and 1853 there was no great progress in the cause of democracy. Genuine democracy begins with the election of Andrew Johnson as governor in 1853, a democracy "altogether different in its spirit and leadership" from any of the earlier manifestations. Professor Abernethy even makes bold to assert that Andrew Johnson was "the only true and outstanding democrat produced by the Old South".

Notwithstanding the extensive casualty list in the traditional honor roll, it must be said that idol smashing is not the sole or even the main theme of the book. On the contrary it offers a gratifying contribution to our knowledge of those aspects of life—economic, social, educational, religious—that are fundamental to the political. In short, the book is, as its subtitle indicates, a study in frontier democracy.

Division of Historical Research, EDMUND C. BURNETT.
The Carnegie Institution of Washington.

The Significance of Sections in American History. By FREDERICK JACKSON TURNER. With an Introduction by MAX FARRAND. (New York: Henry Holt and Company. 1932. Pp. ix, 347. \$3.00.)

THERE are no surprises in this volume. More than most of his contemporaries, Frederick Jackson Turner was read as he appeared, and the publication of one of his essays in whatever periodical was enough to induce a searching of the files until the contribution had been found and mastered. His *Significance of the Frontier in American History* (1893) made it difficult for anyone who had read it to write the history of the United States again as it had before that date been written. He was unquestionably the historian's historian; he never wrote for the crowd or handled ordinary narrative themes; but his colleagues took instruction from him from the first essay until the last.

Because of his periodicity of utterance—and the intervals between his periods were all too long—and the fact that he revealed his truth as readily at a college commencement or a local historical meeting, as before the pundits, it has not been easy to view his output as a whole. He reduced this difficulty by collecting thirteen of his earlier essays as *The Frontier in American History* (1920); but he kept on writing and his readers kept on trailing. They now owe a debt of gratitude to Professor Farrand for the intelligent care with which he has brought together the latter half of the series. One of the editor's footnotes reveals the fact that there is forthcoming a posthumous volume, *The United States, 1830-1850: the Nation and its Sections* upon which Turner was engaged for many years, and which may be expected to continue the type of brilliant analysis and description that were the ornaments of his

Rise of the New West. But it is in the essays that Turner preferred to lay down and expound his doctrine.

It was a natural next step that carried Turner from the study of the frontiers to that of the sections. In a way, the frontier which he first saw was a sort of peripatetic section, shifting always with the recession of "the hither edge of free land", but ever retaining such uniformity of characteristics as to draw attention to frontier significance. Among the frontiers the uniformities were attached to a stage of functional process; but there are other uniformities, dependent upon natural resources or topographic strategy, quite as uniform, and Turner came to see them as fully as important. He foreshadowed his recognition of the significance of the sections in a paper which he read at St. Louis in 1904; he sent back to Wisconsin for publication in 1925 his full-length discussion, *The Significance of the Section in American History*, which provides the reasonable title for these papers of his later life.

Not all of the dozen papers that are assembled here belong to Turner's later life, but each of them has something to add to his great hypothesis. And in the one that concludes the volume, *Sections and Nation*, he passes from the realm of history to that of statesmanship and prophecy as he discusses what chance the American ideals have to survive, against the background that gave them birth, and in the face of the world with which they have to live.

The University of California.

FREDERIC L. PAXSON.

Zebulon Pike's Arkansas Journal: in Search of the Southern Louisiana Purchase Boundary Line, interpreted by his Newly Recovered Maps.

Edited, with Bibliographical Resumé, 1800-1810, by STEPHEN HARDING HART and ARCHER BUTLER HULBERT. [Overland to the Pacific, volume I.] (Published by the Stewart Commission of Colorado College and the Denver Public Library. 1932. Pp. xcvi, 200. \$5.00.)

WITH this book Professor Hulbert launches his Overland to the Pacific series, which is intended to constitute a "narrative-documentary history of the great epochs of the Far West". The book is also volume I. of Zebulon Pike's journal of the Southwestern Expedition of 1806-1807, closing with his seizure by the soldiers of Governor Allencaster near Santa Fe. A second volume, to contain the portion of Pike's journal covering his Mexican captivity and pilgrimage, is promised.

The journal, painfully misedited, was first published at Philadelphia in 1810. An edition considerably improved as to editing appeared in London in 1811, and this has been several times reissued, notably by Elliott Coues in 1895. The Philadelphia edition was reprinted by the present reviewer in 1925, and is now (in part) a second time reissued. Inciting reasons for this are the facts that the journal is necessary to the series Professor Hulbert has planned, and that Pike's original charts, taken from him by his captor in 1807, were rediscovered in Washington five years ago and thereby became

accessible to scholars. The information shed by these charts, reinforced by other collateral sources, has induced Professor Hulbert to undertake a fresh interpretation of the motives animating the expedition.

Herein lies the crux of the Pike problem, and its solution by the present editors chiefly gives significance to their volume. The accusation that Pike was a tool, if not a confederate, of James Wilkinson and Aaron Burr in their supposed designs against the peace and integrity of the United States and Mexico has persisted for a century and a quarter, sullyng the repute of as splendid a soldier as ever wore the uniform of the United States Army. With a vigor and pungency uncommon to the pages of the sober historical monograph, Professor Hulbert repels the accusation, and in his pages the "Atlantic" school of historians fares, sadly enough. Pike's mission was one of exploration; his ambition, to win fame as Lewis and Clark and Freeman and Dunbar were contemporarily winning it. In particular he aspired to become the delineator of the Louisiana Purchase boundary. He had no design against Spanish Mexico; rather, after undergoing prodigious labors and appalling sufferings in the mountains he contrived to have his party taken into custody to save it from complete destruction.

Such, briefly stated, is Professor Hulbert's thesis. From his pungent criticism of earlier Pike commenators, the reviewer, happily, is specially excepted. This means, of course, that the reviewer approves, in the main, Professor Hulbert's findings, and to some extent himself anticipated them in his edition of the journal published in 1925.

Here, it would seem, we might wisely conclude, but to round out the review some additional remarks are in order. Besides the first portion of Pike's journal, the book presents three introductory monographs: Professor Hulbert's general introduction to the series; Mr. Hart's account of the life and the papers of Pike; and Professor Hulbert's discussion of the purposes of the expedition. The work is handsomely printed, with attractive format. The four page index fails regrettably to measure up to the remaining editorial apparatus. A very few misprints or like trivial errors have been detected. The wisdom of dignifying with formal denial such muckraking articles as Kyle S. Crichton's Zeb Pike is questionable; at least, in the reviewer's opinion.

The Detroit Public Library.

M. M. QUAIFFÉ.

Edmund Ruffin, Southerner: a Study in Secession. By AVERY CRAVEN, Professor of American History, University of Chicago. (New York: D. Appleton and Company. 1932. Pp. ix, 283. \$3.00.)

EDMUND RUFFIN of Virginia was one of those important personages in the ante bellum South whose life, opinions, and influence have been, until the appearance of this volume, incompletely known—an actor on the stage with a rôle partly evident but largely concealed. The *Farmer's Register* and his

efforts to revamp Southern agriculture, for instance, have long been familiar, and also his affiliations with the advance guard of secession. On the other hand his personality, the extent of his political and intellectual contacts, and the origin and development of his convictions regarding Southern sectionalism, have remained unexploited. Herein lies the contribution of Professor Craven. His method is unconventional and unique, for his book is hardly a narrative biography, though sequence of time and events is observed; rather it is a portrayal of cross sections of Southern life as they reacted on a personage, and this is done in such a way as to present Ruffin as a type of that group of extreme sectionalists, always a minority, who early and late desired secession and at last were victorious because the course of events worked in their favor.

Ruffin's personality was so full of contradictions that one suspects that a drift toward either nationalism or sectionalism was accidental. A real patriarch on his plantation, kindly and generous, with wide intellectual interests expressed in a large library, and a religious bent not dissimilar to that of Thomas Jefferson, he was also keenly sensitive, given to lasting and implacable resentments. He was never received into the fold of Virginia politics, and this he resented; thus the way was open for dissent not only with the political order of his state, but also, as well, with that of the nation, for the Virginian and the national political orders were closely related. Most important, sometime and in some way before 1836 he became suspicious and distrustful of the "Yankee", and this feeling developed into an obsession. There was also in the man something of the spirit of a reformer, and he became a crusader for such interests as the improvement of agriculture and the promotion of Southern nationality. It is not surprising that he found more congenial friends in South Carolina and the Lower South than in his native state. Indeed it was during his sojourn in South Carolina, as official surveyor of agricultural resources, that he definitely found his rôle as an apostle of Southern resistance to supposed Northern aggression and became in time an apologist for Southern independence.

Ruffin's environment—the plantation and the slavery régime—Professor Craven well depicts, but the contrast between Virginia and South Carolina might have been emphasized, for the greater diversification of agriculture in the former state must have influenced its lesser rôle in the effort for Southern independence. Likewise in the trend of political development the question of alliances between South and West, Northeast and West, and Northeast and South, might have rounded out the background for the movement for Southern nationality. For the proper understanding of ante bellum politics and economics an imagination which will supplement well-established facts is necessary—the kind of imagination that reads into events forces which the leaders felt but did not express. Hence the backward view, established long after the disappearance of issues, may explain many historic repercussions.

This fact the author realizes but does not capitalize. On the other hand he never falls into prejudice and is ever careful to indicate that all the forces which shaped the crusade against slavery, and also the desire for Southern independence, have not been analyzed and apportioned in their respective influences.

A word of commendation cannot be withheld for the skill and charm of the book. Always judicious in its statement of facts, there is a half dramatic sparkle in its style, which arouses in the reader anticipation for each succeeding page and chapter. As a combined interpretation of a man and his section, it is not surpassed and hardly equalled in the literature concerning the generation preceding 1865.

Duke University.

W. K. BOYD.

The Life of Andrew Carnegie. By BURTON J. HENDRICK. Two volumes. (Garden City: Doubleday, Doran, and Company. 1932. Pp. xi, 434; 425. \$7.50.)

MR. HENDRICK has written the official life of Andrew Carnegie. Unlike many official lives it is an excellent piece of work, scholarly, well proportioned, the result of years of research, and reasonably unbiased. That it is a sympathetic portrayal goes without saying; one would be less than human who failed to fall under the spell of the energetic and engaging Scotch-American who deserved so well both of his native and his adopted lands. Where could one find a character more superbly suited to the hand of a biographer? Brought to America a penniless immigrant boy at the age of 13, starting his business life almost immediately as a bobbin boy in a cotton mill, Carnegie became a division superintendent of the Pennsylvania Railroad at 24, and was receiving through fortunate investments a millionaire's income by the time he was 27. A pioneer in sleeping cars before Pullman and the accumulator of a comfortable fortune in oil when the name of Rockefeller was unknown, Carnegie turned suddenly from those lines of business with which he was familiar and threw his energies into the promotion of one of the most speculative industries known to man, the manufacture of iron and steel. Within fifteen years he was the most powerful figure in an industry, the development and history of which is part of the warp and woof of American civilization. A biography of Carnegie must necessarily be not only a personal history but a record of American economic progress for half a century.

To account for the career of Carnegie in a sentence or phrase is impossible. In many ways no man was more typical of the America of his day—his rapid rise from poverty to riches and power, his ardent patriotism which offended his British friends and won him the name of the "Star Spangled Scotchman", his strong individualism, his buoyancy, his optimism, his recognized position as the supersalesman of his day. Yet he was far from the typical American captain of industry. At 33 he wrote that the "amassing of wealth is one of the worst species of idolotry" and was already laying plans

to retire and devote his life to self-education and to benevolent works. Before many years he was doing this, living in Europe half of each year, studying, writing, cultivating the friendship of educated leaders, and systematically distributing his wealth. At one time the richest man in America, he had disposed with the keenest pleasure of nine-tenths of his wealth by the time of his death, and had made it almost a disgrace for a rich man to die without making provision for philanthropic enterprises.

In one respect the writing of a life of Carnegie presents little difficulty, for there were no intricacies in his mental processes to confound the psychologist. He was a typical "extrovert", open, frank, and enjoying to the utmost all that life had brought him. The difficulty is in adequately fitting his career into the American scene of which he was so intimate a part and yet in a sense so separate. On the personal side of Carnegie's life there is no reason to believe that Mr. Hendrick has not written a definitive work. Carnegie's character, his mode of life, the history of his friendship with Arnold, Spencer, Gladstone, Morley, and others is given in detail. For the first time also we have an adequate discussion of Carnegie's interest and influence in international affairs and his lifelong concern in promoting international amity. Carnegie's philosophy and ideas on public questions were fairly well known to his contemporaries through his own books and magazine articles; Mr. Hendrick's contribution has been to show the influence exerted by Carnegie behind the scenes. The book is valuable also as a connected history of the Carnegie philanthropies and their widespread ramifications.

Perhaps the most important part of the work is that dealing with the business policies of the great ironmaster and his significance in our economic history. Mr. Hendrick has made an important contribution as he writes of Carnegie's part in the development of the Bessemer converter, the adoption of the open-hearth process, and the opening of the Lake Superior iron region. Particularly valuable is the background which he develops of the sale of the Carnegie mills to the Morgan syndicate. Regarding the Homestead Strike of 1892 Mr. Hendrick adds little to what is known except in his development of the general background by devoting a chapter to Carnegie's ideas on labor and his personal handling of the labor problem in earlier disputes. His chapter on the strike is a defense of Carnegie which may leave some unconvinced.

Of historical flaws there appear to be very few. The author unfortunately swallows without hesitancy Roosevelt's own account of his activities in the Venezuela incident of 1902. Parenthetically, it may be said that the letters which Carnegie received and which are reprinted in this biography are among the most interesting parts of the book. Prime Minister Balfour writing to Carnegie at this time wrote feelingly, "These South American Republics are a great trouble, and I wish the U. S. A. would take them in hand!" Fortunately Mr. Hendrick navigates quite successfully the stormy waters of the war guilt controversy due undoubtedly to the fact that his hero refused to

recognize in the Kaiser the master villain who shipwrecked the peace of Europe. At any rate this is no small accomplishment for the author of the *Life and Letters of Walter H. Page*. The biography closes with a brief appendix on the so-called "armor plate scandal" and a bibliography of Carnegie's writings and of material on him. The volumes are excellently printed and illustrated.

Smith College.

HAROLD U. FAULKNER.

The Rise of the City, 1878-1898. By ARTHUR MEIER SCHLESINGER, Professor of History, Harvard University. [History of American Life, volume X.] (New York: Macmillan Company. 1933. Pp. xvi, 494. \$4.00.)

ALTHOUGH the covering title of this volume is *The Rise of the City*, the contents are by no means limited to a consideration of that phenomenon. On the contrary, the work is really a survey of "social life" from 1878 to 1898, in which the city itself, in a strict sense, occupies only two out of thirteen chapters. The book opens with chapters on the New South and the Great West. After this introduction come the two chapters on the city and urban life. Then follow chapters on the American woman, the educational revival, increasing the world's knowledge, the renaissance in letters and arts, the pursuit of happiness, the changing Church, society's wards, political factors and forces, and *Fin de Siècle*.

The sixty odd pages included under Urbanism do not present a statistical picture of rising cities; they deal with those characteristics which strike the author as significant or impressive—small towns, bigger cities, aliens, rural decay, concentration of wealth, contrasts, lights and shadows, congestion, utilities of water, gas, communication, and sanitation, hotels, lodgings, slums, crime, and general planlessness. The characteristics so chosen for presentation are illustrated with a wealth of detail drawn largely from original sources and literature contemporary to the period under consideration. And the presentation is clear, calm, and steady. Given the program, no one can quarrel with the scholarship or ingenuity of the author.

A similar conception has governed the selection and ordering of materials dealing with feminism, schools, colleges, and universities, letters, the arts, newspapers, science, amusements, athletics, religion, temperance, poverty, politics, and panics. The great phases of culture formalized under such heads as education, science, the arts, and entertainments are recognized and illustrated. Then these customary categories of thought are supplemented by impressionistic pictures. With what result? The reader who lived through the period here surveyed will experience the sensation of living scenes over again; he will walk once more as in a dream amid the sights, sounds, and smells of Xenia, Ohio, and New York City; he will hear again "the big, booming confusion".

Whether this movement and uproar meant anything then or means anything now, whether it had any center of gravity or was merely chaos floating in chaos, whether it had any direction, Professor Schlesinger does not venture to say. He steers clear of all interpretations—economic, political, and philosophical. Apparently he thinks interpretations are wrong, that none is possible, and that impressionistic eclecticism is the only resort of contemporary scholarship. He may be right. But that, too, is an interpretation, with profound philosophic implications—for those who care to go into the metaphysics of historiography. We may shut our eyes to the abyss of thought that yawns devouringly at our feet, so perilous; the abyss remains.

New Milford.

CHARLES A. BEARD.

Our Times: the United States, 1900-1925. By MARK SULLIVAN. Volume IV., *The War Begins, 1909-1914.* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1932. Pp. xx, 629. \$3.75.)

MR. MARK SULLIVAN'S unique contribution to the study of recent American history has become so well known to students of the period, as to render unnecessary any general description of his purposes, methods, and style. It is sufficient to say that this fourth volume is similar, in most respects, to those preceding.

The period covered is roughly that from 1909 to 1914. The volume begins with June 28, 1914, and describes in fresh and realistic terms the "ways of life" and America at the time when "an event" was occurring with which "America felt Sure it had no Concern". The next chapter amplifies somewhat the spirit of America during the pre-war years.

An inevitable chapter on Henry Ford (and some sample Ford jokes) leads into a discussion of mass production and related topics. A novel and suggestive chapter is that on New Words. In writing this part of his book, Mr. Sullivan made a study of the additions to the language that came into common use between 1909 and 1927. Of the 299 of these words which begin with "A", he found that 221 were scientific terms (aviation leading with 82), while the remaining 78 were divided among other fields of human activity. Another entertaining chapter is that on New Influences on the American Mind. Among these influences, he emphasizes most prominently the works and ideas of Freud, Omar Khayyám, Bernard Shaw, New York City, and the aeroplane.

Approximately two-fifths of the volume describes the relations between Roosevelt and Taft, including the main issues of the Taft administration and the rise and decline of the Progressive movement. Many readers will find these pages exceedingly illuminating. In the first place, Mr. Sullivan was himself not only closely connected with the Bull Moose movement, but he was one of its more rabid promoters in the columns of the Progressive press. Study and reflection have largely modified Mr. Sullivan's position. A reviewer

may well leave thus indefinite the extent of the change. A synopsis would merely mar an interesting story.

In the second place, Mr. Sullivan embeds his account of the rift between Roosevelt and Taft in the solid foundations of human nature, and then rears a structure thereon which takes account of numerous *contretemps* between the two men. The reader will probably suspect that Mr. Sullivan's reservoir of knowledge on the subject is larger than appears. At any rate, his story has every appearance of being more accurate than anything which has yet been written on the subject.

To this reviewer, Mr. Sullivan makes an especial appeal because of sundry reflections or bits of political and social philosophy which are thrown in for good measure at divers points. Such is the pithy statement of the impossibility of placing a correct label on certain periods of history (p. 37, footnote on the "Tragic Era", "Gay Nineties", "Mauve Decade", and so on). Or the *obiter dicta* on the Freudian theory (p. 176). Or Mr. Sullivan's opinion of one of Mr. Roosevelt's speeches in the Bull Moose campaign (p. 485).

No virile account of so recent a period would be agreed to in all its details. For example, the statement (pp. 402-403) quoted from an article written in 1912, that Taft had "made more real and lasting progress than any two Presidents since the Civil War". There are a few typographical slips, but only a few.

This reviewer would like to suggest a one-volume condensation of Mr. Sullivan's four volumes, for student use, when a reasonable financial return for publishers and author have been met. Such a condensation might include among others the whole or parts of chapters 1-3, 8, 9, 14, and 16, in volume I.; a somewhat full synopsis of chapters 1-11, together with chapters 15, 17, 24, and 27 in volume II.; chapters 5 and 6 of volume III.; and chapters 1, 2, portions of 3, 4, 6, 11, and a synopsis of chapters 12-30 of volume IV. A volume of this kind would be of great value for college classes. In the meantime, Mr. Sullivan's four volumes complete should have many readers.

Dartmouth College.

CHARLES R. LINGLEY.

Mary Baker Eddy: the Truth and the Tradition. By ERNEST SUTHERLAND BATES, Ph. D., and JOHN V. DITTEMORE. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 1932. Pp. v, 476, xxxiv. \$4.00.)

MR. DITTEMORE, who for ten years was a director of the Christian Science Mother Church and for a longer time a trustee of Mrs. Eddy's estate, had a persistent interest in Mrs. Eddy's personal history. In 1907, acting for the directors, he financed and published the work which Mrs. Sibyl Wilbur O'Brien was engaged to write to counteract the serial articles appearing in *McClure's Magazine* from the pen of Miss Georgine Milmine. Since that time he has collected a mass of letters written by Mrs. Eddy or her students and family connections, as well as reminiscences and diaries of her associates

and sundry suppressed narratives. For the present publication he has had the collaboration of Ernest Sutherland Bates who is responsible for the literary form. By virtue of its ample sources, the apparent critical skill applied in use of them, the obvious precision and order given to details, this may be regarded as an authoritative record of the facts and a final confirmation of their incongruity with the idealizing legend accepted by Mrs. Eddy's followers. Compared with prior critical accounts it gives a somewhat more sympathetic version of Mrs. Eddy's earlier years, emphasizing the beauty and charm which helped to found an amazing career, crediting her with more schooling than others report, acknowledging a natural gift of expression which, it is said, might have made her a writer of rank had not an indulgence in meretricious verse vitiated her feeling for prose style. We note also a rejection of village gossip representing her nervous disorders as deliberate tantrums in resentment of wishes denied. Letters from Mrs. Eddy's mother correct the notion of a household tyrannized by a child's freakish self-will. Our authors further refuse to credit the story of Mrs. Eddy's destructive fury on leaving the Wentworth home in Stoughton in 1869. They are impartial when they analyze the evidence for the alleged conspiracy of Eddy and Arens to murder Dr. Spofford. They agree with Mrs. Fleta Springer's protest against the inconsistent newspaper reports of the famous interview on Concord in 1906 and regard the reported impersonation of Mrs. Eddy when ill by Mrs. Leonard as intrinsically improbable and deficient in evidence.

This restraint does not mean sympathy with the pious legend. It emphasizes the view that after the death of Gilbert Eddy we are no longer concerned with an irresponsibly impulsive and imaginative woman but an embattled Mrs. Eddy deliberately bent on self-aggrandizement and worldly profit. Henceforth, "her methods would be increasingly ruthless, increasingly regardless of the conventional ideas of truth and honor taught to her in childhood". From that date the actors and their actions are interpreted with great severity, even beyond the necessities of the tale. Certainly nothing here narrated justifies the insinuation of mercenary motives in the service rendered by James Neal and Joseph Armstrong to the cause of Christian Science. Adam Dickey, called "this new tiger-cat who purred so obediently" at Mrs. Eddy's commands, fails to play that rôle in the one case of behavior here recorded; he refused Mrs. Eddy another dose of narcotic, declaring that it was no longer needed, "it was the old morphine habit" reasserting itself. Conceivably Mrs. Augusta Stetson was "ambitious and unscrupulous even beyond her leader", but how, without confirmation from her own utterances, can our authors know so much of her secret reflections and motives? The reviewer cannot agree that Mrs. Stetson's letter which precipitated her downfall really contains "an implication that her own rôle was that of a new St. Paul to the new Christ".

The truth which here confronts traditions is a sad story. Impressionable,

uncritical, enthusiastic people without definite method or standards of thought are dominated by a leader who in her public personality was a radiant being "genuinely god-intoxicated, rapt in a vision of supernal goodness, love, and wisdom" (p. 152). Her disciple Bancroft described her "as one inspired, obsessed by one idea, that of convincing her hearers of the truth she was uttering". This public self of religious ecstasy won the adoration of spiritually hungry souls like the meek Calvin Frye, the gentle artist Gilman, the George Barry who poured out his devotion in the poem "O Mother Mine", the rapturous women of her own type like Mrs. Field-King and Mrs. Stetson. Competent men gave up business pursuits to become her agents. All this gave a perverted development to the gospeler's self-consciousness. From disciples, who even when injured by her were able to forget and forgive the wrong done, she received and demanded a homage and obedience due only to a divine authority. Yet all the time there was a private self that experienced physical suffering and mental gloom in contradiction to the gospel which she professed. She denied the reality of evil and she was tormented by evil. The result was the appalling notion of witchcraft directed against her by her rivals in popular favor. A dissonance of contradictory selves and inevitable aberrations in conduct, a tragedy in this career. The reviewer is suggesting that the painful story should be told and read with more compassion.

Lowell.

F. A. CHRISTIE.

SHORTER NOTICES

History, Psychology, and Culture. By Alexander Goldenweiser, Ph. D., Professor of Thought and Culture, University of Oregon. (New York, Alfred A. Knopf, 1933, pp. xii, 475, xii, \$5.00.) This latest volume from the pen of Professor Goldenweiser is a collection and revision of his scattered monographs and articles which have been published in various scholarly journals during the last quarter of a century. The student of any one of the several social sciences will find some section of the volume which is of particular value to his field of interest. In this brief notice we can only call attention to those items which are of special interest to the historian.

These will primarily be found in the first two parts of the book dealing with History, Psychology, and Culture, and Theories of Primitive Mind and Culture. Here he gives us, first, an abstract and somewhat difficult presentation of the epistemology and categories involved in the psycho-cultural interpretation of history. He then treats of the chief theoretical principles bound up with the laws of cultural evolution, including a critique of Professor Teggart's *Theory of History* and a rigorous dissection of the theory of geographic determinism in historical interpretation. All of Part II. is devoted to a discussion of the theories of leading anthropologists and psychologists relative to the evolution of primitive mentality and cultural traits. This is an

elaboration of the last part of his *Early Civilization*, which was really tacked on to the end of that book.

The sections most relevant to the historian are chapter II. of Part I. and chapter I. of Part II., which present a splendid critical summary of the laws of cultural evolution, the most important theoretical contribution which anthropology has to make to the science of history. Here he examines: (1) the long popular notion of inevitable and uniform evolution of institutions and cultural traits, (2) the opposite extreme view of the diffusion of culture from original sources of invention and innovation, and (3) the critical appraisal of both of these interpretations by Professor Boas and the historical anthropologists. Professor Goldenweiser's material will prove difficult reading for the average historian, but it would be impossible for him to turn anywhere for material more cogent or acute if he wishes to approach the fundamentals of his subject in a truly scientific manner.

New School for Social Research.

HARRY ELMER BARNES.

Epirus: a Study in Greek Constitutional Development. By Geoffrey Neale Cross, former Fellow of Trinity College, Barrister-at-Law. [Prince Consort Prize Essay, 1930.] (Cambridge, University Press; New York, Macmillan Company, 1932, pp. viii, 137, \$1.60.) This small volume, one of a series of Cambridge studies, contains the Prince Consort prize essay for 1930. The work—its title is rather misleading—is a chronological account of the chief facts in the history of Epirus.

The first chapter (Epirus and the Epirotes) describes, very sketchily in view of the meager evidence, the development of the Epirote tribes under Greek influence, the early supremacy of the Molossians up to the Chaonian domination, 429 B. C., and the early constitutional forms—democratic in Thesprotia and Chaonia, monarchical in Molossia. The second chapter (The Unification of Epirus) contains in greater detail the account of the permanent alliance of the Epirote tribes under the hegemony of the Molossian monarchy. The shadowy history of Kings Tharypas, Acetas, Neoptolemos, and Abybbas leads into the fateful union with Macedonia in the marriage of Philip II. and Olympias.

The third chapter (The Hellenistic Prince) tells again the familiar story of Pyrrhus, whose attempt to build up a strong Epirote monarchy out of a relatively weak Molossian hegemony forced on him the international policy of crippling his troublesome neighbor Macedon. The author concludes: "It is as a king of Epirus that he must be judged and in the light of his country's past history the main lines of his policy were sound enough." The conclusion, which is quite reasonable, is not, however, in line with the facts, for Cross's account makes Pyrrhus seem even more than usual the irresponsible freebooter. After all, the world's judgment seems justified, for even after an obviously sympathetic version of his career it seems that the most that can be

said of him is that he gave his people "for the first and last time in their history, a brief moment of fame" (p. 87).

The fourth chapter (Monarchy and Republic) is the thin story of the last days, of the end of the Molossian monarchy and its hold on the other tribes, of the short-lived republic and of the bloody aftermath of Pydna. The volume is completed by eight short appendixes on special points. The best of these are the second, Dionysius and Alcetas, and the fifth, on the Negotiations for a Peace between Pyrrhus and Rome. There are simple but adequate outline maps and genealogical tables.

Mr. Cross has given us a dull book which is not very new and which smells faintly of the very serious student's lamp.

New York University.

CASPER J. KRAEMER, JR.

The Making of Europe: an Introduction to the History of European Unity. By Christopher Dawson, Lecturer in the History of Culture, University College, Exeter. (New York, Macmillan Company, 1932, pp. xxiv, 317, \$3.75.) Mr. Dawson believes that for the last two centuries the history of Europe has been almost entirely written from a nationalistic standpoint. This has had the result of obscuring the underlying unity in its development and has had an unfortunate effect in promoting distorted political ideals and consequent wrong political action. As he expresses it: "We must rewrite our history from the European point of view and take as much trouble to understand the unity of our common civilization as we have given hitherto to the study of our national individuality." "The ultimate foundation of our culture is not the national state, but the European unity."

Mr. Dawson has chosen for his study the seven hundred years from the fourth to the eleventh centuries. During this period, which historians have frequently regarded as of little interest, he believes may be found the formation of a new society and culture as well as the "birth of European unity". He has attempted to give us not the usual history, but he has sought to peer behind the surface and trace origins and connections, stress important influences and show how European civilization was gradually evolved. The result has been an outstanding piece of work.

To the rhetorician and his educational work the author ascribes the preservation of secular learning. Without his influence "higher culture would have been entirely religious, as it tended to be in the oriental world outside China". Moreover, it was the classical literature and rhetorical tradition that "formed the European habit of mind, and rendered possible that rational and critical attitude to life and nature which is peculiar to western civilization".

Dawson believes Byzantine culture has been too much neglected as it did not fit into the history of classical antiquity, or the history of modern European nationalities. To it he attributes the "background of the whole development of medieval culture, and to some extent, even that of Islam". Another

interesting statement in which the author differs from the traditional historical opinion, is that "the Holy Roman Empire—*sancta respublica romana*—was the creation, not of Charlemagne, but of Constantine and Theodosius".

Pennsylvania State College.

JAMES EDWARD GILLESPIE.

The Secular Activities of the German Episcopate, 919-1024 By Edgar Nathaniel Johnson, Assistant Professor of History, the University of Nebraska. (Lincoln, the University of Nebraska, 1932, pp. 278, 75 cents.) This delightfully written dissertation from the Thompson seminar formerly in Chicago is a thoroughgoing survey of the worldly activities of the German bishops in a period when unusually able men held the *Krummstab* to the advantage both of law and order and of culture. Necessarily much of Dr. Johnson's work deals with the political phase of these bishops' interests, their efforts to maintain the political and spiritual independence of their position against the crown and the nobles, to preserve and even to enlarge the economic bases of such independence. How the hierarchs came to be loyally allied with the crown under Otto I. is not so well explained directly as abundantly illustrated. So far as the text is concerned the titles "Ottonian generosity to the Church" and "Servitia episcoporum" seem not entirely appropriate, but the notes contain what one expects. The particulars of the secular life of the bishops, chapters VI.-VIII., on the bishops as civil servants, as soldiers and builders and as economic administrators, are admirably set forth. One misses, however, extended notices of the agencies through which the prelates managed. The *vogt* receives little more than a page and there is no notice of *vicedomini* or *magistri camerae*. The bishop in the border regions, Lorraine and Italy, and on the frontiers, was not less loyal to the Saxon crown than his brethren in the heart of Germany although his interests and the conditions under which he proceeded were different. The complex situations in these regions are well mastered by focusing the narrative upon outstanding figures, *e.g.*, Bruno of Cologne, Notker of Liège in Lorraine, and Leo of Vercelli in Italy. Hearty and kindly is the concluding chapter on Episcopus Epicurus. The sketching of Megingaud makes one wish Dr. Johnson had in other connections dealt at length with the crisp Liutprand of Cremona and the artful Dietrich of Metz. Regrettable only is the assumption that the host of secular offices so well performed by the prelates of the Saxon period in Germany is incompatible with sainthood. There is otherwise little occasion to quarrel with Dr. Johnson. On page 48 he credits Cluny with a bit more than is its due and occasionally his entitling of personages is loose. Only three misprints, pp. 102, 141, 260, distract one in the text and bibliography.

Pennsylvania State College.

FRANCIS J. TSCHAN.

A History of Europe from 1378 to 1494. By W. T. Waugh, M. A., F. R. S. C., Kingsford Professor of History in McGill University. [History of Medieval and Modern Europe, volume IV.] (New York, G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1932, pp. xiii, 545, \$6.50.) How does this volume, and the series to which it belongs compare with other works of a similar nature and scope? Obviously an English student-general-reader audience is being addressed, and the format is identical with the Oman series on England. In such circumstances it would be captious to criticize the omission of England merely because the American eye sees England as part of Europe. Hassall's *Periods of European History* is the work which the present series aims to supersede, and R. Lodge's *Close of the Middle Ages* is the counterpart to the present volume. The obvious difference lies in the greater emphasis on the medieval period in this new set. With about equal text Waugh provides twice as much discussion because he deals with only half the period covered by Lodge. Emphasis also is shifted. France and Central Europe get more lengthy treatment while the Italian Renaissance is, very properly, made less conspicuous. One notes, in this connection, what a large amount of research dealing with France has been done since Lodge appeared. (It should also be noted, in passing, that Waugh's chapters on Italy are among his best.) But will this more extensive treatment of fifteenth century affairs be more satisfactory for the unprofessional reader? In many instances the enlightening generalizations found in Lodge will be missed in this new book.

While most of the treatment is of politics the point of view is far from being so confined. There are several excellent chapters on economic and social conditions, and the author expressly repudiates Freeman's "ignoble estimate" of history. Even in his political discussions he injects penetrating philosophical comments, often very effectively phrased, on motives and causes, on personalities and general results, suggestive of the college lecture and pleasing to the academic taste. Particularly useful is the discussion of German political trends in the late fifteenth century aiming to show that the Reformation "only accelerated a process which had begun years before". This is supplemented by a *coup d'oeil* of the religious situation in 1500. Longer treatment gives some real idea of the complicated political situation connected with the conciliar movement without becoming unduly confusing. Unfortunately there is no summary of the movement's results, although in various places those results are noted as they influenced other events.

The author deliberately opposes some of the views of "patriotic French historians" who have tended to exaggerate the influence of Joan of Arc, or to palliate the actions or extol the skill and achievements of Louis XI. He likewise warns against English and French students who are "prone to draw false inferences from political conditions" in Germany. One may ask, perhaps, whether it was with intent to prove that "heroes seem rare and knaves

and fools abundant" that he presents more extensive characterizations of Sigismund and Aeneas Sylvius than of any other figures?

Williams College.

RICHARD A. NEWHALL.

Českoslovenká Vlastivěda. Volume IV. *Dějiny*. Edited by Václav Novotný. (Prague, "Sfinx" Bohumil Janda, 1932, pp. 638, 300 Kč.) This is the fourth volume in a series now published in Prague, under the auspices of the Masaryk Academy of Work, which eventually will be the last word on all phases of activities of Czechoslovakia. The present work aims to present a critical treatment of Czechoslovak history on the basis of the new historical research, with special emphasis on the modern period. Each section of history was written by a Czechoslovak specialist in his field, so that the pre-Slavic period is presented by Josef Dobiáš, the period up to 1273 by Václav Novotný (the editor in chief of this volume), the period up to the fourteenth century by Otakar Odložilík, the years between 1419 and 1526 by Rudolf Urbánek, the period of reformation by Otakar Odložilík, and the modern period by Jaroslav Prokeš. Before the volume was finished, it was decided to include the treatment of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries in a special volume, which is about to appear.

The main emphasis throughout is on the political events, though the cultural, economic, and social factors are not neglected. The history of Slovakia is included in the discussions only when it pertains to the general development of Bohemia. This is a serious gap, which will have to be filled very soon, because a work of this kind, which claims to be all-inclusive, can hardly afford to treat the past of Slovakia only in passing.

On the other hand, this is a book of real distinction. There is hardly a page which is not illustrated with historical documents, photographs, and reprints, in addition to occasional full-page reproductions and maps. Thus the book will be of value even to those who cannot read Czech. It is a book based on wide research, it corrects many minor errors of other writers, and presents a clear and straightforward picture of its subject.

A word should be said of the exceptionally handsome format and the binding of the book. Paper, illustrations, and type combine to make a volume which is a pleasure to the sight and touch—something which is quite contrary to the publishing technique of Central Europe.

Centenary Junior College, Hackettstown.

JOSEPH S. ROUCEK.

Le Mariage Palatin de Marguerite de Savoie. Par Ernest Cornaz. [Mémoires et Documents publiés par la Société d'Histoire de la Suisse Romande, Série 2, tome XV.] (Lausanne, Payot and Company, 1932, pp. 326, 10 fr.) The marriage of Marguerite de Savoy to Louis IV. of Wittelsbach, Count Palatine of the Rhine, took place in 1445. From a political point of view the affair was unimportant, but the procedure throws much interest-

ing light on the social and legal practices of the time, and the author fortifies his brief narrative of seventy-five pages with two-hundred and twenty-eight pages of documents to make this clear. The negotiations begin with the marriage contract of 1444 and close in red ink at the death of the Count Palatine in 1449. The cause of the deficit was the size of the dowry which Louis Duke of Savoy promised on behalf of his sister Marguerite, a matter of 125,000 Rhenish florins, of which 50,000 were due at Basel when the bride passed over to the escort of her fiancé, the balance to be paid in three annual installments of 25,000. At Basel only 18,000 in cash had been raised and the duke was obliged to deposit with the city council a quantity of plate which he borrowed from his uncle, and to get various persons to go on his bond. Here we encounter the so-called "hostages" for debt, a medieval institution of which little has been written and for which the documents here given are unique for completeness.

During the next four years the failure of payments called these bondsmen into repeated use, and the kind of pressure caused by this procedure becomes evident. When patience was exhausted these hostages were summoned by the creditor to enter into honorable captivity at a designated Swiss city, not necessarily the same for all, and remain there until some settlement was reached. In this case, being personages of distinction, they came with valets and more or less of retinue, settled themselves in the best hotels and pursued a comfortable, if not a hilarious, existence at the expense of the debtor. One can understand the frantic efforts of Louis of Savoy to borrow money or effect a compromise while this expense accumulated. As one instance among several the draft on his treasury for hostages during 1447-1448 amounted to more than 5352 Rhenish florins, at least \$30,000 in modern purchasing power. The documents include a variety of transactions, treasury accounts, cost of travel and transportation, and other matters which add interesting touches to life in the late fifteenth century.

J. M. V.

Politica Methodice Digesta of Johannes Althusius (*Althaus*). Reprinted from the Third Edition of 1614, augmented by the Preface to the First Edition of 1603, and by 21 hitherto Unpublished Letters of the Author. With an Introduction by Carl Joachim Friedrich, Ph. D., Assistant Professor of Government, Harvard University. [Harvard Political Classics, volume II.] (Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1932, pp. cxxxix, 435, \$6.00.) All interested in the history of political thought are highly indebted to Professor Friedrich and the Harvard University Press for this admirably executed reprint of an important work that has been rarely accessible and has been discussed at length only in Gierke's monograph, published first in 1880. Gierke considered chiefly the general development of certain ideas (before and after Althusius) that found expression in Althusius's work. Professor Friedrich

offers an introduction (of a hundred pages) designed to give a fuller treatment of Althusius's own ideas and to examine them again in terms of other general ideas, particularly those that "have come into the foreground of attention" since 1880. Professor Friedrich displays a thorough acquaintance with Althusius's works and some of their immediate sources. His general discussion, however, contains a considerable number of trite observations, muddled interpretations and comparisons, and loose generalizations of doubtful validity. He suggests that Althusius's "strong belief in the force of sympathetic emotions among men" is due to the fact that he "was married and the father of many children", contrasting him with Hobbes, the bachelor. He asserts, without explanation, that democracy "can last only among men motivated by Christian and more particularly Calvinist morality", and adds these extraordinary remarks: "The disappearance of these so-called puritan morals threatens the ideological foundations of modern democracy. Again, the disappearance of these puritan morals goes hand in hand with modern psychology. Modern psychology is the acme of biological naturalism and determinism. Biological naturalism and determinism root in the Calvinist conception of God. As the terror of this God is growing pale, the order over which he presides is crumbling away. On the horizon of today looms the spectre of autocracy." He gives singularly confused statements on the relation of Althusius to Bodin, on Althusius's idea of the "natural group", and on the divergent conceptions of laws of nature as they appear in the systems of Althusius and Hobbes. It must be said also that the proof-reading of the introduction has overlooked a good many instances of misspelling, eccentric punctuation, and awkward sentence structure.

The undoubted value of the book lies in the excellent reprinting of Althusius's text, and also in Professor Friedrich's contributions in the way of bibliographical information and a scholarly and illuminating account of Althusius's life and environment.

Yale University.

F. W. COKER.

Les Sources de l'Histoire de France: XVII^e Siècle (1610-1715). Volume VI., *Histoire Maritime et Coloniale, Histoire Religieuse*. Par Louis André, Professeur à la Faculté des Lettres de Lille. [Manuels de Bibliographie Historique.] (Paris, Auguste Picard, 1932, pp. xii, 462, 25 fr.) This useful volume is the most recent addition to that excellent bibliography which Molinier prepared on Medieval France, Hauser continued for the period 1494-1610, and Professors Bourgeois and André carried into the seventeenth century. It deals with the maritime, colonial, and religious history of France from 1610 to 1715, and in it the author, as in his other volumes covering this period, considers only contemporary materials of French origin. Nevertheless, the mass of histories, memoirs, journals, and other types of documents is enormous.

The book consists of two chapters. The first (ch. X. of Part III., dealing with the seventeenth century) is devoted to the maritime and colonial history of France. In an introduction the author maintains that the emphasis in the past has been upon the military rather than upon the maritime and colonial phases of French history. He then presents the materials under the following headings: the Eastern Mediterranean, the Barbary states, Tripoli, Tunis, Algeria, Morocco, West Africa, Madagascar, Ile Bourbon (Réunion), Abyssinia, Persia, India, Siam, Annam, Cochinchina and Tonkin, China, Japan, South America, the Antilles, Louisiana, Canada, Acadia, Newfoundland, and the Polar lands.

Of special interest to American students of history are the numbers dealing with South America, the Antilles, Louisiana, and Canada. Unfortunately the materials on these subjects, especially Louisiana, are skimpy. Moreover, a few minor errors are to be found. In number 4222, for example, Professor André, in discussing the *Annales de la Louisiane, 1699-1721* by Penicaut, writes that "they have great interest because they were written by an eye witness". As a matter of fact Penicaut claimed to be present on certain expeditions which he described, when in reality he was not.

In chapter XI., dealing with the religious history of France during the seventeenth century, the author seems to be on firm ground. In his introduction he discusses the importance of this subject and emphasizes the need for an intensive investigation of certain aspects of Jansenism, and of Protestantism. He also suggests a study of the revival of Catholicism during the early part of the seventeenth century. In this chapter he groups his material under four general headings: Catholicism, Jansenism, Protestantism, and Quietism. The first three topics are subdivided into general histories, general collections, and various special subjects.

This bibliography is not a mere dry compilation of innumerable titles. Demonstrating clarity of literary style as well as soundness of judgment, Professor André discusses the authorship, dates, editions, peculiarities, and historical value of the materials listed in the volume. At the end of the book is found a *Table provisoire* of author's names.

The University of California.

FRANKLIN C. PALM.

France and the Colonial Question: a Study of Contemporary French Opinion, 1763-1801. By Carl Ludwig Lokke, Lecturer in History, Columbia University. [Studies in History, Economics, and Public Law, no. 365.] (New York, Columbia University Press, 1932, pp. 254, \$3.75.) In this volume the author advocates no thesis and draws no conclusions. He simply presents an interesting account of French thought on colonization from about 1765 to 1803. Taking slavery and commercial restrictions as the skeleton of the old colonial system, he demonstrates how a slight opposition to one or the other is seen in the eighteenth century *philosophes*, and how this op-

position rose to condemnation of both in the writings of Raynal. Slavery aroused most opposition. Just before the Revolution the idea spread that Egypt might make a colony with all the virtues and none of the vices of the West Indies. The Revolutionists were slow to recognize the political and personal equality of the blacks, and they never fully admitted the economic equality of the Creoles. When anti-slavery legislation had destructive results, France seemed weary of the situation and uninterested in colonies; but when Talleyrand and Bonaparte revived the Egyptian idea, it swept all France.

Dr. Lokke has used very little manuscript material, but he cites in his bibliography about two hundred titles of printed works. Sée's article, *Les Économistes et la Question Coloniale au XVIII^e Siècle*, and Mirabeau's *Ami des Hommes* (1756) are omitted, as is all reference to Quesnay, Gournay, and other Physiocrats. Some sampling of the voluminous manuscript correspondence between the ministry and the Antilles would probably have revealed a more intimate picture of official, mercantile, and Creole opinions.

The volume contains little new information, but its materials have certainly never before been so well studied and presented. The work is worth while for sharpening the lines of a picture we already saw dimly. A similar study is needed for the next half century, which seems to show wide variations of colonial theory.

Western Reserve University.

CLARENCE P. GOULD.

Sieyes: his Life and his Nationalism. By Glyndon G. Van Deusen, Ph. D. [Columbia University Studies in History, Economics, and Public Law, no. 362.] (New York, Columbia University Press, 1932, pp. 170, \$3.00.) The sinister taciturnity of Sieyès, his famous pamphlet on the Third Estate, and his cryptic epigram anent having "lived through" the French Revolution are doubtless sufficient in themselves to render the *abbé* of enduring interest to students of the eighteenth century. Yet so little has been written about him, particularly in English, that this small volume is exceedingly welcome.

Mr. Van Deusen has endeavored (and very successfully) to present "the life and aims of Sieyes as they really were". He begins by adopting the unaccented form of the surname (Sieyes), and devotes the first part of his book to a refreshing reinterpretation of the man as ecclesiastic, propagandist, and revolutionary. Then follows his analysis of Sieyès as the practical nationalist, "a Frenchman and nothing else", a man whose chief aim was the establishment of the "peace, prosperity, and predominance of France". And his conclusions may be deduced from the closing words of the final chapter, "His individual efforts . . . were not crowned by many startling triumphs, but his endeavours served to place him among the leaders in fomenting the nationalism of the Revolution, and that was no slight achievement".

Throughout, the work is delightfully readable and evidences a high degree of historical scholarship. Its few faults are of a minor character—a sketchy

index, a few typographical errors, a careless use of "aside from" instead of "apart from", inconsistency in the spelling of Rabaut, and the unfortunate omission of any portraits of Sieyès. Mr. Van Deusen is to be complimented on his contribution to the history of nationalism and the French Revolution.

Western Reserve University.

JOHN HALL STEWART.

La Liquidation de la Compagnie des Indes, 1793-1794. Par Henri Houben. [Finance et Politique sous la Terreur.] (Paris, Felix Alcan, 1932, pp. 313, 18 fr.) With the most thorough analysis that up to the present has been applied to the problem, M. Houben has added yet one more to the considerable series of judgments on the guilt or innocence of Fabre d'Eglantine, accused and executed for complicity with Delaunay d'Angers, in foisting off as a decree a writing bearing the signatures of both which had never received the sanction of the National Convention. After an admirably objective examination of the data, he declares for the innocence of Fabre, aligning himself with Louis Blanc against Thiers, Ernest Hamel, and the regretted Mathiez.

Although M. Houben maintains a rigorous objectivity and avoids as much as possible a controversial attitude, his conclusions are very damaging for Mathiez's anti-Dantonist position. He has clearly shown, at least, that the case against Fabre d'Eglantine, which Mathiez regarded as definitely proved and with which he almost always buttressed his case against Danton, is by no means so conclusive.

Whether, on the other hand, Houben has proved as conclusively as he believes that Fabre was innocent, is less certain. His principal arguments rest on (1) the statements of Chabot, who did not need to know anything about the dealings between Delaunay and Fabre after he had served a very limited purpose as intermediary; (2) the statements of Fabre, which may have been perfectly true without covering the whole transaction; and, most cogently, (3) the absence of possible motive on the part of Fabre and Delaunay to practice deceit if they had come to an agreement—which is untenable as Fabre would not have wished to go before the Convention as the proponent of that which a few weeks before he had so violently condemned. Curiously enough, Houben, like Mathiez before him, has omitted to notice one important documentary item, the *ne varietur* signed by Fabre which appears on the final document in addition to his signature at the end.

On the whole, this effort, principally valuable as a corrective to the position of Mathiez, demonstrates again the futility and sterility of detective work and ethical judgment by historians. Two able men have labored to prove Fabre d'Eglantine innocent or guilty and the end of their labors is a Scotch verdict.

The University of Wyoming.

F. L. NUSSBAUM.

The Corn Laws and Social England. By C. R. Fay, Reader in Economic History in the University of Cambridge. (Cambridge, University Press; New York, Macmillan Company, 1932, pp. x, 223, \$2.80.) As the history of the Corn Laws has been ably told recently after exhaustive research by Professor D. G. Barnes, of the University of Oregon, it might be assumed that a new book on the subject by a well-known English economist would be primarily an interpretation based on facts that have already been established. Professor Fay shows his competence to write on the subject. He has studied the sources extensively, as is proved by his footnotes, even if he has not offered assistance to other scholars by giving a bibliography. He adds some new details. He gives also an unusually interesting chapter on the corn trade, which he rightly calls a digression.

The defects of this volume seem to the reviewer to be many. In the first place it lacks unity of subject. The book is too obviously written for the purpose of bringing together a number of papers written by Mr. Fay for various scientific periodicals. It does not make a serious effort to weave them into a new fabric. Next, one feels that the author cannot see the forest because of the multitude of trees. Mr. Fay argues many points of detail, but gives few interpretations of real value. Instead of thinking through a serious problem to a significant conclusion, he expends his energy in defending classical economists, such as Adam Smith, and in citing chapter and verse to refute or ridicule the statements of twentieth century economists most of whom have proved the soundness of their scholarship.

Mr. Fay is not content, however, to remain among the practitioners of the "dismal science". He has strayed after strange gods and found Philip Guedalla. He indulges frequently in exaggerated metaphors and flippancy, and in denunciation, sarcasm, and ridicule. Yet he fails to appreciate the true gifts of his new master for brilliant interpretation and creative imagination, as shown in his treatment of the Napoleonic legend. The effect of Mr. Fay's style, unfortunately, is to weaken one's confidence in the soundness of the serious judgments that are given.

The reviewer is forced to conclude that *The Corn Laws and Social England* gives an adequate description of neither the Corn Laws nor English social life and thought; nor does it supply us with a serious interpretation of either. He regrets this because he is convinced that the author could have done both. The reviewer feels also that this volume is marred by serious defects in style and good taste, and he hopes that in his next book Mr. Fay will return to the high standard he set himself in *Great Britain from Adam Smith to the Present Day*.

The University of Michigan.

ARTHUR L. DUNHAM.

Au Service de la France: Neuf Années de Souvenirs. Par Raymond Poincaré, de l'Académie Française. Tome IX., *L'Année Trouble, 1917.* (Paris, Plon, 1932, pp. 448, 36 fr.) Though this volume covers the period of

the German peace offer of December 12, 1916, America's entry into the War, and the Russian revolutions of 1917, it is singularly barren on these momentous events. M. Poincaré largely confines his scrappy day-by-day record to domestic difficulties: defeatism, suspicions against Bolo Pasha, Caillaux, and others believed to have dealings with the enemy, jealousies of politicians and generals, and the consequent reconstruction of French cabinets. In November, 1917, he finally had to choose between Clemenceau and Caillaux, and chose the former, more from a sense of duty than from enthusiasm. The Tiger instantly evinced his usual tremendous energy and determination; but his habit of reporting to the president what he had already done, instead of consulting him beforehand as to what he ought to do, evidently nettled M. Poincaré, who had not been accustomed to such treatment.

Highly interesting are the numerous references to the Sixte de Bourbon peace mission, which was regarded skeptically by Poincaré, enthusiastically by Lloyd George, and fearfully by the Italians. To thwart it Poincaré and Sonnino signed the secret "very short little protocol of Saint-Jean-de-Maurienne" of April 20, 1917. Another informal peace suggestion was for a negotiation between Briand and Baron von der Lancken through Belgian channels. But Poincaré feared it was a trap which might lead to negotiations without securing Alsace-Lorraine for France. He declared that Briand was a fool to entertain the idea, and that he would arrest him sooner than allow him to go to Switzerland to negotiate with Von der Lancken.

Though such questions as the Salonica situation, the need of a unified military command, and the amalgamation of American with French and English troops are given much attention, this ninth installment of M. Poincaré's memoirs sheds more light on domestic than on foreign affairs.

Harvard University.

SIDNEY B. FAY.

Mes Souvenirs sur l'Occupation Allemande en Belgique. Par Auguste Vierset, Directeur du Cabinet du Bourgmestre de Bruxelles. (Paris, Plon, 1932, pp. 493, 30 fr.) M. Vierset kept this journal during the German occupation of Brussels. Throughout 1914 he made entries day by day, but after 1914 as he gave less attention to the trend of military affairs and confined himself largely to events in the occupied city, the entries are less frequent. The value of the journal is enhanced by the fact that M. Vierset held an official position in Brussels during the years of occupation. In the absence of the Belgian government, the Brussels council carried on relations with the occupying power, and after M. Max's arrest and imprisonment the position of the *Directeur du Cabinet* increased in importance. M. Vierset was fully informed on matters relating to Belgian policy, and he records first-hand impressions of the ceaseless friction and petty quarreling between invader and invaded. He traces carefully the consistent efforts of the Germans to overcome the national spirit of the Belgian people.

The author saw his countrymen and fellow citizens suffer severely at the hands of the invader, and he could not, therefore, resist the temptation to repeat numerous hearsay accounts of their "atrocious conduct". The case against the Germans was bad enough, and the journal would have greater value to the historian had the *Directeur du Cabinet* confined himself strictly to what he had seen or experienced in Brussels. After all, a simple statement of the German administration of Brussels would have been condemnation enough. The invaders showed a total neglect for psychological factors in handling the Brussels populace, and their want of humor, their abrupt and wooden manner, their endless proclamations and feverish persecutions, were best calculated to arouse the bitterest feelings of resentment among the Belgians. Even the public flocks of pigeons were under suspicion.

One interesting bit of German propaganda which the reviewer had not seen before referred to the British attempt to prolong the resistance of Antwerp (p. 209). The Germans circulated rumors that the British motive in attempting to "relieve" Antwerp was to force a long siege and insure the destruction of a rival port. The journal closes with the return of Mayor Adolphe Max to Brussels, November 16, 1918. Unfortunately there is no index.

Denison University.

H. A. DE WEERD.

Louisbourg Journals, 1745. Edited by Louis Effingham de Forest, M. A., J. D. [Compiled for and published by the Society of Colonial Wars in the State of New York, through its Committee on Historical Documents.] (New York, the Society, 1932, pp. xvii, 253, \$2.00.) Five times in the spring of 1745 Governor Clinton of New York urged the New York colonial assembly to "become Partakers" with the New Englanders in the conquest of Louisbourg. His tongue-lashings were vain; there were no New Yorkers among the troops who listened to Calvinist sermons on salvation among the French guns of the Grand Battery or watched the mounting tide of flux and fever, after the surrender, carry away one after another of their comrades. The Society of Colonial Wars in New York, no longer "unconcerned Spectators" of New England's effort, have for thirty years been trying to atone for the inaction of their ancestors. This volume is additional evidence that the first capture of Louisbourg has become America's triumph. Seven out of the ten journals the book contains are printed, by kind permission, from the originals in the possession of the Massachusetts Historical Society.

The authors of these journals, seven of whom are anonymous, represent a variety of types and personalities. In that variety lies the book's chief value. One can see the expedition through the eyes of a sailor, an artillery officer, a parson, a member of the general staff, and five private soldiers. John Bradstreet is present with another of his place-hunting letters. These men were

not all "saints"; some of them plundered, cursed their officers, regarded mutiny favorably, ogled the French girls in the captured city, and mention "God's providence" not at all. But two of the journals, longer than all the rest together, were written by men for whom the hand of God was always present. Both are mentioned in Miss Forbes's *New England Diaries* and it is good to see them in print. One is made up of the staccato jottings of Chaplain Stephen Williams of Longmeadow, a fine type of New England clergyman, unsparing in his gloomy task of comforting the sick and dying. The longest and most detailed, printed from a photostat belonging to the Society of Colonial Wars, is anonymous. Obviously the work of a young man, strictly reared in the faith and caught by the enthusiasm of the Great Awakening, this record is sensitive and thoughtful. From the evidence it gives of the writer's family and connections, your reviewer suggests that he was one Luke Stebbins, son of Samuel and Hannah (Hitchcock) Stebbins of Longmeadow—the same Luke who in 1771 published a list of the descendants of his parents which is the first American genealogy.

The volume has a long appendix, in which the most important item is a series of unpublished letters from Commodore Warren to William Pepperrell. *Yale University.* S. M. PARGELLIS.

Methodism in American History. By William Warren Sweet, Professor of the History of American Christianity in the University of Chicago. (New York, Methodist Book Concern, 1933, pp. 434, \$3.00.) This is manifestly a work intended for popular reading, and in format and general scope it is admirably adapted to its purpose. A bibliography is appended which groups for each of the seventeen chapters suggestions for further reading, while a few footnotes serve some of the needs of the more critical reader. The distribution of space is well proportioned. The chapter entitled *During the War for Independence* is one of the best, but it does not altogether prepare the reader for the arresting statement early in the next chapter (p. 101) that "The long years of war had wrought a transformation in the attitude of the American Methodists toward the Anglican Church and their venerable founder, John Wesley, and the close of the struggle found them thoroughly imbued with the new American ideals." Probably what we really need here would extend outside the necessary limits of the book—a monographic study of this transformation in the light of recent 'Loyalist' studies. It would have been well to have given the name of "the Baptist minister of Bristol" referred to twice (pp. 80, 81), especially as the author rates him "Among the most able of Wesley's critics". Presumably the reference is to Caleb Evans.

The style makes easy reading. The ambiguity of the sentence (p. 46), "Often he (Fletcher) defended Wesley when he could not defend himself", is of course heightened when taken away from its context. Is the phrase

(p. 258), "an institution of which the church had nothing to do", a mere slip, or have we a survival in one of our dialects of a recognized Middle English use?

Every student of American history should be familiar with the influence of Methodism on American life and in particular with the process of the organization of Methodism. The title of this book suggests especially the former of these; it is still more a study of American History in Methodism—how Methodism has developed under American influences.

The Library of Congress.

WILLIAM H. ALLISON.

Alexander Spotswood, Governor of Colonial Virginia, 1710-1722. By Leonidas Dodson, Instructor in History, University of Pennsylvania. (Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Press, 1932, pp. x, 323, \$3.00.) This book is more in the nature of an economic and political history of Virginia during the second decade of the eighteenth century than a biography of Alexander Spotswood. The author, by his exhaustive examination of the sources in this country and in England, has given us the first detailed account of Lieutenant-Governor Spotswood's régime, presenting with fresh emphasis the familiar problems of Virginia under the old colonial system. By the topical method each major question of the day—commerce, Indian relations, the land system, defense, the frontier, etc.—is discussed intensively. Although this treatment of material results in considerable repetition, the author's emphasis upon action taken as distinguished from theoretical implications and statements of policy (*e.g.*, the effects of the trade and regulations of Virginia's tobacco economy upon the landholder) affords the reader a concrete idea of the problem.

Spotswood's administration provides a challenging study of economic forces versus a dominant personality. To what degree could the governor, who represented the crown, execute wisely the imperial orders and yet retain the good will of the councilors and burgesses who were Virginians first and then Englishmen, albeit loyal to the crown? The author discusses this complex situation from many angles to show the intermingling of political, economic, and personal factors, and points out that on many issues the council and house of burgesses differed among themselves as well as separately with the governor. Economic factors are stressed above all—the Empire's war with Spain, the overproduction of tobacco, the expansion of the colony westward—as far-reaching in modifying the course of politics and society. Therefore, too, the author emphasizes Virginia's place in the mercantile system of the period, interpreting events from the imperial as well as from the provincial point of view.

Spotswood's governorship will ever be remembered, if for no other reason, because of his expedition over the Blue Ridge in 1716. All the glamor and excitement of frontier adventure have been associated with it, and, as

Dr. Dodson remarks, "the halo of romance . . . is by no means to be dissipated by the imputation of economic motives". The author maintains, however, that Spotswood's chief claim to greatness as an empire builder rests upon his encouragement of the westward movement of population; hence the romance detains the writer for only a page. With abundant material at hand on the personal and imperial motives that influenced the governor's actions, it is regrettable not to find a well-rounded picture of Spotswood the adventurer and the man in everyday life. The interesting comments on his character which appear are so widely scattered that they do not converge into one image. The economic substance of Virginia which Dr. Dodson has so clearly and comprehensively described needs to be enlivened by the social aspects of the colony and a detailed interpretation of the vigorous personality of Spotswood who himself became a Virginian.

The University of Virginia.

LESTER J. CAPPON.

General Gage's Informers: New Material upon Lexington and Concord. Benjamin Thompson as Loyalist and the Treachery of Benjamin Church, Jr., a Study. By Allen French. (Ann Arbor, University of Michigan Press, 1932, pp. xv, 207, \$2.50.) In the present volume, Mr. Allen French resumes the process, so felicitously begun in his *Day of Lexington and Concord* (1925), of ascertaining precisely what happened on April 19, 1775, from a critical analysis of contemporary accounts. Using principally, though not exclusively, the Gage MSS. brought to America by Mr. W. L. Clements, he brings to light many interesting, and some significant, new facts. The claim (questioned in his earlier book) that the expedition to Lexington and Concord was designed to capture Adams and Hancock is disproved. He shows that while Gage indeed hoped that the expedition would destroy the stores at Concord, he had in view a larger purpose. Learning that much irresolution prevailed in the Massachusetts provincial congress, he sought to take advantage of the fact and also of the adjournment of the congress on April 15, to deliver a blow which would dismay the rebel leaders and disconcert their plans for a union of the New England colonies. Lieutenant Colonel Smith emerges from the newly discovered documents in a somewhat more favorable, and Major Pitcairn in a somewhat less favorable, light than heretofore. Additional, though not conclusive evidence, is offered in favor of the view that the Americans fired first at Lexington. It is now possible to demonstrate from British as well as American sources that no "scalping" occurred. The conduct of the red-coats at Concord bridge is described with a wealth of fresh, vivid detail derived from accounts by British officers. It appears that Gage was kept fully and accurately apprised of the sentiments and plans of the Americans. Two of his secret informants are revealed as Benjamin Thompson, famous as Count Rumford, and Benjamin Church. The former, who later became an avowed Loyalist, was suspected by his neighbors of com-

plicity with the British in 1774 and 1775, but proofs have been lacking until now. All doubts as to Church's treachery are dissipated by a letter in which he unmistakably incriminates himself. The duplicity of both men is proved by some ingenious detective work in the documents.

Wellesley College.

E. E. CURTIS.

Life of John Taylor: the Story of a Brilliant Leader in the Early Virginia State Rights School. By Henry H. Simms, Ph.D., Assistant Professor of History, Ohio State University. (Richmond, William Byrd Press, 1932, pp. viii, 234, \$3.50.) John Taylor of Caroline deserves a good biography. He holds an important place in the development of Southern political philosophy, for his ideas constituted a "half-way covenant", a middle point between the compact theory of the Revolution and the metaphysics of state sovereignty. As Professor Simms shows, he was not the typical state politician, seeking office, building up a machine, profiting from patronage; rather he was an independent in politics, his principles of decentralized authority almost solely dictating his vote. These principles he developed at great length in four major treatises on the government and constitution of the United States, difficult to read, yet containing much good sense and sound criticism. They form his contribution to American political theory. His other interest in life was agriculture, and he ranks as one of the most important ante bellum agrarian reformers. Unfortunately for his place in American history he stood for an order of society and a view of the constitution which did not last.

Professor Simms has covered a great deal of material for this study; he has gone into land records, court records, county records, he has followed assembly and senate journals, and he has read everything Taylor wrote. The result is a very inclusive sketch, with chapters on Taylor as a lawyer, as a farmer, as a politician, and as a political writer. But the author has not assimilated all this information. The book lacks comprehension. In spite of the detailed treatment of his writings and political activity there is no attempt to grapple with the underlying philosophy of Taylor's ideas. We do not really understand him after reading this biography.

The author's style further increases the difficulty of understanding the subject. He has followed his notes so closely that quotation marks alone tell us when Taylor is speaking, and the result makes hard reading. For example: "Since gypsum increased the power of vegetation to draw from the air, it should be used frequently. He believed it to be of the greatest benefit to clover, then to corn, and then to wheat. The three-shift system, corn, wheat and pasture, he considered ruinous, for the land received no fertilizer, no rest, and the hoof did positive harm without giving any recompense." In the index Otis Skinner unsuccessfully substitutes for John B. Skinner, editor of the *American Farmer*. The biography John Taylor deserves is still to be written.

Agnes Scott College.

PHILIP DAVIDSON.

In Defense of the Senate: a Study in Treaty Making. By Royden J. Dangerfield. Introduction by Quincy Wright. (Norman, University of Oklahoma Press, 1933, pp. xvii, 365, \$4.00.) This doctoral thesis contains much information about the history of treaty-making, the most important contribution of which is numerous elaborate statistical analyses, carefully and laboriously compiled and intelligently interpreted, on how long it took the Senate to dispose of each and every treaty which came before it, and the reasons for accepting, modifying, and rejecting. From this it appears conclusively that there is really less delay within the Senate in considering treaties than without, pending ratification. Again, and most important, that only seven treaties of the 787 to come before the Senate have been rejected because of the operation of the constitutional requirement of two-thirds instead of a majority vote of senators present. As for the question of the Senate and amendment or modification of treaties, amendments are always determined, before the vote on ratification, by a majority vote; and only 51 of the 152 amended treaties were never proclaimed by the President. The author feels that the greatest influence of the Senate on the President and the Secretary of State is psychological, a species of intimidation. He offers a constructive and sensible suggestion for smoother practice on the basis of the present constitutional procedure, which he believes it impractical to think of changing. This would be a "Foreign Relations Cabinet" to be set up by the President to pass on larger phases of foreign policy: the Secretary of State, the undersecretary, the chairmen and the ranking minority members of the Committee of Foreign Relations of the Senate and the Committee of Foreign Affairs of the House of Representatives, and a senior drafting officer of the Department of State.

S. F. B.

New York University, 1832-1932. Edited by Theodore Francis Jones, Professor of History, Director of the General Library, New York University. (New York, New York University Press, 1933, pp. xiv, 459, \$3.00.) The foundations of New York University were laid in the third and fourth decades of the last century. The period was stirring with enthusiasm for education of all types, and this was both cause and result of the educational advancement. Columbia College, having certain organic affiliations with the Protestant Episcopal Church, was unable to give light and leading to the general progressive movement. New York University in its beginning was the result of the devotion of the citizens of the city to the cause of the higher education.

The chief characteristics of the first decades of New York University have marked its subsequent history. Its enormous growth in resources has been constant. Its enlargement of the number of the teaching staff and of students has been impressive. Its increase in general power and influence in New York City has been broad and diverse. Its method of growth has been rather of

the type of agglomeration than of development. School has been added to school, college to college, institute to institute, department to department, all having for a chief purpose the meeting of every educational need of a large, ever enlarging, and diverse urban community. It has stood rather for breadth of learning than for scholarship; and for the service of distinguished individual professors—like Elias Loomis, Tayler Lewis, Samuel F. B. Morse, and John W. Draper—than for the service of a compact body of affiliated teachers.

The present volume considers the century under the terms of its seven chancellors: Mathews, 1832-1839; Frelinghuysen, 1839-1850, and the Interregnum, 1850-1853; Ferris, 1853-1870; Crosby, 1870-1881; Hall, 1881-1891; MacCracken, 1891-1910; Chancellor Brown's Administration, 1911-. Of these seven chancellors the last four have left the clearest impression. Howard Crosby, serving also as pastor of a large church, might be called a scholarly idealist. Hall, like Crosby, a Presbyterian clergyman, was distinguished by abounding common sense. MacCracken gave solidity and academic standing. And Brown, whose long term, and longest, is now coming to its end, has helped to bring unity, as well as additions, to these separated and divergent parts. The general atmosphere and loyalties, moreover, which the retiring chancellor has contributed, have served to give a coherence to New York University which no series of formal organizations could achieve.

This history is a succinct record of many facts, of risings and of fallings of devotion on the part of each of the different institutional members of the university, and of difficulties financial, personal, administrative. But it is also a record which, moving through each administration, constantly comes into a richer field of academic and of popular interest, into a more ample understanding of university problems, and into a more regular and consistent application of university forces and methods to the life of a great metropolis.

Western Reserve University.

CHARLES F. THWING.

Pioneer Days in Arizona: from the Spanish Occupation to Statehood. By Frank C. Lockwood, University of Arizona. (New York, Macmillan Company, 1932, pp. xiv, 387, \$4.00.) Interested in the folk lore of old Mexican communities, captivated by the tales of reminiscing pioneers, infatuated by the desert and mountain and "turquoise sky" and "gemlike constellations" of his adopted state, the author of *Pioneer Days in Arizona* has found in the "magic and mystery" of it all material for a series of fascinating episodes. It has been his "aim to tell the truth", to tell it "interestingly", and to give "intimacy and vividness" to his "stories . . . so that the characters may be seen as they were, moving against their proper background of native adventure, comedy and tragedy". To assure the accomplishment of his purpose he has "saturated" his mind with the literature of the Southwest and utilized extensively materials collected from interviews with "scores" of early settlers, who were "leading actors" in the events related.

The facts which the author found at the beginning of his investigations "as elusive as the desert mirages" have been cleared up to his own satisfaction. The student would frequently like to have specific citations, but the work was written for the general reader rather than for the specialist. It is really made up of a series of entertaining narratives, each more or less independent of the others. The Spanish Cavaliers, The Mission Fathers, American Hunters and Trappers, Scientific Expeditions of the Fifties, The Story of Apache Warfare, Crimes and Courts, Towns and Cities, Newspapers, Books and Libraries—such are the titles of important chapters. In these chapters many an Arizona pioneer and his descendants will find their names inscribed. They will be proud too, in most instances, of the parts they have been made to play in the stirring incidents recorded in these pages. But the historian, working over this period, will want to use again the material listed in the chapter on Newspapers, Books, and Libraries.

The volume is illustrated, the frontispiece being a portrait of the author. There is a good index.

Mills College.

CARDINAL GOODWIN.

Diplomatic Relations between the United States and Brazil. By Lawrence F. Hill, Ph. D., Associate Professor in the Ohio State University. (Durham, Duke University Press, 1932, pp. x, 322, \$3.50.) Friendship between Brazil and the United States seems a well-established tradition. Professor Hill shows little basis for this during the first half century of direct intercourse. Diplomacy got off on the wrong foot while the Portuguese court resided at Rio de Janeiro, and our second war with Great Britain and hostilities in the La Plata area did not improve conditions. Earlier commercial claims and allied grievances caused bickerings that were intensified by complications arising from the African slave trade, the operations of Confederate cruisers and the presence of Confederate immigrants, and the conduct of the Paraguayan War. With respect to that struggle Mr. Hill presents a needed corrective to the usual interpretation.

Major derelictions, after the initial false moves, are attributed to Henry A. Wise and James Watson Webb. Even the opening of the Amazon, the exploration of that river, and the effort to settle disputes over its terrain aroused distrust of our motives. Reciprocity and valorization served to complicate commercial matters. Nevertheless the story is not wholly one of ineptitude and ill temper. William Tudor's life was not a vain sacrifice. Agassiz proved an abler unofficial agent of good will than his fellow scientist Maury, and Dom Pedro surpassed them both. It also helped to have a Brazilian on the arbitration tribunal at Geneva and above all to have our representatives keep in closer touch with the State Department.

Professor Hill has made extensive use of the printed sources and newspapers and of the manuscripts in the State Department and the Library of

Congress. His list of secondary books and articles is a long one, including some French, Spanish, and Portuguese titles. He frankly tells us that he has not examined foreign archives. Life is too short for this, nor are these repositories open late enough to tell more than half of the story. Within this self-imposed limitation he has given us a commendable narrative. "Deodora" (p. 272) is a slip, but otherwise proof reading and press work seems impeccable. The index and bibliography are adequate.

I. J. C.

The Presbyterian Churches and the Federal Union, 1861-1869. By Lewis G. Vander Velde, University of Michigan. [Harvard Historical Studies, volume XXXIII.] (Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1932, pp. xv, 575, \$5.00.) The appearance of this elaborate study of the Presbyterian Churches in their relation to the Federal Union during the Civil War period bears testimony to the rapidly growing interest among those who direct historical research in the social and religious phases of American history. Three decades ago candidates for the doctorate in American history, in any of our major universities, would have found slight encouragement to undertake such a study. In more recent years such studies have become increasingly frequent with the happy result that to-day a much more complete picture of American life is possible than ever before.

Those who undertake such studies will generally find materials most abundant, though often greatly scattered. In fact Mr. Vander Velde tells us that he found his materials "discourageingly extensive". The research student will also find it necessary to understand the peculiar nomenclature, as well as the functions of the several officials and governing bodies of the particular church he may have chosen. In the present instance the author has succeeded most admirably in dealing with a great mass of highly technical materials, and has produced a book of much more than denominational interest.

The author has chosen to limit his study to the years 1861 to 1869; the first the date of the division of the Old School body into Northern and Southern churches; the latter the year of the reunion of the Old School and New School churches in the North.

In the discussion of these years in Presbyterian history Mr. Vander Velde has followed the most obvious organization of his extensive materials. Part I. contains one chapter devoted to a hurried, though generally accurate survey of the history of American Presbyterianism from the establishment of the first congregation in 1683 to the outbreak of the Civil War. This the author accomplishes in seventeen pages. Part II. discusses the Old School Presbyterian Church in its relation to the Civil War, in eight chapters under such headings as The Old School Presbyterian Church faces a Crisis, The Voice of the Old School Press, Revolt in the Border States, The Voice of the Old School Pulpit, etc. This makes up the major and by far the best portion of

the book. Part III. contains one chapter on The New School Presbyterian Church and the Civil War; Part IV. deals in one chapter with the minor Presbyterian churches in their relations to the Civil War; Part V., also in one chapter, discusses Presbyterian patriotism in practice; while Part VI., entitled Reunion recounts the steps leading to the drawing together of the Old School and New School bodies in the North in the years immediately following the War.

The principal defect of the book lies in the fact that no adequate study has yet been made of the slavery controversy within the Presbyterian churches previous to 1861. Such a study would have yielded most valuable information in regard to the attitudes of important leaders as well as the position occupied by the several Presbyterian bodies.

The University of Chicago.

WILLIAM W. SWEET.

Gouverneur Kemble Warren: the Life and Letters of an American Soldier, 1830-1882. By Emerson Gifford Taylor. (Boston, Houghton Mifflin Company, 1932, pp. xii, 256, \$5.00.) This book presents a delightful picture of a personality, but as a critical history or biography it has little value. By the use of frequent and extensive quotations from his personal correspondence, Warren is portrayed as a lovable, sincere, hard working, and conscientious man and soldier. The book, however, does not do justice to his very real ability as a strategist, nor is there any examination of his tactical leadership. This is an idealistic sketch that considers Warren only in superlatives; there is no critical discussion of his conduct and leadership.

From Gettysburg until the close of the battle of Five Forks in April, 1865, Warren was a corps commander. His relief at the close of the successful operations, conducted largely under his leadership and direction, that directly caused Lee's surrender a few days later, came to form one of the "causes célèbres" of the Northern conduct of the war. From this time until shortly before his death, at the early age of 52, Warren sought unceasingly for a fair hearing. Not until Grant's control of the military affairs of the country had begun to relax, did a court of inquiry consider the case fairly and render a verdict. The final outcome was altogether favorable to Warren.

For nearly a year Warren and Meade had been increasingly petulant and condescending toward each other. On June 20, 1864, from in front of Petersburg, Warren had written his wife: "A rupture is probable between me and General Meade, who has become very irritable and unreasonable of late, and with whom I had a square understanding to-day—to the effect that I was no creature of his" (p. 180)—this from a subordinate in relation to his superior, an army commander. The feeling, with intervals of calm, continued, but relations went from bad to worse. The author gives the impression that Warren was persecuted by Meade and Grant. Warren is always right and there is no attempt to examine the reasons for his unsatisfactory

relations with Meade and Grant. Sheridan's decision at Five Forks was impulsively made and, perhaps, was due as much to nervous fatigue and excitement and to personal dislike for Warren as to any real cause for complaint on account of Warren's leadership. The author's account of the controversy and of the action of the court of inquiry is sketchy and unconvincing. No effort is made to get at both sides of the controversy. There is no critical discussion, nor does any use appear to have been made of the voluminous reports and discussions of the case. The book is based almost entirely on Warren's "letters, journals and other personal papers". There are few notes and no bibliography. There are no maps, but there is an index.

Great Neck, New York.

THOMAS ROESON HAY.

Desertion of Alabama Troops from the Confederate Army: a Study in Sectionalism. By Bessie Martin, Ph. D., Professor of History in Judson College. [Studies in History, Economics, and Public Law, no. 378.] (New York, Columbia University Press, 1932, pp. 281, \$4.50.) Miss Martin has presented an admirable piece of research, thorough, exhaustive, and painstaking. She has used not only a vast array of printed materials, but has also sifted the manuscript collections in Washington as well as in the Alabama state archives. The subject is handled in eight chapters: an introductory chapter defining and classifying deserters; a chapter on their distribution; two chapters analyzing the causes; two chapters on the efforts to check the evil; a chapter on desertion to the enemy; and a very brief concluding chapter, attempting to estimate the importance of desertion.

The essential contribution of the book, as the title indicates, lies in the sectionalism revealed in Alabama and in the connection established between desertion and the poor, sparsely-settled counties of the mountainous northern part and the swampy section of southeast Alabama as opposed to the rich, prosperous Black Belt where there were very few deserters. Five maps designed to present graphically the relation of the deserter movement to the per-capita payment of taxes, to the slaveholding families, and to the indigent families of soldiers, are suggestive and interesting. Valuable also is the material on the peace movement in this state and the fresh detail on war philanthropy.

The desire to prevent desertion was undoubtedly a factor in the effort to care for the indigent families of soldiers, but it would seem that the writer does not make sufficient allowance for the other motives which actuated relief measures—gratitude and ordinary humanity. It may be questioned whether a just sense of proportion would allow twenty-six pages to a discussion of relief methods in a study of desertion. An error of method should be noted. Newspapers are repeatedly cited through another paper, even where the writer proves by other references that she is familiar with the file of the original paper. The book is very free from typographical errors,

though, as usual, Buel suffers perversions of spelling (pp. 152, 255). The index, though brief, may prove adequate for so specialized a subject, and is fairly well classified.

Goucher College.

ELLA LONN.

The Era of the Muckrakers. By C. C. Regier, Ph. D. (Chapel Hill, University of North Carolina Press, 1932, pp. xi, 254, \$2.50.) This work presents in readable form a survey of the literature of "exposure and reform" as it appeared in popular magazines in the United States during the first decade of the twentieth century. The ten chapters treating as many phases of the main topic are preceded by four chapters on antecedent conditions and are followed by one on estimates of the results of muckraking. Defining muckraking "as the exposing of evils and corruption for the real or ostensible purpose of promoting righteousness and social justice", and quoting with apparent approval a suggestion that "Jesus was one of the greatest muckrakers", the author concludes that the achievement of a long list of political, economic, and social reforms between 1900 and 1915 was largely due to muckrakers. The method of the book is to describe and characterize through summaries the flood of periodical articles, and a few books, which made attacks upon real or imagined abuses in American life and upon their instigators and beneficiaries. Here are familiar names of sundry magazines and their many special writers who supplied millions of homes twenty to thirty years ago with eagerly read sensational indictments of malefactors public and private. Only to a limited extent does the author give his readers his reactions on the validity of muckraking charges, for he concerns himself almost wholly with indictments rather than with reasoned verdicts after impartial investigations. Such opinions as are expressed are not supported by citation of evidence. There are no footnotes or other indications of critical evaluations made of sources which should prove or disprove charges. Briefly noticing problems and abuses which now confront the American people, the author expresses his belief that the service of muckrakers is again needed. Yet he admits that muckraking was to a considerable extent "little more than a fad", a capitalization of sensationalism, "essentially a superficial attack upon fundamental problems". A judicious reader will conclude that this interesting sketch of a significant social phenomenon does not preclude further scholarly researches in its field.

C. A. D.

HISTORICAL NEWS

AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

The program for the meeting of the American Historical Association at Urbana, Illinois, on December 27, 28, and 29, is in preparation. At a meeting of the Program Committee held in New York City, early in April, the decision was reached to devote more time than usual to general sessions. Arrangements are accordingly being made for general sessions on the evening of December 27 and the forenoons of December 28 and 29, in addition to the session devoted to the address of President Charles A. Beard on the evening of December 28. Topics to be discussed at the general sessions will be the transit of civilization from Europe to America, dictatorships in Europe and America, and economic depressions and recoveries. The president's address will probably be concerned with some phase of the philosophy of history. A joint session will be held with the Mississippi Valley Historical Association. Arrangements are also being made for numerous meetings of research groups to consider topics in such fields of history as Ancient, Modern European, English, American, Hispanic-American, and the Near East. Suggestions or inquiries concerning the program may be addressed to the chairman of the Program Committee, Professor W. S. Robertson, of the University of Illinois, or to Dr. Conyers Read, Executive Secretary of the American Historical Association, 226 South 16th Street, Philadelphia. The local arrangements are in charge of a committee headed by Dean Albert J. Harno of the Law School of the University of Illinois.

The Executive Secretary's Report on the Availability of Unpublished Ph. D. Theses in History:

The Executive Council of the American Historical Association directed the Executive Secretary of the Association to recommend to the deans of American graduate schools that they require "the deposit in the university library of two copies of doctoral dissertations (in history), so that one might be lent to outside scholars".

The Executive Secretary transmitted this recommendation and at the same time addressed a letter of inquiry to the deans of graduate schools incorporating the following specific questions:

1. What arrangement do you make for rendering doctoral dissertations accessible to scholars?
2. If you require the publication of doctoral dissertations, must this requirement be met before the degree is conferred? If not, then within a definite period thereafter? Please state your actual practice if it differs from your formal regulations in this regard.

Replies were received from practically every institution addressed. Many reported that they had never conferred a Ph. D. in history, and their replies have not been incorporated in the following summary.

It was very gratifying to discover that the practice in graduate schools of providing a duplicate copy of the unpublished thesis for circulation under proper restrictions (generally through inter-library loans) was much more general than had been supposed. It is true of the following institutions with one exception. That one exception has only one copy of the thesis in the library, but allows it to go out to scholars under proper restrictions.

Boston University	New York University
Brown University	North Carolina, University of
Bryn Mawr College	North Dakota, University of
California, University of	Northwestern University
Chicago, University of	Ohio State University
Clark University	Oklahoma, University of
Colorado, University of	Oregon, University of
Cornell University	Pittsburgh, University of
Duke University	Princeton University
Fordham University	St. Louis University
George Washington University	South Carolina, University of
Illinois, University of	Southern California, University of
Indiana University	Stanford University
Iowa, University of	Texas, University of
Johns Hopkins University	Vanderbilt University
Kansas, University of	Virginia, University of
Louisiana State University	Washington, University of
Loyola University	Washington University
Marquette University	West Virginia University
Maryland, University of	Western Reserve University
McGill University	Wisconsin, University of
Montreal, University of	Yale University
Nebraska, University of	

The following institutions have no copies of unpublished Ph. D. theses in history available for circulation, though some of them have one copy in their library which may be consulted there:

Catholic University of America	Michigan, University of
Columbia University	Minnesota, University of
Harvard University	Pennsylvania, University of
Kentucky, University of	Radcliffe College
Laval University	Toronto, University of

The following require that the Ph. D. thesis shall be printed before the degree is conferred. Laval University gives the candidate the option of filing fifty mimeographed copies of the thesis.

Catholic University of America	Laval University
Columbia University	Loyola University

The following institutions do not require that the Ph. D. thesis be printed or multiplied by any other process:

Boston University	Northwestern University
California, University of	Ohio State University
Clark University	Oregon, University of
Colorado, University of	Pittsburgh, University of
Fordham University	Radcliffe College
George Washington University	South Carolina, University of
Harvard University	Stanford University
Marquette University	Washington, University of
McGill University	West Virginia University
Montreal, University of	Western Reserve University
North Dakota, University of	

It will be noted that Harvard University and Radcliffe College are the only institutions of higher learning to which this inquiry has been directed which neither provide a duplicate copy of the unpublished thesis nor provide for publication. It should, however, be pointed out that Harvard University and Radcliffe College print periodically abstracts of theses. The University of Kentucky, the University of Minnesota, and the University of Pennsylvania provide no duplicate copy of the unpublished thesis. They have a publication requirement, but it appears that this requirement, at least in two of these institutions, is not applied rigidly enough to insure that the Ph. D. thesis shall be published within a reasonable time after the degree is conferred. It, therefore, not infrequently happens that several years elapse between the time when Ph. D. theses in these institutions are accepted and the time when they are made accessible to scholars.

The requirements for printing theses after the degree is conferred seem to be administered with a great deal of latitude. In some cases a bond is exacted that the thesis shall be published within a certain number of years, but in more than one case this bond is for so small a sum (as low as \$50 in one large midwestern university) that it constitutes little more than a small fine. In other cases no bond is exacted at all, and many instances could be cited in which the thesis has remained unpublished for as long as ten years after the degree has been conferred. The difficulty, of course, is largely a financial one, and there are indications that during the current depression the publication requirement has very often been ignored. In a good many cases the publication requirement is in practice interpreted to mean that no more than the significant part of the thesis need be published, and is held to be satisfied by an article or articles in a learned review.

The following institutions require that the Ph. D. thesis in history shall be printed in full at some time after the degree is conferred:

Kentucky, University of
Louisiana State University
Michigan, University of
Nebraska, University of
New York University

Pennsylvania, University of
Toronto, University of
Washington University
Wisconsin, University of
Yale University

The following institutions require the printing of the Ph. D. thesis in history either in full or in some condensed form sometime after the degree is conferred:

Brown University
Bryn Mawr College
Chicago, University of
Cornell University
Duke University
Illinois, University of
Indiana University
Iowa, University of
Johns Hopkins University
Kansas, University of
Kentucky, University of

Marquette University
Maryland, University of
Minnesota, University of
North Carolina, University of
Oklahoma, University of
Princeton University
St. Louis University
Southern California, University of
Texas, University of
Vanderbilt University
Virginia, University of

The following institutions publish periodically collected abstracts of Ph. D. theses in history:

Clark University
Colorado, University of
George Washington University
Harvard University
Iowa, University of
Northwestern University
Ohio State University
Oklahoma, University of

Pittsburgh, University of
Princeton University
South Carolina, University of
Stanford University
Vanderbilt University
Virginia, University of
Western Reserve University

It should be understood that this classification represents present practice and in many cases incorporates changes which have been made very recently. There has, for example, been a marked increase within the last few years in the number of institutions making available a copy of unpublished Ph. D. theses for circulation. It is gratifying to be able to add that five American universities have established this arrangement within the past few weeks in response to the recommendation of the American Historical Association.*

CONYERS READ, *Executive Secretary*.

The American Historical Association plans to publish periodically a list of research and editorial projects being actively carried forward in the field of history. Such a list will serve to prevent wasteful duplication of effort and

*This report is based upon information received directly from the dean or some other officer in the graduate school of the institutions included. Before being sent to press it has been submitted for correction to the officials who supplied the original information.

should facilitate contacts between scholars working in allied fields. To enable him to compile the list Dr. Read, the Executive Secretary, has recently sent to heads of university departments of history and directors of learned foundations the following questions:

1. What research projects and what editorial projects in history have you in preparation?
2. Is this project merely in contemplation, or is it actually under way?
3. How soon (approximately) do you expect to finish it?
4. How big (approximately) in terms of printed pages do you expect it to be when completed?

Dr. Read further said that the canvass is not intended to include the work of graduate students being done to satisfy the requirements for the M. A. or the Ph. D. degree. He asked that the definition of the research subjects be as precise as possible, in order not to prevent other scholars from entering a field in which the reporter means to cultivate only a small corner. It is important also to remember that the dream of doing research work in a selected field does not establish a prior claim. This is not to be regarded as an opportunity to align one's self with productive scholars without any real claim to the position.

All reports on the subject should be sent to the Executive Secretary at his office, 226 South 16th Street, Philadelphia.

The committee on the Albert J. Beveridge Memorial Fund has sanctioned the following additional undertakings: Mr. Frank Monaghan to edit newly discovered papers of John Jay, in two volumes; Professor W. C. Binkley to edit the correspondence of the interim government of the Republic of Texas, 1836; Mr. Howard C. Perkins to edit a selection of Northern editorials on approaching war, 1861. Professor U. B. Phillips, with health fully restored, has resumed active chairmanship of the committee.

The Independent Offices Appropriation bill, passed by the Congress on June 15, omitted, along with the customary provisions for printing for the Smithsonian Institution, the usual appropriation for the printing of the *Annual Report* of the American Historical Association. This involves postponement, at least, of *Writings on American History* for 1931 and 1932 and of Professor Bemis's and Miss Griffin's elaborate *Guide for the Study of American Diplomatic History*. The volume of proceedings for 1932 and that containing the *Diary of Edward Bates* may, however, be expected to be issued, from the appropriations for the fiscal year just ended.

The mailing list for the October number of the *American Historical Review* will go to press by September 15. A new address list of the members of the Association will be distributed to all members whose dues are not in arrears with the October number. Any changes of address should be sent

before July 15 to the office of the Association at 40 B Street, S. W., Washington, D. C.

Mr. Tracy McGregor, of Washington, has accepted an *ad interim* appointment to the Board of Trustees of the Association, to fill the vacancy caused by the resignation of Mr. Fairfax Harrison.

A friend of history having formed a project for supplying a selected group of college libraries with a certain number of Americana of the rarer sort, a small committee (J. F. Jameson, chairman) has been appointed by the American Historical Association to assist in the execution of the plan.

On March 31 Miss Eleanor D. Smith, formerly instructor in history in Goucher College, more recently at the University of Chicago completing the requirements for the doctor's degree, began work as editorial assistant in the office of this journal.

PERSONAL

Walter Wybergh How, the English classicist and historian, died on December 3 at the age of 71. He was tutor in Merton College, Oxford, from 1897 to 1930. Besides works in the classical field, he was author of a *History of Rome* (with H. D. Leigh, in 1896) and of *Hannibal and the Great War between Rome and Carthage* (1899).

Augustus F. Moulton, state historian of Maine, died on March 16 at the age of 84. Among his published works were *Old Prouts Neck* (1924), *Portland by the Sea* (1926), and *Maine Historical Sketches* (1929).

William Glover Stanard, corresponding secretary and librarian of the Virginia Historical Society since 1898, died on May 6.

The account which Dr. Max Farrand has given in the February *Huntington Library Bulletin* of Frederick Jackson Turner at the Huntington Library fills out the picture of a great career, the significance of which has so often been the subject of reflection and comment in the few months since Turner's death. In this account interest centers naturally upon the pathetic struggle to finish a task, to reach a goal long years in mind before failing strength should make further effort impossible. The article has also been issued separately, with an interesting photograph of Turner as a frontispiece.

The fellowships within the historical field, awarded by the American Council of Learned Societies, with the project upon which the incumbent is engaged, are: Jacques Barzun, Columbia University, the influence of race consciousness and race theories on French thought and culture; C. H. Peake, Columbia University, the history of Chinese law and its administration during the Ch'ing Dynasty, 1644-1911; D. V. Thompson, jr., Yale University, the medieval technique of manuscript illumination, based principally on the short medieval Latin text "De Coloribus et Mixtionibus". The grants-in-aid

are: M. L. W. Laistner, Cornell University, an edition of Bede's Commentary on Acts; J. A. O. Larsen, University of Chicago, the social and economic conditions of Roman Gaul; Dorothy L. Mackay, Duke University, studies in the history of the University of Orleans; W. T. Morgan, Indiana University, a bibliographical guide to British history, 1700-1715; G. E. Mylonas, University of Illinois, the excavation of Hagios Kosmas; J. C. Russell, University of North Carolina, bibliographical studies in thirteenth century England.

One of the fellowships awarded by the Social Science Research Council lies specifically within the historical field: P. W. Gates, Bucknell University, a study of the operation of the Federal land system. The grants-in-aid are: H. F. Barker, U. S. Tariff Commission, the completion of a study of the status of British, German, and French nomenclatures in the seventeenth century; Viola F. Barnes, Mount Holyoke College, the disaster of British expansion, 1760 to 1778; W. C. Binkley, Vanderbilt University, a history of the Republic of Texas; L. M. Case, The Rice Institute, French public opinion concerning the Roman Question, 1849 to 1870, and the United States Civil War, 1861 to 1865; E. M. Coulter, University of Georgia, the planter civilization of coastal Georgia; L. C. Helderman, Washington and Lee University, George Tucker as a social scientist of the Old South; Susan M. Kingsbury, Bryn Mawr College, the editing of the records of the Virginia Company of London; A. R. M. Lower, Wesley College, the Canadian timber trade in the nineteenth century; H. S. Lucas, University of Washington, the purchase of a photostatic copy of a wardrobe account of Edward I. of England; Frank Monaghan, New York University, the editing of the diaries and the unpublished correspondence of John Jay; R. B. Morris, College of the City of New York, the influence of the legal development of important commercial centers in England and the Continent—notably London—upon the growth of the law merchant in the American colonies in the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries; C. P. Nettels, University of Wisconsin, the money supply of the American colonies before 1720; C. W. New, McMaster University, a biography of Lord Brougham; F. W. Pitman, Pomona College, the transition of Jamaica from slavery to freedom, 1833 to 1866; C. C. Tansill, American University, the diplomatic relations of the United States and Santo Domingo, 1798 to 1909; A. P. Watts, University of Pennsylvania, the West Indies during the period of the American Revolution; Mary W. Williams, Goucher College, a biography of Pedro II., Emperor of Brazil.

In March the Guggenheim Foundation announced the fellowships and grants for the coming year. Those of interest in the field of history were awarded to the following persons, with the accompanying projects: L. J. Ragatz, George Washington University, the social and economic structure

of the French Antilles during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries; Kenneth Scott, Western Reserve University, the religious and political history of the Roman Empire.

Dr. Charles O. Paullin, of the Carnegie Institution of Washington, has received, as author, jointly with Dr. J. K. Wright, of the American Geographical Society, as editor, the Loubat Prize of \$1000 for the *Atlas of the Historical Geography of the United States*. This prize is presented every five years for the "best work in the English language on the history, geography, ethnology, philology, or numismatics of North America". The second prize of \$400 was awarded to Professor Walter P. Webb, of the University of Texas, for his volume on *The Great Plains*.

The Pulitzer Prize for History has been awarded posthumously to the late Frederick Jackson Turner for his volume of essays entitled *The Significance of Sections in American History*, which is reviewed in this journal. The Pulitzer Prize for Biography has been awarded to Allan Nevins for his *Grover Cleveland*.

Professor Bernard Faÿ, of the Collège de France, delivered six lectures in May at Northwestern University on the Norman Wait Harris Foundation. His subject was Radicalism in America, 1770-1800.

The Anson G. Phelps Lectures on Early American History at New York University were delivered this year in April and May by Professor Charles M. Andrews, of Yale University. The subject for the six lectures was Our Earliest Colonial Settlements: their Diversities of Origin and Later Characteristics.

Professor William Leonard Langer will be Harvard Lecturer in History at Yale University for the first semester, 1933-1934.

Professor Walter Phelps Hall, professor of history at Princeton University, has been made Dodge Professor of History.

At the University of Chicago Professor William E. Dodd has resigned the chairmanship of the department but will continue as professor. Professor Bernadotte E. Schmitt has been appointed to the chairmanship. Professor Raymond C. Miller of the College of the City of Detroit has been appointed to conduct Professor A. O. Craven's courses during the autumn quarter, 1933.

Professor A. O. Craven, of the University of Chicago, will be a research associate at the Huntington Library, San Marino, during the coming academic year. Three "International Research Fellowships" have been granted: to Dr. Sanford B. Larkey, of the University of California; Dr. W. Lee Ustick, recently of Goucher College, and Dr. Francis R. Johnson.

Two of the historical fraternity have been chosen by President Roosevelt for important diplomatic posts; Professor W. E. Dodd, of the University of Chicago, as ambassador to Germany, and Professor R. G. Caldwell, of Rice Institute, as ambassador to Portugal.

The following promotions may be noted: *Harvard University*, Michael Karpovich to be assistant professor; *Princeton University*, Elmer A. Beller and John E. Pomfret to be associate professors, Chester W. Clark to be assistant professor; *Yale University*, Kan-Ichi Asakawa to be research associate, Gilbert Norman Tucker to be assistant professor.

Leaves of absence for the year 1933-1934 have been granted as follows: *Columbia University*, for the second semester John A. Krout, Allan Nevins, William L. Westermann; *Cornell University*, J. P. Bretz for the first semester; *Harvard University*, Arthur M. Schlesinger for the year; *Indiana University*, John C. Andressohn for the first semester; *Princeton University*, Elmer A. Beller, appointed Benjamin D. Shreve Fellow, for the year; *Smith College*, Jean Wilson and Leona Gabel, for the year; *University of Michigan*, A. L. Dunham for the year; *Vassar College*, Louise Fargo Brown for the year.

Professor Reginald C. McGrane will shortly publish a work dealing with the whole question of state debts which were in default or were repudiated either before or after the Civil War.

GENERAL

Dr. Charles A. Beard's reply to the toast given at Toronto to "The Association" is printed in the *Canadian Historical Review* for March.¹ It is followed by Professor George M. Wrong's paper on The Historian's Duty to Society, read at one of the sessions. They appear under the title of The Historian and Society.

The presidential address at the annual meeting of the British Historical Association at Torquay in January, delivered by the Rt. Rev. J. H. B. Masterman, had as its theme the Teaching of Local History. It is published in *History* for April.

The Inaugural Lecture of Mr. Jerome D. Greene, as Wilson Professor of International Politics at the University College of Wales, on February 1, had as its subject Idealism and Realism in Efforts toward Peace. Professor Greene recognized the existence of the difficulties which have faced such schemes of international coöperation as the League of Nations, but believed that these might be overcome if man were as adventurous and determined in dealing

¹ Articles mentioned in this and the following sections have appeared since July, 1932. Books mentioned were published in 1932, unless another date is given.

with them as he is in harnessing nature to his purposes. He at the same time deprecated the species of zeal on the part of the defenders of the League which would have it "descend, horse, foot and dragoons, on a Power which resents and opposes the League's intervention, regardless of the fact that what would then ensue might be nothing less than war". Incidentally he made a graceful allusion to his predecessor, Professor Charles K. Webster, now of the University of London.

Professor Paul Harsin, of the University of Liège, has published a volume entitled *Comment on Écrit l'Histoire* (Paris, Droz, 1933, pp. 152, 15 fr.) which deals with the problems of history on lines similar to the discussions in the well-known book of Langlois and Seignobos.

The *Bulletin* of the International Committee of Historical Sciences for February is devoted to the Seventh International Congress of Historical Sciences which is to meet in August in Warsaw. It embodies fifteen reports already submitted. Among them is a paper by Professor E. M. Wilbur, of the Pacific Unitarian School for the Ministry, on Faustus Socinus: an Estimate of his Life and Influence.

An important work on the general history of the Church is *Geschichte der Alten Kirche*, by Hans Lietzmann (Berlin, De Gruyter, pp. 323, 7 M.).

My American Lectures, by Professor Nicolas Jorga, rector of the Bucharest University, collected and arranged by Norman L. Forter (Bucharest, State Printing Office, pp. 192), are based upon the addresses given at the various Roumanian centers in the United States and before university and scientific audiences. They show decided variety, though all deal with South-eastern Europe. They embody deductions on several important subjects, chiefly, of course, Roumanian: Byzantine and Roumanian art, Roumanian origins, French influence, the Churches and religious organizations in South-eastern Europe, Roumanian historians, and democracy in Southeastern Europe. Unhappily there are many faults of translation, the English being frequently heavy, spotted with non-English words, spelling incorrect, and the volume is destitute of bibliography or index. One might question the absoluteness of Rousseau's domination in America at any time (p. 159), one might criticize Dr. Jorga's assumptions as to the origin of American towns (p. 110), one might take other exceptions, yet these lectures do give the matured conclusions of the most prominent and surely one of the greatest historical scholars of Southeastern Europe at the present time. A. I. A.

Articles: Wallace Notestein, *History and the Biographer* (Yale Rev., spring); Edward Maslin Hulme, *The Personal Equation in History* (Pacific Hist. Rev., Mar.); A. S. Turberville, *History, Objective and Subjective* (History, Jan.); J. L. Myres, *Dr. Hermann Schneider's Philosophy of History*

(*ibid.*); Helmut Klocke, *Besinnung der Geschichtswissenschaft in Ungarn* (Arch. für Kulturgesch., XXIII., 3); Georg Steinhausen, *Geschichte der Gesellschaftlichen Kultur und Sittengeschichte* (*ibid.*); Van Schelven, *La Notion Politique de la Tolérance Religieuse* (Rev. Hist., Mar.); R. H. Tawney, *The Study of Economic History* (Economica, Feb.); Moritz J. Elsas, *Zur Methode der Preisgeschichte* (Zeitsch. für die Gesamte Staatswiss., XCIV., 2); Emanuel Hugo Vogel, *Die Objektivistischen, Statisch-Deduktiven Preistheorien* (*ibid.*); Paul Harsin, *Le Salaire, d'après M. François Simiand* [*Salaire, l'Évolution Sociale et la Monnaie* (Alcan, 3 vols.)] (Rev. d'Hist. Mod., Nov.); R. Villate, *Institutions Militaires* (Rev. de Synthèse, Feb.).

ANCIENT HISTORY •

General review: Ch. Guignebert, *Histoire des Religions, Judaïsme et Christianisme Antique* (Rev. Hist., Mar.).

A Chronique Égyptologique by P. Montet appears in the *Revue des Études Anciennes* for March.

The Jahrbuch of the German Archaeological Institute (1932, 1-2), publishes a summary of the results of recent excavations. An account of the excavations at Ur by C. L. Woolley appears in the *Museum Journal* (XXIII. 3); also an article by E. A. Speiser on the pottery of Tell Billa. Reports of excavations in Egypt at Oxyrhynchus, Nubia, Touna, Memphis, and Aniba are published in vol. XXXII. of the *Annales du Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte*. One may note also N. Glueck's survey of Palestinian and Syrian archaeology in the *American Journal of Archaeology* for March, R. Mallon's description of the results of excavations at Teleilat Ghassat in Syria (XIII. 4), and Garstang's article on Jericho city and necropolis during the early and middle bronze age in the *Annals of Archaeology and Anthropology* (XIX. 3-4). The same journal also contains a report of the British Museum excavations at Nineveh (1930-1931), by R. C. Thompson and R. W. Hamilton. E. P. Blegen's News Items from Athens reviews recent discoveries in Greece for the *American Journal of Archaeology* (March), and material on new finds at Nemi and at Ostia appears in the *Notizie degli Scavi* (sixth series, VIII. 4-6).

Medinet Habu: Ausgrabungen des Oriental Institutes der Universität Chicago, by Uvo Hölscher, has been published as Heft 24 of *Morgenland*. It is a preliminary report of excavations carried on at Medinet Habu in recent years. The text includes a short account of previous work on the site, and a description, with drawings in the text and twenty-nine plates, of the temple of Rameses III., of the buildings of the 18th dynasty, and in a third section, of buildings after the death of Rameses III.

Professor J. F. Dobson's *Ancient Education and its Meaning to Us* (Longmans, pp. vii, 234, \$1.75) should prove a happy medium between individual volumes on Greek, Roman, and early Christian education and the brief and too often out-of-date summaries in histories of education. It contains no novelties, but is clear and adequate, with a proper attention to the relationship between ancient education and ancient life in general, and a differentiation of the distinct periods in both, which are too often ignored by non-classical pedagogues. A work in a kindred field is *Ancient Writing and its Influence* (University of Chicago Press, pp. 205, \$1.75), by Professor B. L. Ullman. The author's researches in the history of the alphabet, as well as his wide knowledge of paleography and the general transmission of classical texts and scholarship have led to a liberal interpretation of "Ancient Writing". His book offers the intelligent and inquiring mind much useful information on the character and influence of writing from its first invention to the latest classicisms of the advertisers. For amateur paleographers seeking understanding of medieval manuscripts it is a *vade mecum* rich in detail, from which the seasoned paleographer will not hesitate to draw. E. M. S.

An article of special importance by Rhys Carpenter entitled *The Antiquity of the Greek Alphabet* appeared in the *American Journal of Archaeology* for March. The author believes that the Greeks did not begin to use the Phœnician alphabet before the middle of the 8th century B. C.

Xénophon Historien, by G. Colin (*Annales de l'Est*, 1933, Mémoires, no. 2) is a detailed study of Xenophon's *Hellenica*, Book II., with the purpose of evaluating it as a historical source for the period which it covers. The author discovers evidence in Xenophon of omission of pertinent facts owing to lack of interest in them, owing to partizanship, and to a failure to realize which facts were important, also of some rearrangement in the interests of dramatic and rhetorical form. He concludes that Xenophon while remaining an important source for the period is worthy of much less confidence than has been given him. The monograph closes with a month-by-month calendar of events from 406/5 to 401/0 B. C.

Professor Rostovtzeff's *Social and Economic History of the Roman Empire* has just been published in an Italian translation by G. Sanna and with a preface by G. de Sanctis (Florence, La Nuova Italia). This is practically a third edition of the work. The text has been altered in a few places, and additions have been made by the author to the notes, bibliography, and illustrations.

Vol. II. of *Antoninus Pius* by Willy Hüttl (Prague, 1933), consists of a collection of sources for the discussion contained in vol. I., which has not yet been published. The first part of volume II. collects the evidence regarding the officials, both senatorial and imperial, of Rome and the provinces dur-

ing the principate of Antoninus Pius; the second part which is entitled Antoninus Pius in the inscriptions of his time, gathers together from many scattered sources the Greek and Latin inscriptions which can be dated to the time of this emperor. The whole forms a necessary basis for the study of this emperor and seems to be quite complete.

Articles: N. D. Mironov, *Aryan Vestiges in the Near East in the Second Millenium B. C.* (Acta Orient., XI. 1); F. W. König, *Geschichte Elams* (Der Alte Orient, XXXIX. 4); P. Koschaker, *Fratriarchat, Hausgemeinschaft und Mutterrecht in Keilschriftrechten* (Zeitsch. für Assyriologie, Feb.); J. Kaufman, *Probleme der Israelitisch-Jüdischen Religionsgeschichte* (Zeitsch. für die Alttest. Wissensch., N. F., X. 1); M. A. Levi, *La Spedizione Scitica di Dario* (Riv. di Filol., Mar.); F. Bilabel, *The Early History of the Greek People and the Indogermanic Migrations during the Second Millenium B. C.* (Class. Weekly, Mar. 27 and Apr. 3); G. de Sanctis, *Intorno al Razionalismo di Ecateo* (Riv. di Filol., Mar.); W. S. Ferguson and W. B. Dinsmoor, *The Last Inventory of the Pronaos of the Parthenon* (Amer. Jour. Arch., Mar.); E. Silberschlag, *The Earliest Record of the Jews in Asia Minor* (Jour. Bibl. Lit., Apr.); André Piganiol, *Un Document d'Histoire Sociale Romaine: la Classification Servienne* (An. d'Hist. Éc. et Soc., Mar.); T. Frank, *An Interpretation of Cato, Agricultura 136* (Amer. Jour. Philol., Apr.); R. M. Haywood, *Some Traces of Serfdom in Cicero's Day* (*ibid.*); M. Reinhold, *The Perusine War* (Class. Weekly, Apr. 24); L. R. Taylor, *Quirinius and the Census of Judaea* (Amer. Jour. Phil., Apr.); E. Höhl, *Wenn hat Tiberius das Principat Uebernommen?* (Hermes, LXVIII. 1); J. Vogt, *Vorläufer des Optimus Princeps* (*ibid.*); M. Rostovtzeff, *Hadad and Atargatis at Palmyra* (Amer. Jour. Arch., Mar.); L. de Regibus, *Il Computo della 'Trib. Pot.' per la Cronologia degli Imperatori Valeriano e Galliano* (Historia, VI. 4); Jean Gagé, *La Théologie de la Victoire Impériale* (Rev. Hist., Jan.); Hans Erich Stier, *Zur Varusschlacht* (Hist. Zeitsch., Feb. 28); E. v. Dobschütz, *Der Historiker und das Neue Testament* (Zeitsch. für die Neutest. Wissensch., XXXII. 1).

T. R. S. B.

MEDIEVAL HISTORY

General review: Louis Halphen, *Le Moyen Age jusqu'aux Valois* [I.] (Rev. Hist., Jan.); Francesco Foberti, *Nuovi Studi su Gioacchino da Fiore* (N. Riv. Stor., Nov.).

A work of the first importance for the history of the organization of the Church, as well as for the development of the canon law is *Histoire des Collections Canoniques en Occident depuis les Fausses Décrétales jusqu'au Décret de Gratien* (Paris, Sirey, 1931, 1932, 2 vols., pp. xvi, 463, 386, 220 fr.), by Paul Fournier, with the collaboration of Gabriel Le Bras. It belongs to

the series entitled Bibliothèque d'Histoire du Droit, which is carried forward under the auspices of the Société d'Histoire du Droit. A preliminary chapter in volume I., written by M. Le Bras, sketches the history of canonical collections in the West prior to the False Decretals. Although the work stops at the point where the work of Gratian opens, M. Le Bras announces a comprehensive study of Gratian which is soon to follow. This work is the subject of extended comment by Professor F. M. Powicke in *History* for April.

Isis for April contains the Thirty-Fifth Critical Bibliography of the History and Philosophy of Science and of the History of Civilization. The list is complete to August, 1932, and contains some 350 items, contributed by eighteen collaborators.

Digests of the many papers read during the Journées d'Histoire du Droit held at Paris in June 1932 are published in the January-March issue of the *Revue Historique de Droit Français et Étranger*. Most of these papers were concerned with medieval subjects.

The *Revue d'Histoire Ecclésiastique* for April contains a classified bibliography of 143 pages, including over 2700 items. In addition there are a number of noteworthy reviews and the following articles of significance; L. Gougaud, Sur les Routes de Rome et sur le Rhin avec les 'Peregrini' Insulaires; L. de Lagger, L'Albigéois pendant la Crise de l'Albigéisme, l'Épiscopat de Guilhem Peire (1185-1227); G. Mollat, A propos du Droit de Dépouille; A. De Poorter, Catalogue des Livres d'Heures et de Prières de la Bibliothèque de Bruges; P. Lefèvre, Le Séjour du Mystique Brabançon Jean de Ruusbroec à Bruxelles.

Professor Fritz Rörig's *Mittelalterliche Weltwirtschaft: Blüte und Ende einer Weltwirtschaftsperiode* is published as no. 40 of Bernhard Harms's Kieler Vorträge (Jena, Verlag von Gustav Fischer, 1933).

M. Postan, in the *Economic History Review* for April, writes a critical survey of the materials available for the study of medieval capitalism. This essay contains a useful bibliography in the footnotes.

The April number of the *Revue du Cercle des Alumni de la Fondation Universitaire* (Brussels) contains several essays of interest to historians. P. A. Belvaux, Professeur à l'École des Hautes Études de Gand, writes an appreciative survey of the life and work of Dom Ursmer Berlière (1861-1932). An excellent portrait of the learned Benedictine accompanies this article. Félix Peeters gives some interesting notes concerning the École Française de Rome, and Fernand Vercauteren contributes a scholarly evaluation of Professeur Adolph Dopsch et l'École Historique de Vienne.

The *Annales d'Histoire Économique et Sociale* for January contains Le Problème de l'Or au Moyen Âge, an important essay contributed by Marc

Bloch. There is appended to this article a short, but very useful survey of the pertinent bibliography.

Miss Helen Elizabeth Muhfeld has edited a medieval survey, written in Latin, of the manor of Wye, belonging to Battle Abbey, furnishing the text with a substantial introduction. The title of the volume is *A Survey of the Manor of Wye* (Columbia University Press, 1933, pp. lxxvii, 256, \$4.00), and it belongs to the series of Studies in History, Economics, and Public Law.

The October-December *Bulletin* of the Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres, Comptes Rendus des Séances de l'Année 1932 contains an appreciative survey of the life and writings of the late Maurice Prou. This article is contributed by René Cagnat.

Articles: Lynn Thorndike, *Notes on Some Latin Manuscripts at Wolfenbüttel* (Speculum, Apr.); J. N. C. Clark, *The Annotations of Ekkehart IV. in the Orosius MS., St. Gall 621* (Bull. Du Cange, 1932, 1); B. Krusch, *Die Handschriftlichen Grundlagen der Historia Francorum Gregors von Tours* (Hist. Vierteljahr., Apr.); Emil Göller, *Papsttum und Bussgewalt in Spätromischer und Frühmittelalterlicher Zeit* (Röm. Quartalsch., XL, 3-4); J. Rivière, *Les 'Capitula' d'Abélard condamnés au Concile de Sens* (Recherches de Théologie Anc. et Méd., Jan.); Percy Ernst Schramm, "Vom Heiligen Geist des Mittelalters" [apropos of a volume by Wolfram von den Steinen] (Hist. Zeitsch., Feb. 28); E. Chabanier, *Un Cosmographe du XII^e Siècle Capable de Mesures Exactes de Longitudes* (Acad. des Inscript. et Belles-Lettres, Bull., Oct.); K. Pivec, *Studien und Forschungen zur Ausgabe des Codex Uldarici [II.]: Der Codex Uldarici und die Kanzlei Heinrichs V.* (Mitteil. des Oesterr. Inst. für Geschichtsf., XLVI, 3-4); W. Ohnsorge, "Kaiser" Konrad III., *Zur Geschichte des Staufischen Staatsgedankens* (ibid.); Benno Hilliger, *Die Reichssteuerliste von 1242* (Hist. Vierteljahr., Apr.); S. H. Thomson, *The Text of Grosseteste's De Cometis* (Isis, Apr.); D. C. Munro and C. D. Haagensen, *Arabian Medicine as represented in the Memoirs of Usamah Ibn Munqidh* (An. of Med. Hist., May); J. S. Beddie, *Books in the East during the Crusades* (Speculum, Apr.); S. Painter, *To Whom were dedicated the 'Fables' of Marie de France?* (Mod. Lang. Notes, June); André E. Sayous, *L'Origine de la Lettre de Change: les Procédés de Crédit et de Paiement dans les Pays Chrétiens de la Méditerranée Occidentale entre le Milieu du XII^e Siècle et celui du XIII^e* (Rev. Hist. de Droit Franç. et Étrang., Jan.); P. M. Baumgarten, *Zum Päpstlichen Urkundenwesen des 13. und 14. Jahrhunderts* (Röm. Quartalsch., XL, 3-4); J. Huizinga, *Burgund, eine Krise des Romanisch-Germanischen Verhältnisses* (Hist. Zeitsch., Apr. 22); Henri Laurent, *Crise Monétaire et Difficultés Économiques en Flandre, aux XIV^e et XV^e Siècles* (An. d'Hist. Éc. et Soc., Mar.); E. F. Meyer, *Some Aspects of "Wíðernam"* (Speculum, Apr.); H. S. Lucas, *The*

Sources and Literature on Jacob Van Artevelde (*ibid.*); A. Schulte, *Pavia und Regensburg* (Hist. Jahrb., LII. 4); H. Jecht, *Der Wirtschaftsstil des Spätmittelalters* (Vierteljahr. für Sozial und Wirtschaftsgesch., XXVI. 1); H. Nelis, *Origine de l'Appellation: 'Philippe le Bon'* [Duke of Burgundy] (Rev. Belge de Philol. et d'Hist., Jan.); H. P. Lattin, *The Origin of our Present System of Notation according to the Theories of Nicholas Bubnoy* (Isis, Apr.); Hans Genzsch, *Die Anlage des Ältesten Sammlung von Briefen Enea Silvio Piccolominis, mit 16 Bildtafeln* (Mitteil. des Oesterr. Inst. für Geschichtsf., XLVI. 3-4); F. Dölger, *Die Frage der Judensteuer in Byzanz* (Vierteljahr. für Sozial und Wirtschaftsgesch., XXVI. 1); Edmund W. Pavenstedt, *Medieval Carpet-Baggers* (South Atlantic Quar., Apr.).

G. C. B.

MODERN EUROPEAN HISTORY

General review: Louis Hauteceur, *Histoire de l'Art du XV^e Siècle à nos Jours* (Rev. Hist., Mar.); Albert Depréaux, *et al.*, *Ouvrages relatifs à l'Histoire Coloniale* (Rev. d'Hist. Mod., Nov.).

In *L'Art Religieux après le Concile de Trente: Étude sur l'Iconographie de la Fin du XVI^e, du XVII^e, du XVIII^e Siècle; Italie, France, Espagne, Flandres*, É. Mâle presents the fourth and last volume of his great survey of religious art during the medieval and modern period (Paris, Colin, pp. v, 532, 160 fr.).

No. XVI. of the Harvard Theological Studies is a translation of *The Two Treatises of Servetus on the Trinity* (Harvard University Press, pp. xxxviii, 264). The translator is Dr. Earl Morse Wilbur, who has contributed an introduction, a short life of Servetus, and a bibliography of the subject selected from the writer's catalogue of more than 600 titles dealing with Servetus.

A useful history of the chief schools of economic thought and policy is *Die Wandlungen der Wirtschaft im Kapitalistischen Zeitalter: ein Sammelwerk der Internationalen Vereinigung für Rechts- und Wirtschaftsphilosophie*, edited by Goetz Briefs with the collaboration of W. Andreas, E. Berger, T. Brauer, W. F. Bruck, F. Darmstaedter, S. Helander, O. v. Mering, A. Meusel, K. Ritter, W. Röpke, G. A. Salander, and G. Wunsch (Berlin, Rothschild, pp. v, 456, 16 M.).

Europe in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries, 1789-1932 (Longmans, Green, pp. x, 652, \$3.75), by A. J. Grant, M. A., formerly professor of history in the University of Leeds, and Harold Temperley, Litt. D., professor of Modern history in the University of Cambridge, is the fourth edition of *Europe in the Nineteenth Century*, published first in 1927. Chs. XXV.-XXVIII., on the period immediately preceding the World War, have been

revised in view of the most recent publications. For the opinions expressed here Professor Grant holds himself responsible, in view of the fact that Professor Temperley is one of the editors of the *British Documents on the Origins of the War*. Professor Temperley's principal contribution is the account of the years since the outbreak of the war, chs. XXIX-XXXV. The chapter on the World War is remarkable for clarifying selection, with vivid descriptive strokes of personal characterization. Similar qualities appear in the chapter on the Paris Conference and the Treaty with Germany, 1919. Lloyd George's share in the negotiations is treated more sympathetically than is usually done. Wilson, while a "magnificent orator", "had no legal precision of mind, and no sort of readiness in debate". The portrait of Clemenceau is skillfully drawn.

A translation of the account of the Commune of 1871 by Karl Marx has now appeared under the title of *The Civil War in France, with an Introduction by Frederick Engels* (New York, International Publishers, 1933, pp. 92).

The sixth volume of Josef Šusta's *Svetova Politika* (in Czech) covering the period 1871-1914 has recently been published by Vesmir (Prague). Its central chapters include Germany and England 1909-1911, the Agadir incident, the Haldane mission, the Tripolitan War, Balkan developments and conditions, the Balkan War up to the London Conference, European complications, the Second Balkan War, Events outside Europe (Far East, Colonial Empires, America), the Triple Alliance and the Triple Entente, the Austro-German interference in Balkan politics, and Sarajevo. It is accompanied by a thorough bibliography and adequate index but no maps. A. I. A.

The brief summary of the World War made in *Petite Histoire de la Grande Guerre* (Paris, Rieder, pp. 122, 15 fr.), by J. M. Bourget, will prove very useful to those who have some previous knowledge of the conflict but need refreshing of the memory. It assumes just enough background to impair somewhat its value for those who do not possess such knowledge. The attention of the author is devoted almost exclusively to military events, except for a brief final chapter which seeks to summarize the more significant non-military elements of the struggle. Some of the maps suffer from an attempt to depict too many operations on one map. T. S. A.

Vol. III. of tome I. of the French official history of the World War is entitled *La Bataille de la Marne*, and covers the days from Sept. 6 to Sept. 14, 1914. There are four volumes of annexes and two sets of maps (Paris, L'Imprimerie Nationale, 1933, 920 fr.).

The Stanford University Press has established a new series of Hoover War Library Publications. The volumes on *The Fall of the German Empire*, by Professor Ralph H. Lutz will become nos. 1 and 2 of this series. The series

listing on the cloth cover and title-page has been changed accordingly in the publisher's stock. The new binding and title-page will be substituted for any purchasers of the volumes who will return them to Stanford University Press, Stanford University, California, for that purpose. There is no charge for this, and shipping charges both ways will be paid by the publishers, who ask that the books be returned by book express, collect.

Articles: Hedwig Hintze, *Nation et Humanité dans la Pensée des Temps Modernes* (Rev. d'Hist. Mod., Jan.); André Allix, *L'Évolution Rurale des Alpes* (An. d'Hist. Éc. et Soc., Mar.); E. Rodocanachi, *L'Entrevue de Clément VII. et de François I^{er} à Marseille* (N. Rev., Mar. 15); Waldemar Westergaard, *Gustavus Vasa and Russia, 1555-1557* (Pacific Hist. Rev., Mar.); Francis J. Bowman, *The European Naval Situation during the Early Years of the Thirty Years' War* (*ibid.*); Wilhelm Böhm, *Die Schlachtordnung der Kaiserlichen bei Lützen, 6./16. November 1632* (Hist. Vierteljahr., Apr.); Richard Lodge, *The Methuen Treaties of 1703* [Historical Revision, LXV.] (History, Apr.); Eugen Tarlé, *Russland und die Kontinentalsperre* (Zeitsch. für die Gesamte Staatswiss., Feb.); Arthur Dunham, *Michel Chevalier et le Traité de 1860* (Rev. Hist., Jan.); Francis Greenwood Peabody, *An Episode in International Philanthropy* [relief sent to France, in 1871] (New Eng. Quar., Mar.); E. C. Helmreich, *Russlands Einfluss auf den Balkanbund im Oktober 1912* (Berl. Monatsh., Mar.); Paul Herre, *Die Kleinen Staaten und die Entstehung des Weltkrieges* [III., IV., V.] (*ibid.*, Mar., Apr., May); Arrigo Solmi, *L'Intervento Italiano e le sue Conseguenze Politiche, Maggio-Agosto, 1915* (N. Antol., Apr. 16).

Documents: Fernand Vercauteren, ed., *Note sur les Opérations Financières de Charles-Quint dans les Pays-Bas, en 1523* [texts of two orders of Charles] (Rev. Hist., Jan.); E. C. Helmreich, ed., *An Unpublished Report on Austro-German Military Conversations of November, 1912* (Jour. Mod. Hist., June); Luigi Aldrovandi, *L'Armistizio con l'Austria-Ungheria: Frammenti di Diario* [verbatim report of interallied conversations between House, Lloyd George, Balfour, Clemenceau, Sonnino, Orlando and others, at which author was present, Oct. 28-Nov. 4, 1918] (N. Antol., Mar. 1).

GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND

General review: H. Hale Bellot, *et al.*, *General Collections of Reports of Parliamentary Debates for the Period since 1660* [Bibliographical Aids to Research] (Bull. Inst. Hist. Research, Feb.).

Bulletin Du Cange (ALMA), 1932, 2 contains an important and very useful Index of British and Irish Latin Writers, 400-1520. There are 900 authors listed by name and there is a supplementary list (pt. II.) covering General Collections, Monastic Cartularies, Municipal and Local History,

Episcopal Registers, Accounts, Wills, Legal Documents, thirty-nine Miscellaneous Items, twenty-nine titles for Scotland, and three for Ireland. The index has been compiled to facilitate the work of reading the texts from which British material for the new Du Cange will be drawn. G. C. B.

Those with pleasant memories of days in Oxford will find much to charm and instruct in Sir John A. R. Marriott's *Oxford, its Place in National History* (Oxford, Clarendon Press; New York, Oxford University Press, 1933, pp. viii, 206, \$2.00). Oxford has played so important a part in the history of England that the author's narrative often turns aside from the purely academic aspects of his subject to deal with the broader course of events. This is especially true of the chapter on the Civil War and the Puritan Revolution, because Oxford was for several years the royalist capital. The author writes with most warmth of the New Learning and of John Colet.

The Cambridge University Press has published *Bolingbroke's Defence of the Treaty of Utrecht, being Letters VI.-VIII. of the Study and Use of History*, with an introduction by G. M. Trevelyan, and *Sir William Temple: Observations upon the United Provinces of the Netherlands*, with an introduction by G. N. Clark (Macmillan, pp. x, 150; xvi, 170, \$1.35 each). The auspices under which these two little books are published suggest that they are intended for "students of history". Both are accessible in the larger libraries, however, and it is not clear just why either needed to be made immediately available. Sir William Temple's is much the more suitable piece of the two for inexperienced readers without editorial guidance, and Professor Clark's introduction to it is better adapted to the purpose it is intended to serve than is that of Professor Trevelyan to the sixth, seventh, and eighth of Bolingbroke's well-known *Letters on the Study and Use of History*. The latter indicates neither the circumstances under which Bolingbroke wrote nor his neglect of facts concerning domestic politics which, if introduced into the picture, would deprive his apologetic of much of its plausibility. Moreover, Professor Trevelyan's assumption that the "Bolingbroke of 1735-6, a man chastened by long years of proscription and exile . . . purged by a long penance of that violent partisanship that had made him, in an hour he never ceased to regret, the Pretender's secretary . . . looks back here upon his former self and his former actions from the standpoint of a political philosophy that was not quite that of Henry St. John" contains an element of truth, but is more apt to mislead than to help a student. W. T. L.

The English historian, Sir Charles Oman, has written a volume of memories under the title of *Things I have seen* (London, Methuen). These memories range from the Second Empire, when as a child Sir Charles saw the Prince Imperial drilling the cadets, to the upheaval in Italy of 1921. He

visited Hanover when "almost everybody's father or grandfather had earned the Waterloo medal" and feeling for England was still strong.

The John Rylands Library has reproduced in exact facsimile an interesting example of the rogue literature of the early seventeenth century of which it possesses the sole copy. The title is *Ratseis Ghost, or the Second Part of his Madde Prankes and Robberies*. Ratsey, it may be recalled, was a noted highwayman, who appropriately closed his career on the gallows in March, 1605. The introduction to the facsimile is by H. B. Charlton.

According to the *Eleventh Annual Report* of the Institute of Historical Research, University of London, no fewer than twenty-five Americans, scheduled as historians, archivists, or university teachers, were admitted during the past year. The number was ninety-one, if students were included. Harvard was represented by eight, Columbia by six, and Bryn Mawr and Mount Holyoke by four each. The *Theses Supplement, Number I.* of the February *Bulletin* is in two parts, containing particulars of historical theses completed and of theses in progress. The latter is an innovation suggested by the Anglo-American Historical Committee.

To the valuable University of London Intermediate Source-Books of History has been added number VIII., which deals with *England under Elizabeth, 1558-1603* (Longmans, Green, pp. xxv, 264, \$3.20). The range of selection is wide. The introduction includes an extended descriptive Note on the Sources, followed by a Select List of Modern Works.

Sir Julian S. Corbett's *The Successors of Drake* (New York, Longmans, Green, 1933, pp. x, 466, \$1.75), of which the first edition appeared in 1900, has been reissued for the third time. It is a sequel to his *Drake and the Tudor Navy*.

Great Britain from Adam Smith to the Present Day, an Economic Survey (Longmans, Green, pp. xii, 482, \$3.20), by C. R. Fay, reader in Economic history at the University of Cambridge, has reached a third edition. It was originally published in 1928. There is a supplementary section bringing the account to 1932, and a bibliographical description of the contributions to the subject which appeared in the years 1928-1932.

The name of the author of *A Hundred Years of Quarter Sessions*, mentioned in the April number of this journal, should have been E. G. Dowdell, lecturer in economics at St. John's College, Oxford.

H. W. Saunders in *A History of the Norwich Grammar School* (Jarrold and Son, Norwich) adds another to a useful list of histories of the older English schools. For seven hundred years this school has played a part in education in its region.

Rhodes, by Sarah Gertrude Millin (Chatto and Windus), is a discriminating essay on the empire builder by one with intimate knowledge and understanding.

Spenser Wilkinson, the distinguished English writer on military problems and history, has published his memoirs under the title of *Thirty-Five Years, 1874-1909* (London, Constable). He was not a professional soldier and what prompted his studies of the art of war was the chance discovery, while spending an Oxford vacation on the Continent, that the "British Army was insignificant in comparison with those of the Great Powers of Europe". How he could have lived until Oxford days without realizing that fact is a mystery. At all events, he then determined to get at the bottom of the subject, not only of the technique and the strategy of military operations, but the relation of these things to national and imperial policy. So eminent were his attainments that upon the occasion of a visit to India he was consulted by no less a personage than Lord Roberts even upon tactical questions. His point of view makes his memoirs exceptionally illuminating.

Under a misleading title, *The British Way in Warfare*, Captain Liddell Hart has gathered in a single volume a variety of papers on military topics (New York, Macmillan Company, 1933). A first group (Part I.) discusses the conduct of various wars in the past from the standpoint of certain military theories—and in a rather controversial spirit. The rest of the volume deals more objectively with the development of European armies since 1918, and offers the general reader an interesting summary of new tactical ideas as well as the newer types of *matériel*.
T. H. T.

The new volume of the British *History of the Great War* is entitled *Military Operations in Macedonia* (H. M. Stationery Office, 1933, 12s 6d; case of maps 5s 6d). The author is Captain Cyril Falls, and the maps were prepared by Major A. F. Becke. This volume carries operations to the spring of 1917. A second volume will complete the treatment.

Recent publications by H. M. Stationery Office are: *Register of Edward the Black Prince*, pt. IV., 1351-1365; *Calendar of Close Rolls, Henry V.*, vol. II., 1419-1422; *Calendar of State Papers*, Domestic series, Jan. 1 to June 30, 1683, edited by F. Blackburne Daniell; *Calendar of State Papers*, Domestic series, William III., Jan. 1 to Dec. 31, 1698, edited by Edward Bateson; *Public Record Office: Lists and Indexes*, no. LII., *List of Early Chancery Proceedings*, vol. IX.

Other books of interest are: *The London Weavers' Company*, vol. I. (Clarendon Press), by Frances Consitt [dealing with the struggle of the weavers in the Middle Ages to retain their privileges, and incidentally with the life of London in which they shared]; *Registrum Cancellarii Oxoniensis*,

1434-1469, 2 vols. (Oxford Historical Society), by H. E. Salter; *The Place-Names of Northamptonshire* (Cambridge University Press), by J. E. B. Gover, A. Mawer, and F. M. Stenton; *Granville the Polite: the Life of George Granville, Lord Lansdowne* (Oxford University Press), by Elizabeth Handasyde; *The Industrial Revolution in North Wales* (University of Wales Press Board), by A. H. Dodd.

Articles: John Richard Green [apropos of the fiftieth anniversary of his death] (The Times Lit. Suppl., Mar. 9); Ruby Davis, *Bedé's Early Reading* (Speculum, Apr.); J. S. P. Tatlock, *The Dragons of Wessex and Wales* (*ibid.*); Paul Fournier, *Note sur les Anciennes Collections Canoniques Conservées en Angleterre* (Rev. Hist. de Droit Franç. et Étrang., Jan.); R. R. Darlington, *Æthelwig, Abbot of Evesham* [II.] (Eng. Hist. Rev., Apr.); Geoffrey Baskerville, *Married Clergy and Pensioned Religious in Norwich Diocese* [II.] (*ibid.*, Apr.); E. M. Carus-Wilson, *The Origins and Early Development of the Merchant Adventurers' Organization in London as shown in their own Mediaeval Records* (Ec. Hist. Rev., Apr.); R. Stewart-Brown, *The 'Jury Book' of the County Court of Chester* (Eng. Hist. Rev., Apr.); H. Rothwell, *The Disgrace of Richard of Louth, 1297* (*ibid.*); Hilda Johnstone, *The Eccentricities of Edward II.* (*ibid.*); H. G. Richardson, *Lettres of the Legate Guala* (*ibid.*); William E. Morris, *The Beginnings of the House of Commons* (Pacific Hist. Rev., Mar.); A. F. Pollard, *Sir Thomas More's "Richard III."* (History, Jan.); C. Camden, jr., *Astrology in Shakespeare's Day* (Isis, Apr.); J. R. Crompton, *Catteshill and another Usher Serjeanty in the Purcel Family* (Bull. Inst. Hist. Research, Feb.); John W. Nef, *Richard Carmarden's "A Caveat for the Quene", 1570* (Jour. of Pol. Ec., Feb.); G. E. Fussell and V. G. B. Atwater, *Travel and Topography in Seventeenth Century England* (Trans. of the Bibl. Soc., Dec.); William M. Clyde, *Parliament and the Press, 1643-1647* (*ibid.*); John W. Fortescue, *A Side Show of the Eighteenth Century* (Blackwoods, Mar.); Bertha-M. Stearns, *Early English Periodicals for Ladies* (Pub. of the Mod. Lang. Ass., Mar.); Lord Ernle, *School and College Sixty Years Since* (Quar. Rev., Apr.); John Gore, *Thomas Creevy Reconsidered* (*ibid.*); C. D. Dudley, *Cobham's Cubs* (Notes and Queries, Apr. 15); W. A. Sanderson, *The Alienation of the Melbourne Parks* (Victorian Hist. Mag., Dec.); Gerald Byrne, *Early Days of the Mornington Peninsula* (*ibid.*).

Documents: E. Pole Stuart, ed., *A Letter from the Constable of Bordeaux to Edward II.'s Cofferer* (Bull. Inst. Hist. Research, Feb.); Lleyrn Ministers' *Accounts, 1350-51* (Bull. of the Board of Celtic Studies, Nov.); Curtis Nettels, *British Payments in the American Colonies, 1685-1715* (Eng. Hist. Rev., Apr.).

FRANCE

General review: Albert Pingaud, *Les Livres d'Histoire: Autour de Napoléon* (Rev. des D. M., Mar. 1); M. M. Knight, *French Colonial Policy—the Decline of 'Association'* (Jour. Mod. Hist., June).

Vol. IV. of the *Répertoire Bibliographique de l'Histoire de France* (Paris, Rieder, pp. 480, 100 fr.), by Pierre Caron and Henri Stein, covers the years 1926 and 1927.

Something has already been said [*A. H. R.*, XXXIV. 575] about the character of the new edition of *La Chronique de Philippe de Vigneules*, of which the second volume, *De l'An 1325 à l'An 1473* (Metz, Société d'Histoire et d'Archéologie de la Lorraine, 1929, pp. 424), has now appeared, also edited by Charles Bruneau, of the University of Nancy. Since the second volume carries us only two years beyond the date of Philippe's birth, we cannot yet expect the interpretation of contemporary affairs, European and local, which he embodied first in his *Journal* and then in more finished form in the last fifty years of his *Chronique* (1474–1525). With the general chronicles which were his earlier sources we are already familiar, but we are less so with accounts of Metz and its environs. Under date of 1464 Philippe tells us that the greater part of what happened in the city up to that year he found narrated by a priest of St. Euchaïre; touching what happened afterward until 1500 he had before him the "mémoire" of an eloquent fellow-citizen, Jehan Abrion (II. 350). Abrion has been edited and Philippe appears to have followed him closely; but it is not clear that the work of the priest survives in its original form. If not, items of local history not otherwise recorded are preserved in Philippe's second volume.

Among the most significant of these is the account of the "mutinerie" and "Jacquerie" of the lower classes of Metz against the "seigneurie" in 1406. Some of the latter were imprisoned, some fled from the town, one seignior was beheaded. For a year and five weeks the rebels ruled the city. The seigniors, recovering it, merely imprisoned at first but finally tossed 36 *des plus mauvais* from the bridge into the river. Meanwhile the townsmen had suffered defeat at the hands of four great lords of the neighborhood, the result "of the bad government of these *Jaïcques* who wished to do everything yet knew nothing". Other episodes of town life render the *Chronique* a microcosm of the age.

H. L. G.

Newly Discovered French Letters of the Seventeenth, Eighteenth, and Nineteenth Centuries (Harvard University Press, 1933, pp. xvi, 288, \$3.00) is vol. IX. of the Harvard Studies in Romance Languages. The collector and editor is Richmond Laurin Hawkins, associate professor of French in Harvard University. Of the whole number, 120, fifty-one have never been

printed before. The others have been printed for the editor in such widely distributed journals as to limit their practical availability. Among the earlier letters is one written to Benjamin Franklin by Marat concerning some experiments in electricity. To the historian probably the most interesting group is made up of nineteen letters from Alexis de Tocqueville to Theodore Sedgwick during the last years of Tocqueville's life, when he was engaged upon his work dealing with the Old Régime and the Revolution.

Sully: sa Vie et son Œuvre, by Henri Carré, is a clear, well-organized biography based especially on the mass of documents left by Sully himself (Paris, Payot, pp. 400, 32 fr.).

Vol. X. of the *Mémoires de Richelieu* (Paris, Champion, pp. 461, 40 fr.), edited by R. Lavollée, reaches the close of 1629. Some interesting light is thrown upon the relations of Richelieu and Cardinal de Bérulle. The volume deals for the most part with foreign affairs. An appendix contains extracts of letters written by Cardinal de Bérulle, copied for Richelieu.

The Société de l'Histoire de l'Inde Française has recently published the *Journal de Bussy, Commandant Général des Forces de Terre et de Mer dans l'Inde, 13 Novembre, 1781-31 Mars, 1783*, edited by A. Martineau (Paris, Leroux, 1933, pp. xxvi, 304, 20 fr.).

The reader of Henry de Jouvenel's *Huit Cents Ans de Révolution Française* (Paris, Hachette, pp. 256, 12 fr.) may not altogether accept the view of French history implied in the title of the volume, but he will be repeatedly delighted and stimulated by the illuminating interpretations of men and of events. The book belongs to the series *L'Ancienne France*.

In former days it was the practice to refer with mixed amusement and contempt to the paper money ventures of the French Revolutionary assemblies, but the fate which befell the mark and the franc in 1923 and 1924 has lessened the amount of humor to be discovered in the situation in France during the last year of the Convention and the first years of the Directory. Now that the dollar is beginning to wobble on, or off, its base former experiments with paper are more likely to awaken fear than amusement. Not a few are alarmed that bonds, government ones included, are to be paid in printing press money, whatever the contract may have specified. This happened during the French Revolution, and many debtors paid their creditors in depreciated assignats. But at least one banking house, belonging to heirs of Claude Périer, according to M. François Vermales (*Les Dettes Privées sous la Révolution, An. Hist. de la Rev. Fr.*, Mar.), reimbursed these unfortunate creditors in gold when the storm had passed and the bankers had reestablished their fortune.

Students of the French Revolution are much indebted to Miss Beatrice

F. Hyslop for the publication of the *Répertoire Critique des Cahiers de Doléances pour les États Généraux de 1789* (Paris, Ernest Leroux, 1933, pp. 669). It belongs to the great Collection des Documents Inédits. The material was assembled in response to a circular letter sent to the French learned societies by the ministry of public instruction. When it became necessary to choose a compiler, Miss Hyslop, although a foreigner, was selected, as M. Camille Bloch explains, because of her exceptional knowledge of everything that concerns the convocation of the states general of 1789. "Son nom", he added, "s'est en quelque sorte imposé", a rare compliment. Under the head of each bailiwick or seneschalate, principal or secondary, is given the location of the manuscripts of the electoral record and of the cahiers. If these are printed, the bibliographical details are furnished. The introduction, in addition to a description of the electoral process, contains three finding lists of the various circumscriptions in order to facilitate the use of the main work. One of these lists gives the relations of the older circumscriptions to the present departments. At the end of the volume is an alphabetical list of all towns and parishes mentioned.

To the Nouvelle Bibliothèque d'Histoire Révolutionnaire, founded by the late Albert Mathiez, has recently been added a volume entitled *L'Éclairage de Paris à l'Époque Révolutionnaire* (Paris, Mellottée, 1933, pp. 300, 30 fr.), of which the author is Colonel Herlaut.

Additional intimate information concerning Napoleon II., especially during his last three years, has been discovered by Baron Jean de Bourgoing, in the private archives of the families of Counts Dietrichstein, Esterhazy, and Prokesch, and Baron Obenaus, who were closely associated with him. After editing *Papiers Intimes et Journal du Duc de Reichstadt* (Paris, Payot, 1930), the baron has more recently incorporated further documents from these sources in *Le Fils de Napoléon, Roi de Rome, Prince de Parme, Duc de Reichstadt, 20 Mars 1811-22 Juillet 1832* (Paris, Payot, pp. 389, 36 fr.). While Baron de Bourgoing has made his chief contribution in the discovery and exposition of new documentary materials, Octave Aubry, in *Le Roi de Rome* (Paris, Fayard, pp. 468, 16 fr. 50; English trans., by Elisabeth Abbott, Philadelphia, Lippincott, pp. 273, \$3.50) has undertaken to elucidate the character and personal experiences of the duke, and to examine his relations with each of the limited group of persons closely associated with his career. Both writers are Bonapartists, already known for their contributions to Napoleonic history. These two centenary works neatly supplement one another, but the historian will still find Eduard von Wertheimer's *Der Herzog von Reichstadt* (1902, English trans., 1905) the indispensable basic work with the fullest consideration of political and diplomatic factors. Thanks to his literary skill, M. Aubry has produced a volume which has probably been more read than all the other lives of Napoleon II. combined.

G. M. D.

In the edition of Chateaubriand's *Les Natchez* (Johns Hopkins Press, pp. 538), Professor Gilbert Chinard—with the assistance of a number of his students—has made an important contribution to the understanding of one of the most significant literary works of the early nineteenth century. The introduction discusses the history of the manuscript, and its sources, composition, and style. The elaborate notes to the text are full of interesting material on the intellectual history of the seventeenth, eighteenth, and early nineteenth centuries.

F. B. A.

Articles: Gaston Dodu, *Fustel de Coulanges* (Rev. des Études Hist., Jan.); Alfred de Curzon, *Alliances d'Autrefois: "The Auld Alliance" entre la France et l'Écosse [1165-1783]* (N. Rev., Mar. 1); L. Detrez, *Une Héroïne du XIV^e Siècle et l'État Civil d'un Vieux Français* (Rev. des Études Hist., Jan.); G. Dupont-Ferrier, *Les Institutions Françaises du Moyen Age vues à travers les Institutions de l'Antiquité Romaine* (Rev. Hist., Mar.); Adair G. Williams, *The Abjuration of Henry of Navarre* (Jour. Mod. Hist., June); Lucien Febvre, *Une Gigantesque Fausse Nouvelle: la Grande Peur de Juillet '89* [apropos of a recent book by Georges Lefebvre] (Rev. de Synthèse, Feb.); Pierre Caron, *Le Fonds du Comité de Sûreté Générale* [at the Archives Nationales] (Rev. Fr., Jan.); Georges Lefebvre, *La Révolution Française et les Paysans* (An. Hist. de la Rév. Fr., Mar.); Jacques Godechot, *Les Insurrections Militaires sous le Directoire* (*ibid.*); Carl Ludwig Lokke, *Pourquoi Talleyrand ne fut pas envoyé à Constantinople* (*ibid.*); E. l'Hommedé, *Les Sénatoreries: Contribution à leur Histoire* (Rev. des Études Hist., Jan.); Louis Jean Adher, *Les Élections à la Chambre des Représentants, Mai 1815* (Rev. Fr., Jan.); Émile Dard, *Les Souvenirs Napoléoniens en Yougoslavie* (Rev. d'Hist. Diplomatique, Jan.); Victor Giraud, *La Vie Tragique de Lamennais [I.-III., to be cont'd]* (Rev. des D. M., Mar. 15, Apr. 1, May 1); Ernest Hauviller, *La Politique de Mgr. Le Pape de Trévern* (Rev. Hist., Mar.); Jean-Marcel Jeanneney, *Les Disciples de Fourier et la Révolution de 1848* (Rev. des Sci. Pol., Jan.); A. Lajusan, *A. Thiers et la Fondation de la République, 1871-1877* (Rev. d'Hist. Mod., Nov., Jan.).

Documents: Pierre de Caraman, ed., *Coup d'Œil sur la France d'il y a Cent Cinquante Ans: Réflexions d'un Témoin* [extracts from the journal of Maurice de Riquet, Comte de Caraman, for the year 1782] (Rev. de Paris, Apr. 15); Georges Lefebvre, ed., *Documents sur la Grande Peur: Clermontois, Valois et Soissonnais* (An. Hist. de la Rév. Fr., Mar.); Pierre Caron, ed., *Lettres de Moreau, Député de Saône-et-Loire, à la Société Populaire de Chalon-sur-Saône, 11 Octobre, 1792-4 Juin, 1793* (Rev. Fr., Jan.); Marcel Blanchard, ed., *Le Journal de Michel Chevalier* [from March 15, 1855, to July 18, 1869] (Rev. Hist., Jan.); Prince Sixte de Bourbon, ed., *Voyage à Rome en 1839* [from the journal of the Comte de Chambord] (Rev. de Paris, May 1).

GERMANY, SWITZERLAND, AND CENTRAL EUROPE

General review: Robert Friedmann, *Ueber Thomas Müntzer* (Mitteil. des Oesterr. Inst. für Geschichtsf., XLVII. 1); Joseph Šusta, *Histoire de Tchécoslovaquie, 1925-1930* [I.] (Rev. Hist., Jan.).

Die Kreuzherren in den Rheinlanden by Robert Haass is a doctoral dissertation of Bonn University, dealing with the order of crusading canons from the thirteenth to the seventeenth century (Bonn, Röhrscheid, pp. xi, 243, 8.50 M.).

A contribution to the history of German law has been made by Wolfgang Schnellbögl's monograph, *Die Innere Entwicklung der Bayerischen Landfrieden des 13. Jahrhunderts* (Heidelberg, Winter, pp. 366, 18.50 M.). It forms Part 2 of vol. XIII. in the series *Deutschrechtl. Beiträge*, edited by K. Beyerle.

Vol. XII. of the *Mitteilungen* of the *Verein* for the history of Vienna embodies three articles: *Der Mittelalterliche Bau des Domes zu St. Pölten*, by Richard Kurt Donin; *Der Wiener und Kremser Judeneid*, by Dr. Hans Voltelini; and *Zur Geschichte der Musik am Hofe Kaiser Maximilians I.*, by Dr. Leopold Nowak. The article by Herr Donin is illustrated with many plates.

J. B. Peltz, bishop of Metz, completes his *Études sur la Cathédrale de Metz* by a second volume, containing *Documents et Notes relatifs aux Années 1790 à 1930* (Metz, Le Lorrain, pp. xii, 437).

A monumental *Geschichte des Grossherzogtums Würzburg, 1806-1814*, is planned by Anton Chroust. The first volume deals with the foreign policy of this ephemeral state (Würzburg, Becker, pp. xiv, 617).

Vol. III. of the great official publication of Freiherr vom Stein's *Briefwechsel, Denkschriften und Aufzeichnungen*, edited by Erich Botzenhart (Berlin, Heymann, pp. xx, 717, 25 M.), has rapidly followed vol. I. Vol. II. is temporarily delayed.

The collection entitled *Quellen und Darstellungen zur Geschichte der Burschenschaft und der Deutschen Einheitsbewegung*, edited by Herman Haupt and Paul Wentzcke (Heidelberg, Winter), throws light upon the question whether the developments in Germany are a natural expression of the spirit of German youth at a time of national crisis. Vol. XIII. has been reached.

Professor Otto Hoetzsch's *La Politique Extérieure de l'Allemagne de 1871 à 1914* (Geneva, Institut Universitaire de Hautes Études Internationales, 1933, pp. 87, 6 fr.), in its tone of candor and reasonableness and its command of the documentary material, reminds the reader of Professor Erich Brandenburg's *Von Bismarck zum Weltkrieg*. Professor Hoetzsch is also able to draw upon his own recollections as a member of the German national party in the Reichstag. He remarks that he knew Tirpitz very

well, having been seated beside him there for years. Professor Hoetzsch's admiration of Bismarck as a great peace statesman is unqualified, and he has used the first six volumes of the *Grosse Politik* as a textbook of diplomacy in training candidates for the diplomatic service. He appears to think, however, that the old emperor, William I., was better advised than Bismarck upon the question of the Austrian alliance. He believes too that William II., whatever his other faults, was more perspicacious than his advisers in regard to the dangers of encirclement after 1890. Another essay in the same series is Henry Wickham Steed's *The Antecedents of Post-War Europe* (1932, pp. 123, 7 fr.), which is mainly a defense of the peace settlement.

Vol. XV. of the edition of Bismarck's complete works is a critical edition of *Erinnerung und Gedanke* [Gedanken und Erinnerungen] (Berlin, Deutsche Verlagsgesellschaft, pp. xxxix, 706, 27 M.), by Gerhard Ritter and Rudolph Stadelmann. Professor Ritter's introduction explains the genesis and growth of the work from the account which Herbert Bismarck wrote under the immediate impression of his father's dismissal, through Bismarck's dictations to Lothar Bucher to the final form after emendations and omissions. Incidentally a work projected as an instrument of combat became a volume of memoirs. This edition throws light upon many questions, especially upon the much discussed *Staatsstreichpläne* of Bismarck.

Though the constitution of the German republic has been studied several times, there has hitherto been no systematic narrative of the Weimar Assembly itself. This lacuna has been filled by Wilhelm Ziegler's *Die Deutsche Nationalversammlung 1919-1920 und ihr Verfassungswerk* (Berlin, Zentralverlag, pp. 372, 10 M.).

Under the title *Hunger*, General Landwehr, former chairman of the Austro-Hungarian committee in charge of the food supply from 1917 to 1918, has given an authoritative account of the tragic plight of the Dual Monarchy during the last half of the World War (Vienna, Amalthea-Verlag, pp. 323, 3 M.).

Articles: Ferdinand Güterbock, *Barbarossas Privileg für das Herzogtum Oesterreich: eine Methodologische und Fachwissenschaftliche Auseinandersetzung* (Hist. Zeitsch., Feb. 28); Hans von Greyerz, *Der Jetzerprozess und die Humanisten* [trial of Bernese monks for fraudulent miracles, 1507-1509] (Archiv des Hist. Vereins des Kantons Bern, XXXI. 2); Karl Schwarber, *Schweizerische Einflüsse auf die Entwicklung des Deutschen Patriotismus im 18. Jahrhundert: Isaak Iselin zum 150. Todestag* (Basler Zeitsch. für Gesch. und Altertums., XXXI.); Konrad Schünemann, *Die Wirtschaftspolitik Josephs II. in der Zeit seiner Mitregentschaft* (Mitteil. des Oesterr. Inst. für Geschichtsf., XLVII. 1); Gerhard Masur, *Naturrecht*

und Kirche: Studien zur Evangelischen Kirchenverfassung Deutschlands im 18. Jahrhundert (Hist. Zeitsch., Apr. 22); Gerhard Ritter, *Vom jungen Stein* (*ibid.*); Kurt von Raumer, *Zur Deutschen Revolution von 1848* (*ibid.*); Robert R. Ergang, *Möser and the Rise of National Thought in Germany* (Jour. Mod. Hist., June); Wilhelm Groener, *Zum Hundertsten Geburtstag des Grafen Schlieffen* (Berl. Monatsh., Mar.); Friedrich Thimme, *Fürst Bülow und Graf Monts: ein Vervollständigter Briefwechsel* [I., concl., 1891-1895] (Preuss. Jahrb., Mar., Apr.); Ludwig Herz, *Rätsel um Fritz von Holstein: Glossen zu seinen Briefen an Ida von Stülpnagel* (*ibid.*, Feb.); Erich Otto Volkmann, *Probleme um den 9. November* [based on Eugen Fischer-Baling's *Volksgericht*] (*ibid.*); Wilhelm Groener, *German Military Power since Versailles* (Foreign Affairs, Apr.).

Documents: Eduard His, ed., *Briefwechsel zwischen Philipp Anton v. Segesser und Andreas Heusler-Ryhiner, 1842-1867* [126 letters between two conservative public men, Segesser of Lucerne, Heusler, editor of influential *Basler Zeitung* during a stormy political period in Switzerland] (Basler Zeitsch. für Gesch. und Altertums., XXXI.).

E. N. C.

ITALY

General review: Augustin Renaudin, *et al.*, *Bibliographie des Travaux relatifs à l'Histoire Moderne de l'Italie* (Rev. d'Hist. Mod., Jan.); Gennaro Mondaini, *La Battaglia di Adua* [March 1, 1896] (N. Riv. Stor., Nov.).

A group of studies in the imperial administration centered at Pavia during the eleventh century has been made by Arrigo Solmi. The financial arrangements with which he is chiefly concerned throw light on legal and economic matters, notably the commercial relations between Italy and central Europe and between Italy and the Orient. The book is entitled *L'Amministrazione Finanziaria del Regno Italico nell' Alto Medioevo; col Testo delle "Honorantie Civitatis Papie" e con una Appendice di XVIII. Documenti* (Pavia, Biblioteca della Società Pavese di Storia Patria, pp. xvi, 287, 20 l.).

Professor Alain de Bôuard has thrown valuable light on Angevin rule in Sicily by a collection entitled *Documents en Français des Archives Angevines de Naples, Règne de Charles I^{er}* (Paris, Boccard, pp. 210, 25 fr.).

Luigi Dal Pane has published the first volume of a work on *La Questione del Commercio dei Grani nel Settecento in Italia*, with special reference to the reforms of Pietro Leopoldo (Milan, Editr. Vita e Pensiero).

Two new studies of the non-political activities of Cavour have been made by V. Guli, *Il Piemonte e la Politica Economica del Cavour* (Naples, I. T. E. A., pp. 270) and A. Fossati, *Il Pensiero e la Politica Sociale di C. Cavour* (Turin, Feder. Fasc. del Commercio, pp. 163).

Articles: Walter Lenel, *Zur Forschung über die Frühzeit von Florenz* (Hist. Zeitsch., Feb. 28); C. M. Ady, *The Character of an Italian Rural Commune, 1488* (Eng. Hist. Rev., Apr.); Lorenzo Mina, *Scritte, Motti ed Aforismi su Porte e Muri di Edifizii Sacri e Profani e su Oggetti in Casale Monferrato ed in Alessandria e Provincia* (Riv. di Stor., Arte e Arch. per la Prov. di Alessandria, Oct.); E. Chinea, *Dalle Antichi Botteghe d'Arti e Mestieri alle Prime Scuole Industriali e Commerciali in Lombardia* (Arch. Stor. Lombardo, Mar.); Enzo Maganuco, *Lineamenti e Motivi di Storia dell'Arte Siciliana* (Arch. Stor. per la Sicilia Orient., XXVIII. 2); Stefano Bottari, *La Genesi dell'Architettura Siciliana del Periodo Normanno* (*ibid.*); Albert Pingaud, *Le Premier Royaume d'Italie: l'Œuvre Sociale* (Rev. d'Hist. Diplomatique, Jan.); Alessandro Guiccioli, *Nuove Pagine del "Diario Inedito", 1850-1863* [I-IV., to be cont'd] (N. Antol., Mar. 16, Apr. 1, 16, May 1); Stefano Jacini, *La Question Romaine et la Convention de Septembre, 1860-1870* (Rev. d'Hist. Diplomatique, Jan.); Edmondo Cione, *Gli Eccidii Torinesi e De Sanctis Giornalista* [with extracts from letters and newspapers, September, 1864] (N. Riv. Stor., Nov.); Howard E. Jensen, *Fascism after Ten Years* (South Atlantic Quar., Apr.).

E. N. C.

NORTHERN EUROPE

The publication of the Danish sources for the history of the problem of North Schleswig for the years following the Dano-German war has now reached its third volume (*Det Nordslesvigske Spørgsmaal, 1864-1879*, III., Copenhagen, Koppel). The undertaking was planned by the editor, Aage Friis, and will be completed in five volumes. To these will be added a supplementary volume composed chiefly of documents antedating 1864. This will again be followed by a second series running into several volumes and made up of materials on the same problem but drawn from the great European archives outside Denmark.

An earlier phase of the same problem and its dynastic complications is the subject of a treatise by Otto Brandt, who has centered his research in the activities of the German-Russian diplomat, Caspar von Saldern (*Caspar von Saldern und die Nordeuropäische Politik im Zeitalter Katharinas II.*, Erlangen, pp. xviii, 301).

Christian Koren Wiberg, director of the Hanseatic Museum in Bergen, has published a volume on the social life in a city dominated by the merchants of Lübeck (*Hanseaterne og Bergen*, Grieg). The author holds that the reported social hostility between the natives and the alien merchants finds no support in the sources.

La Russie Moscovite, par S. F. Platonov (Paris, Boccard, pp. xii, 249) belongs to the series entitled *Histoire du Monde*, edited by E. Cavaignac.

It is the translation of a section of Platonov's larger work, which was translated into German six years ago.

Gwyn Jones, Some characteristics of the Icelandic '*Hólmanga*' (Jour. Eng. and Germ. Philol., Apr.), collates the evidence about this custom and takes sharp issue with Koht's denial that there ever was such a thing as *holmgang*. G. C. B.

Articles: Ingvar Andersson, *Erik XIV. och Lothringen* (Scandia, 1933, 1); Vilhelm la Cour, *Det Gamle Hedeby* (Tilskueren, Mar.); P. Munch, *Le Paysan Danois* (Rev. Hist., Jan.); W. Petzsch, *Die Neuen Ausgrabungen in Haithabu und die Beziehungen der Wikinger zu den Ländern südlich der Ostsee* (Nord. Rundschau, 1932, 3); Lauritz Weibull, *Gustaf II. Adolf och Kardinal Richelieu* (Scandia, 1933, 1).

L. M. L.

THE FAR EAST

General review: K. Asakawa, *La Place de la Religion dans l'Histoire Économique et Sociale du Japon* (An. d'Hist. Éc. et Soc., Mar.).

In the volume of the well-known Japanese correspondent K. K. Kawakami, which is entitled *Manchoukuo, Child of Conflict* (Macmillan, 1933, pp. viii, 311, \$2.00) certain points of view of unusual interest are presented, especially in the first chapter, The Storm Gathers. Here three elements are emphasized: The growing resentment of the army at reductions in its strength consequent upon the peace policies pursued since the close of the World War, the fears of the rural population, rapidly expanding and therefore driven more and more into marginal lands, and the increasing contempt on the part of the Chinese for all treaty obligations. It is the first of these elements that is not often pointed out. Evidently both the army and the navy have felt that their traditional veto power in the case of all decisions affecting the national defense has been ignored in the various disarmament agreements, and they were prepared to reassert themselves upon the first adequate opportunity. This came in September, 1931, and suddenly the whole scene changed. Other chapters deal with the new Manchoukuo government, its foreign relations and its ruler, the opium question, and the Open Door.

The World Peace Foundation of Boston has published under the title of *The Verdict of the League: China and Japan in Manchuria* the official documents together with an introduction and notes by Professor Manley O. Hudson, of the Harvard Law School.

Article: K. K. Kawakami, *Prince Ito's Confidential Papers* [apropos of a collection printed in Tokyo in 1931] (Foreign Affairs, Apr.).

UNITED STATES

GENERAL

General review: H. Hale Bellot, *The Mainland Colonies in the Eighteenth Century* (History, Jan.).

Among recent accessions to the Division of Manuscripts in the Library of Congress the following may be noted: reproductions of eleven letters of Lafayette, 1779-1834; typewritten copy of diary of John Brown of Lewistown, Pa., 1794-1795; "Notes of Travel from the Diary of the late Isaac Draper, jr., M. D., Surgeon in the Service of His Majesty the Emperor of Russia at the Siege of Sevastopol", 1853-1855; papers of Anna Dickinson (five trunks); papers of Thomas F. Bayard, 1866-1897 (six large chests); papers of General Charles W. LeGendre (fifty manuscript volumes); papers of Louis F. Post, 1880-1922 (115 pieces); papers of Charles M. Dickinson, 1886-1924 (100 pieces); additional papers of William Howard Taft (several thousands); additional papers of American negroes (five hundred pieces).

The Library of Congress has issued volume III. of the *Records of the Virginia Company of London* (Government Printing Office, pp. xx, 769) edited by Professor Susan M. Kingsbury of Bryn Mawr College, and supplementing the two volumes of the Company's Court Book, published in 1906, by the publication in similar form of 273 related documents, 1607-1622. Volume IV. is in the printing office. Volume XXVIII. of the *Journals of the Continental Congress*, covering the first half of the year 1785, has also been issued. Volume XXIX., completing that year, is on the point of publication. Volumes XXX. and XXXI., covering 1786, are in page-proof but waiting the completion of their index.

The publication of the first three volumes of the Territorial Papers of the United States, which it was expected would be issued by the Department of State in the early autumn, has been postponed by reason of the economy measures of the government. The volumes in question, which include a preliminary short print introductory to the series, and papers concerning the Northwest Territory, will be held in type until such times as funds will again be made available. Copy for volumes embodying the official papers of the Southwest, Mississippi and Indiana territories are also withheld pending the passage of new appropriations by Congress. In the meantime the Department of State is carrying forward the preparation of copy for other volumes.

The Division of Historical Research in the Carnegie Institution of Washington has in the printers' hands the sixth volume of the *Correspondance of Andrew Jackson*, covering the period from 1839 to 1845, and including also a selection of nearly a hundred letters of various earlier periods, from the additional Jackson manuscripts recently acquired by the Library of Congress.

A seventh volume, to be produced later, will provide a general index to the whole series.

The American Institute of Architects has appointed a committee under the chairmanship of Dr. Leicester B. Holland, of the Division of Fine Arts of the Library of Congress, with the purpose of preserving buildings of architectural importance or of great historical interest. The first step is to constitute a national list of such buildings. England and France have such lists, and the buildings are safeguarded by law from demolition or even alteration. Dr. Holland deprecates the practice of museums of removing typical interiors from old buildings and installing them as exhibits in the museums themselves.

The Department of History of Yale University will publish shortly the second volume of *The Correspondence of General Thomas Gage with the Secretaries of State and with the War Office and the Treasury, 1763 to 1775*. The editor is Dr. Clarence E. Carter.

The Naval War College has issued another volume of *International Law Situations, with Solutions and Notes*, by Professor George G. Wilson. This is the series for 1931. *A General Index to International Law Situations*, volumes I. to XXX., 1901-1930), has also been published (Washington, Government Printing Office).

The one volume edition of *The Rise of American Civilization* (Macmillan, 1933, pp. 824, 865, \$3.50), by Charles and Mary Beard, has been revised and enlarged. The principal addition is chapter XXX. with the suggestive title of The Mirage Dissolves. In reading it one experiences again the keen intellectual pleasure, attended by mixed emotions of another sort, which *Only Yesterday* produced. This chapter begins where that book left off. The philosophical outlook is broader. The wit is sparkling, although the humor is at times caustic. In such a mood, in another passage, the authors play with the efforts of the learned to explain the phenomena of the depression. Even the historians, among whom the authors are themselves numbered, do not escape the shafts. The historians, it is remarked, "were supposed to know something about the 'laws of historical development' and possess some insight into crises and revolutions, but if any among them felt an urge to illuminate the heavens by kindling some oil from Clio's lamp, he suppressed it before publication day".

The volume entitled *Revolution: 1776*, by John Hyde Preston (Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1933, pp. 440) covers the years 1768-1783, with its chief emphasis upon the more spectacular aspects of the American Revolution. The author, after providing what is in some respects a very superficial account of the preliminaries of the main contest, seldom refers more than casually to important events outside the immediate area of physical combat. The descriptions of military and naval operations are better done; but the author's numerous criticisms of strategy are not always convincing. As for many of the

greater and lesser individuals of the period, their personal appearance, drinking, cursing, and love-making receive a generous amount of space. The book, throughout, is intimate in content, and is abundantly expressive of Mr. Preston's desire to shatter illusions created by "those fantastic fairy-tales we call textbooks" (p. 77). An impressive critical bibliography and a satisfactory index have been included, but no footnotes. R. W. I.

The late Professor Thomas Francis Moran's volume on *American Presidents, their Individualities and their Contributions to American Progress* (Crowell, 1933, pp. xii, 318, \$2.50) has reached a fifth edition, with revisions by Professor Louis Martin Sears, who has added a few brief pages on Mr. Hoover and Mr. Roosevelt.

The title of Hamilton Basso's *Beauregard, the Great Creole* (Scribner's 1933, pp. xiv, 327, \$3.50) suggests a familiar device of the new biography, but this nickname has a different origin; it comes from the toast given him on April 24, 1861, at Charleston, "To the Great Creole", who had forced the surrender of Sumter. The author's aim is at once to interpret the somewhat peculiar temperament of the man and to recreate the atmosphere of the time and place in which he lived. Mr. Basso has used good sources, for he has had access to the Beauregard papers in New Orleans and to other original letters and diaries. He has also drawn upon the New Orleans newspapers of the day. His list of secondary material is rather miscellaneous, and contains no military history of weight. It must be conceded that he tells his story well, for it is a story rather than a full-length biography. At times his narrative is marred by phrases of bitter hatred and contempt for the Northern soldier, although he disclaims holding the view prevalent in the South at the opening of the struggle. As to Beauregard, the author feels that he was deprived by President Davis's shortsightedness of adequate opportunity to display his real abilities as a strategist. The last years of his life were spent in penury, relieved by an honest, although not honorable, connection with the Louisiana lottery.

A good example of the value for economic history of the study of particular industries is to be found in *The History of the Quaker Oats Company* (University of Chicago Press, 1933, pp. xi, 279, \$3.00), by Harrison John Thornton, assistant professor of history in the University of Iowa. The records of the company have been placed at the disposition of Dr. Thornton, who has also had the advantage of conversation with some of the early organizers of the milling business. The bibliography shows the utilization of large bodies of other material. If the reader of the book, under the illusion of his daily contact with the subject at the breakfast table, should suppose that he knows all about Quaker Oats, he will suffer a mild surprise as he discovers that this business, like the basic industries of steel and oil, has passed through the various stages of pioneering, individual enterprise, cutthroat competition, trust agreements, tested by government

prosecution, and consolidation. The more picturesque phases of the history of oats, oatmeal, and the breakfast table have not been neglected by the author.

Native American Anarchism, a Study of Left-Wing American Individualism, by Eunice Minette Schuster, belongs to the series of Smith College Studies in History. Miss Schuster's investigations were carried on under the guidance of Professor Merle E. Curti. They cover the whole range of American experience, from the attitudes and opinion of the Antinomians in the early days of the Massachusetts Bay Colony to the career of Emma Goldman, herself not an American, in the United States. It is evidently a work of thorough scholarship and intelligent interpretation.

A volume of value in the artistic and literary history of the United States is *Williams Bartram, Interpreter of the American Landscape*, by N. Bryllion Fagin, associate in English, The Johns Hopkins University (Johns Hopkins Press, 1933, pp. ix, 229, \$2.25).

To the series of books published under the auspices of the Milton Academy Alumni War Memorial Foundation have been added two volumes: *America in the World War*, by Major-General James G. Harbord, and *The Unfinished Task*, by Sir Frederick Whyte, political advisor to the National Government of China (Houghton Mifflin, 1933, pp. 111, \$2.00; pp. 52, \$1.50). General Harbord's address gains special interest from his rôle in the war and from the personal reminiscences in which it abounds. Sir Frederick deals with the League of Nations as an experiment in social coöperation on an international scale. The present moment, he believes, is critical because economic collapse has added new national barriers. When it comes to questions of disarmament, "none seem to know how to cross the yawning gulf of distrust which separates them from the promised land" of "a better security founded on coöperation".

Articles: Thomas P. Martin, *The National Archives Building* (Hist. Outlook, Apr.); Käthe Spiegel, *Charakterzüge der Amerikanischen Geschichte* (Hist. Vierteljahr., XXVIII. 1); C. C. Benson, *American Military History* (Cavalry Jour., Mar.); August C. Krey, *History in the Machine Age* (Minnesota Hist., Mar.); U. Waldo Cutler, *What and Why the Forefathers Read, with a Brief Review of the Best Seller of Three Hundred Years Ago* [Foxe's Book of Martyrs] (Worcester Hist. Soc. Publications, Apr.); Gilbert J. Garraghan, *Ecclesiastical Rule of Old Quebec in Mid-America* (Cath. Hist. Rev., Apr.); J. W. Wright, *Notes on the Continental Army* (William and Mary College Quar. Hist. Mag., Apr.); R. Earl McClendon, *Daniel Webster and Mexican Relations: the Santa Fe Prisoners* (Southwestern Hist. Quar., Apr.); Earl D. Ross, *Horace Greeley and the Beginnings of the New Agriculture* (Agricultural Hist., Jan.); Roy Marvin

Robbins, *Horace Greeley: Land Reform and Unemployment, 1837-1862* (*ibid.*); Richard R. Stenberg, *An Unnoted Factor in the Buchanan-Douglas Feud* (Jour. of the Illinois State Hist. Soc., Jan.); Harrison A. Trexler, *Coaling the Confederate Commerce Raiders* (Georgia Hist. Quar., Mar.); John D. Hicks, *The Third Party Tradition in American Politics* (Miss. Valley Hist. Rev., June); Edwin Ryan, *The Oxford Movement in the United States* (Cath. Hist. Rev., Apr.); Robert M. Hughes, *Joseph Eggleston Johnston, Soldier and Man* (William and Mary College Quar. Hist. Mag., Apr.); Georg Leibbrandt, *The Emigration of the German Mennonites from Russia to the United States and Canada, 1873-1880* [II.] (Mennonite Quar. Rev., Jan.); Harold S. Bender, *Was William Rittenhouse the First Mennonite Bishop in America?* (*ibid.*); Frederick C. Fiechter, jr., *The Preparation of an American Aristocrat* [Mr. Justice Holmes] (New Eng. Quar., Mar.); N. A. Weston, *Ricardian Epoch in American Economics* (Am. Ec. Rev., Mar.); Meribeth E. Cameron, *American Recognition Policy toward the Republic of China, 1912-1913* (Pacific Hist. Rev., Mar.); Richard W. Van Alstyne, *Private American Loans to the Allies, 1914-1916* (*ibid.*); Henry L. Stimson, *Bases of American Foreign Policy during the Past Four Years* (Foreign Affairs, Apr.).

Letters and documents: *Archibald Robertson's Diaries, 1762-1780* [IV.] (Bull. N. Y. Public Library, Apr.); *Bamford's Diary* [Capt. William Bamford, 40th Regiment of Foot, British] (Maryland Hist. Mag., Mar.); *Letters of Thomas Jefferson to William Short* [V.] (William and Mary College Quar. Hist. Mag., Apr.); *The War Letters of Father Peter Paul Cooney of the Congregation of Holy Cross* [I.] [Written during the Civil War] (Amer. Cath. Hist. Soc., Mar.).

NEW ENGLAND, MIDDLE COLONIES AND STATES

Two volumes of the *History of the State of New York* have appeared. This work, issued under the auspices of the New York State Historical Association, will comprise ten volumes. It is under the general editorship of Alexander C. Flick, assisted by an advisory board, the members of which are Dixon Ryan Fox, Alexander J. Wall, Victor H. Paltsits, A. J. F. van Laer, and Peter Nelson. The publisher is the Columbia University Press. The price is \$5.00 a volume.

The New York State Historical Association continues its activity in the publishing field with the issuance from the Columbia University Press of Mr. Howard Swiggett's *War Out of Niagara*, the first full-length study of the career of Walter Butler, Loyalist captain of frontier rangers during the Revolution. Mr. Swiggett's work is based on hitherto unpublished manuscripts and is strongly at variance with the legends propagated by early 19th century historians. This is the second of the association's series of

monographs, the first, Mr. E. Wilder Spaulding's *New York during the Critical Period* having appeared last December. The association's manuscript survey is being prosecuted with some success. Among the records that have been placed in the archives of the association at Ticonderoga are some fifty account books and journals (1820-1868) relating to the tin, hat, lumber, farm, mercantile, post office, and other business of John Hatch Low of Westport, a pioneer industrialist of the Champlain Valley. Another miscellaneous collection of manuscripts extending from 1766 to 1829 includes an interesting letter from William H. Seward, written from Union College in 1820, and another from Sir John Johnson in 1784. A part of the political correspondence of Judge A. C. Hand of Elizabethtown, N. Y., extending from 1825 to 1860 has also been received, as well as a number of legal manuscripts of Judge H. H. Ross of Essex embracing the years 1811-1861. The association further evidences its state of healthy activity by the fact that it has added about five hundred new members to its rolls in the past year and a half. Biographers of New Yorkers may be interested to know that the association has recently received from the common council of the city of Albany, for display at Ticonderoga, a notable collection of oil portraits of governors of the state. The thirty-eight portraits include all governors between George Clinton and Charles E. Hughes, with the exception of Tayler, Pitcher, and Robinson, as well as several mayors of Albany. J. P. B.

New York University at its inception a hundred years ago called together a large group of "Literary and Scientific Gentlemen" to advise with its sponsors upon questions of educational policy. This meeting was held in the "Common Council Chamber" of New York in October, 1830. In recognition of the wisdom of that action another conference, held in New York on November 15-17, 1932, became a part of the centenary exercises of the university. The university has now issued as two of its centennial publications a facsimile of the *Journal of the Proceedings of Literary and Scientific Gentlemen*, printed in 1831 (pp. 286), and a volume entitled *The Obligation of Universities to the Social Order* (New York University Press, 1933, pp. xlv, 503). The two volumes are made up of addresses delivered on these occasions by distinguished guests.

The Pennsylvania Historical Association which was planned at preliminary conferences held at State College during the last year was formally launched at Lehigh University on April 28 and 29, 1933. This new organization is designed to serve as a coördinating body to supplement and make more effective the efforts of the local historical societies and their federation in the commonwealth; its general objects are to promote scholarly activity and the teaching of state history in the schools and colleges of the commonwealth.

At the Lehigh sessions which were planned by a committee headed by Professor Lawrence H. Gipson of that university, a number of papers were presented on themes connected with local history. Two which were more significant as far as general interest is concerned were those dealing with present research projects in the field of Pennsylvania, given by Professor Paul W. Gates of Bucknell University, and an account of some of the manuscript resources of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, presented by Ernest Spofford, librarian of that organization. The new organization hopes soon to publish these papers and make them available for historical scholars generally.

The main feature of the occasion was the inauguration dinner at which Professor Dixon Ryan Fox of Columbia University, president of the New York State Historical Association, delivered an address which he called "Greetings from a Neighbor", in which he gave the new organization stimulating advice based upon the successful experience of his own organization. He concluded with the significant statement, "You have seized what was perhaps the greatest opportunity for this sort of historical service that remained in America". The new organization was completed by the adoption of a constitution prepared by a committee under the chairmanship of Dr. Solon J. Buck, of the Western Pennsylvania Historical Survey, and by the election of the following officers: Hon. A. Boyd Hamilton, secretary of the Pennsylvania State Senate, president; Professor Roy F. Nichols, of the University of Pennsylvania, vice president; Professor Paul W. Gates, of Bucknell University, secretary; Mr. Ross Pier Wright, of the State Historical Commission, treasurer.

R. F. N.

The Friends Historical Association has published a *General Index* to the *Bulletin*, vols. XVI-XX. It may be obtained of the secretary at Haverford, Pa., for \$1.50.

The Religious Society of Friends has issued a little volume entitled *William Penn, a Short Life with Selections from his Writings* (John C. Winston Company, 1932, pp. 63, 75 cents). The biographical section is by Joseph Haines Price, and the selections are made by Stanley R. Yarnell, who is principal of Germantown Friends School. At the end is a list of Books on William Penn, with brief comments.

Articles: Samuel Eliot Morison, *Nathaniel Eaton, First Head of Harvard College* (Harvard Graduates Mag., Mar.); John C. Miller, *Religion, Finance, and Democracy in Massachusetts* [in the 1740's] (New Eng. Quar., Mar.); R. S. Longley, *Mob Activities in Revolutionary Massachusetts* (*ibid.*); Hervey P. Prentiss, *Pickering and the Embargo* (Essex Inst. Hist. Coll., Apr.); Bertha-Monica Stearns, *Two Forgotten New England Reformers* [Mary Gove Nichols and Dr. Thomas L. Nichols in the 1840's and 1850's] (New Eng. Quar., Mar.); Ettie C. Hedges, *Colonial Travelers on*

Long Island (New York History, Apr.); Milton W. Hamilton, *The Spread of the Newspaper Press in New York before 1830* (*ibid.*); Charles J. DeWitt, *Crusading for Peace in Syracuse during the War with Mexico* (*ibid.*); William H. Richardson, *George Washington and Jersey City* (Proceedings, New Jersey Hist. Soc., Apr.); A. Van Doren Honeyman, *Concerning the New Jersey Royalists in the Revolution* (*ibid.*); William W. Comfort, *William Penn* (General Mag. and Hist. Chron., Apr.); M. Atherton Leach, *Gulielma Maria Springett, First Wife of William Penn* (Pennsylvania Mag. of Hist. and Biog., Apr.); Arthur C. Bining, *The Iron Plantations of Early Pennsylvania* (*ibid.*); Roy H. Johnson, *Frontier Religion in Western Pennsylvania* (Western Pennsylvania Hist. Mag., Feb.); David K. McCarrell, *The Coming of the Railroad to Western Pennsylvania* (*ibid.*); John E. Reynolds, *The Venango Trail in the French Creek Valley* (*ibid.*).

Documents: Dorothy S. Towle, ed., *Smuggling Canary Wine in 1740* [from the records of the Rhode Island court of vice-admiralty] (New Eng. Quar., Mar.).

SOUTHERN COLONIES AND STATES

Under the auspices of the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching and the Social Science Research Council, Mr. Wilson Gee, of the University of Virginia, has endeavored to discover the factors now retarding research in the social sciences in the South (*Research Barriers in the South*, Century Company, 1932, pp. ix, 192, \$2.25). He does this chiefly by a comparative study of 42 universities and colleges of the South and 57 of the North and West, and draws the following general conclusions: that the South is only recently beginning to recover from the severe setback caused by the Civil War and to return to the early scholarly interest attributable especially to Jefferson; that the South has suffered greatly from the migration to the North and West of its scholars; that the salary range in Southern colleges is one-third lower than in other parts of the country whereas living costs are relatively the same; that the teaching load of the Southern professor is usually thirty per cent. heavier than that of his colleague in Northern and Western institutions; and that, in spite of a generally sympathetic attitude toward research on the part of university administrations in the South, there is a distressing lack of provision for the grant of either time or money to the professor who would combine research with teaching.

J. W. W.

The volume on *Charles Parish, York County, Virginia, History and Registers: Births, 1648-1789; Deaths, 1665-1787*, by Landon C. Bell, published by the Virginia State Library Board, marks another step in its commendable program to make accessible in printed form all the extant parish records of colonial Virginia. The Charles Parish book is of particular interest

because it is the oldest of the few original church records of seventeenth century Virginia. Mr. Bell, who has already done noteworthy editing of parish and county records, has rearranged the material in two alphabetical lists, of births and deaths respectively, in order to facilitate the use of the data. In three prefatory chapters he gives a brief history of the parish, including a prolonged controversy between the minister, the Rev. James Slater, and the vestry; an account of each of the nine ministers (to 1793); and a description of the register which is in the Virginia State Library. The register contains approximately 3000 births (of which the names most numerous are Drewry 97, Cook(e) 64, Presson 58, Patrick 55, Kirby 54, Robinson 52), and 1718 deaths.

L. J. C.

As 1933 is the bicentennial of the beginnings of education in Savannah, Mr. Haygood S. Bowden, of the Savannah High School, has prepared a memorial volume entitled *Two Hundred Years of Education* (Richmond, Dietz Printing Company, 1932, pp. xv, 381). Of particular interest is the account of the earlier academies and of the steps taken to organize the public school system.

Various recently acquired manuscripts constitute the nucleus for the proposed Great Plains History Collection at the University of Texas. Though the collection will bear upon many phases of Western life—transportation, mining, dry farming, irrigation—these first materials deal with ranching operations in the West and illustrate something of the initial settlement of the region.

Among the most extensive operators in the Southwest were Jot Gunter, W. B. Munson, and John Summerfield, land agents, surveyors, and ranchmen. Their records, comprising two large collections acquired from the Gunter and Summerfield families, cover the period from 1870 to 1910 and contain 40,212 documents relating to the survey, sale, and settlement of the public domain in Texas. The 5471 documents in the C. U. Connelley collection approximate the same period and field. The private files of Frank S. Hastings, author and range authority, totaling approximately 35,000 pages of manuscript, pertain to his connection with Swenson's SMS Ranch from 1902 to 1922. These papers are illustrative of the problems of a large ranch to-day. The SMS still comprises more than 350,000 acres of land. The files of J. M. Daugherty, pioneer ranchman and trail driver, extend from 1870 to 1905 and contain approximately 2000 pieces. They deal with trail and range life of central Texas, Oklahoma, and Kansas, and with the large "Figure 2" Ranch of the Trans-Pecos country. The John A. E. Knight transcripts, diaries, correspondence, and account books, comprising 1087 pages, concern overland journeys, the trailing of cattle, and range problems between 1850 and 1890. The D. H. and J. W. Snyder manuscript books record the business details of a ranch and trail partner-

ship that extended its operations from Texas to Montana during the last half of the nineteenth century. Something of the history of the U Ranch, the first settlement on the head of the North Concho River, in Texas, is to be found in the George H. McEntire collection of 873 documents dating from 1874 to 1906. Supplementing these materials for that part of the state west of the one hundredth meridian are scattered documents and transcripts concerning James C. Cator, Ben C. Mayes, James Cook, Robert Moody, and other pioneer cowmen.

From the extreme southern portions of the Great Plains are records pertaining to Ed C. Lasater's ranches, while the Woodhull papers relate to smaller operations in the same region. The McFaddin manuscript books, 1842-1892, indicate changing range practices and the growth of a pioneer family. Abel H. Pierce, one of the most colorful of cow country personalities, is represented by 428 original documents, 1871-1890. The Joseph Henry Polley transcripts, from the Lavaca country, number 977 documents falling within the period 1828 to 1900. The most significant of the Coastal Plains papers yet received are those of the Coleman-Fulton Pasture Company. Dating from 1860 to 1900, these and related documents, which have been given by descendants of Governor Henry Smith and Colonel George W. Fulton, pertain to early meat packing efforts, coastal transportation of live beef, and the transition of the open range to a land of farming settlers. The Duncan, Tait and Bolton Plantation records indicate the nature of pastoral life in the transition zone that divided the farming and range regions of Texas. These and other manuscript materials, diaries, account books, business papers and letters, relating to one of the basic industries of the pioneer and present West, and totaling more than 130,000 documents, constitute the beginnings of The Great Plains History Collection. Quest for additional sources will proceed from south to north, cutting across the traditional lines of settlement while following the trend of the expanding cow country. Dr. W. P. Webb's proposal for the establishment of this collection is meeting with favor.

J. E. H.

Articles: *Lower Norfolk County Records, 1636-1646* [cont'd] (Virginia Mag. of Hist. and Biog., Apr.); Clarence H. Urner, *Early Baptist Records in Prince George County, Virginia* (*ibid.*); G. MacLaren Brydon, *The Clergy of the Established Church in Virginia and the Revolution* [cont'd] (*ibid.*); R. Walton Moore, *George Mason, the Statesman* (Tyler's Quar. Hist. and Geneal. Mag., Apr.); Lyon G. Tyler, *Arthur Lee, a Neglected Statesman* [cont'd] (*ibid.*); G. G. Johnson, *The Camp Meeting in Ante-Bellum North Carolina* (North Carolina Hist. Rev., Apr.); Géza Schütz, *Additions to the History of the Swiss Colonization Projects in Carolina* (*ibid.*); R. H. Woody, *Franklin J. Moses, jr., Scalawag Governor of South Carolina, 1872-1874* (*ibid.*); Edgar Legare Pennington, *Begin-*

nings of the Church of England in Georgia [II.] (Hist. Mag. of the Protestant Episcopal Church, Mar.); Z. T. Johnson, *Geographic Factors in Georgia Politics in 1850* (Georgia Hist. Quar., Mar.); Sally Dart and Edith Dart Price, *The Jamaica Pirates and Louisiana Commerce, 1739, with Documents translated by the late Mrs. H. H. Cruzat* (Louisiana Hist. Quar., Apr.); Reed McC. B. Adams, *New Orleans and the War of 1812* (*ibid.*); Lane C. Kendall, *The Interregnum in Louisiana in 1861* (*ibid.*); Amelia Williams, *A Critical Study of the Siege of the Alamo and of the Personnel of its Defenders* [I.] (Southwestern Hist. Quar., Apr.).

Documents: Mabel L. Webber, ed., *Josiah Smith's Diary, 1780-1781* [cont'd] (South Carolina Hist. and Geneal. Mag., Apr.); Harriet Smither, ed., *Diary of Adolphus Sterne* (Southwestern Hist. Quar., Apr.).

WESTERN STATES

The Twenty-Sixth Annual Meeting of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association was held in Chicago on April 13, 14, and 15, at the invitation of the Illinois State Historical Society and of the Chicago Historical Society. It was natural that in the year which completes the first century of Chicago's development the principal themes for discussion should be chosen from the history of Chicago and of Illinois. Religion and Politics in Illinois were subjects of two sessions. The subjects of other sessions were Frontier History, Wilkinson's Career, the West and the Southwest, the Indians and the Fur Trade. The Presidential Address, by Professor John D. Hicks, was on The Third Party Tradition in American Politics. An occasion of special interest was the luncheon at the Century of Progress Exposition and a personally conducted tour of the grounds. In addition to the historical sessions there were round table discussions on economics, political science, sociology, and philosophy, and another which discussed the approach to history from these various points of view. There was also a conference of historical societies.

Dr. Willard Rouse Jillson is a scientist whose absorbing interest, aside from geology, is the early literature of Kentucky history. He has already provided us with facsimiles of Filson's *Kentucke* with its accompanying map; of Fitzroy's *Kentuckie Country*, and now brings out *A Transylvanian Trilogy*. This is the story of the writing of Harry Toulmin's 1792 "History of Kentucky" combined with a sketch of his life and a new bibliography, to which are added an "Exact Reprint of Toulmin: 1792 and A Facsimile Reprint of Russell's Map of Kentucky, 1794". The "trilogy" is Dr. Jillson's interpretation of Toulmin's threefold *Thoughts on Emigration to which are added Miscellaneous Observations relating to the United States of America and a Short Account of the State of Kentucky*. These were

not combined into a single volume, but issued separately, the *Thoughts on Emigration* in October, 1792; the *Description of Kentucky* in November of the same year. As the editor says, this latter is a rarity much prized by collectors, but containing nothing new, merely a compilation by a young and scholarly dissenting English minister who was so impressed with his thoughts on emigration that he took his own advice and emigrated to America the next year. Singularly he became president of Transylvania Seminary in Lexington and secretary of state for Kentucky, removing in 1804 to Alabama, where he passed the remainder of his life. Dr. Jillson writes entertainingly if somewhat floridly of this early emigrant; he makes several errors of fact and phrase in his introduction. Toulmin was at Chowbent, Lancashire, not Chorobert, when he wrote his pamphlets. He did not come to America with Joseph Priestley (not Priestly) who landed in New York in 1794, not in Norfolk in 1793. The "great Pitt" of that day was not the Earl of Chatham. Altogether the editor's introduction leaves much to be desired; but the facsimile is excellent. L. P. K.

The publishing house of B. H. Murphy, Nashville, Tenn., has issued a complete reprint of Elihu Embree's *The Emancipator* (1932, pp. xi, 112, \$4.50), which originally appeared in Jonesborough, Tenn., in 1820, the year of Embree's death. It is reprinted from the file in possession of the Tennessee History Society, said to be the only complete file in existence. There have been added two memorials on slavery presented to the legislature of Tennessee in 1817 upon which Embree's name appears as a signer.

The Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Society has published *An Index and List of the Letters and Papers of Rutherford Birchard Hayes, Nineteenth President of the United States*, which are found at the Hayes Memorial Library, Fremont, Ohio. This index is the work of Miss Ruth M. Boring. In the same pamphlet are notes on other source material in the collection. The librarian will be glad to send copies of the *Index*, free of charge, to members of the American Historical Association who may request them.

The Fourteenth Annual Indiana History Conference was held at Indianapolis on December 9 and 10 under the joint auspices of the Society of Indiana Pioneers, the Indiana Historical Society, and the Indiana Historical Bureau. The proceedings are printed in the *Indiana History Bulletin* for March. Among the papers of special interest were *The Newspaper as a Source of Historical Information*, by Joseph W. Piercy, and *Historical Marking: the Revolutionary Period in Ohio, Kentucky, and Indiana*, by A. D. Hosterman.

The archaeological work of the Indiana Historical Society and the Historical Bureau has resulted in a further report entitled *The Archaeology of Greene County* (pp. 319, plates 36), by Glenn A. Black. Dr. Christopher

B. Coleman, director of the Historical Bureau, in a foreword expresses the opinion that this study "throws new light on the identity of the mound-building culture".

Among the accessions of manuscripts in the Indiana State Library are the papers of Daniel D. Pratt, United States Senator 1869-1875; those of the late Thomas R. Marshall, and some papers of William Dudley Foulke, of the years 1849-1931.

The papers presented before the Abraham Lincoln Association at Springfield, on February 12, 1932, have now appeared in a small but handsomely printed volume entitled *Abraham Lincoln Association Papers* (Springfield, 1933, pp. 158). The papers are Lincoln, the Constitutional Lawyer, by John Maxcy Zane, and The Environs of Lincoln's Youth, by Louis A. Warren. The president of the association, Mr. Logan Hay, has written an introduction.

The Knox College Library has received the Preston Player Collection of books, maps, and prints about the Mississippi River.

The only regret that the reader feels as he lays down the volume entitled *William Watts Folwell, the Autobiography and Letters of a Pioneer of Culture* (The University of Minnesota Press, 1933, pp. 287, \$3.00) is that Dr. Folwell did not give a fuller account of his experiences, especially after he became the first president of the University of Minnesota. The first eight chapters, carrying the narrative as far as the close of the Civil War, were dictated to his secretary in 1920. The story was completed shortly before his death in 1929. His account of his youth and years of education is fascinating. The impelling force of his native gifts carried him swiftly beyond obstacles apparently insuperable. The editor of the *Autobiography*, Dr. Solon J. Buck, has supplemented the narrative by selections from Dr. Folwell's letters and by documents which illustrate his activities in Minnesota.

Arrangements have been completed by the Colonial Dames of America in Minnesota to publish through the University of Minnesota Press five diaries of eighteenth century Canadian fur traders, four of the five hitherto unpublished. Manuscripts of these diaries are in the possession of McGill University in Montreal and the Public Archives of Canada in Ottawa, from which the Minnesota Historical Society obtained photostatic copies. Publication of these documents was undertaken as part of the Colonial Dames' project to "coördinate, stimulate, and increase the historic activities of the state societies, to encourage historic research and the preservation of old records, manuscripts, and pamphlets". The diaries to be published are those of Peter Pond, John Macdonell, Archibald McLeod, Hugh Faries, and Thomas Connor. They have been edited by Charles M. Gates. Grace Lee Nute, curator of manuscripts for the Minnesota Historical Society and

author of *The Voyageur*, supplies a general introduction. Under the title *Five Fur Traders of the Northwest* the diaries will be published together in one volume during the summer of 1933.

Railroad Consolidation West of the Mississippi River, by Stuart Daggett, is no. 2, vol. XI., of the University of California Publications in Economics.

Articles: Thomas F. Cleary, *Huet de la Valinière* (Mid-America, Apr.); Leland D. Baldwin, *Shipbuilding on the Western Waters, 1793-1817* (Miss. Valley Hist. Rev., June); Ralph B. Guinness, *The Purpose of the Lewis and Clark Expedition* (*ibid.*); Earle D. Ross, *Horace Greeley and the West* (*ibid.*); H. C. Hubbart, "Pro-Southern" Influences in the Free West, 1840-1865 (*ibid.*); Louis W. Campbell, *The "Oak Openings" of Northwestern Ohio* (Bull., Hist. Soc. of Northwestern Ohio, Apr.); Thomas T. McAvoy, *Father Bañin comes to Notre Dame* (Indiana Mag. of Hist., Mar.); Frank Anderson, *Missouri's Confederate State Capitol at Marshall, Texas* (Missouri Hist. Rev., Apr.); Ethar P. Allen, *Appeals from the Supreme Court of Iowa to the Supreme Court of the United States* (Iowa Jour. of Hist. and Pol., Apr.); Russell H. Anderson, *New York Agriculture Meets the West, 1830-1850* [concl'd] (Wisconsin Mag. of Hist., Mar.); Esther A. Selke, *Pioneers of German Lutheranism in Minnesota* (Minnesota Hist., Mar.); Marvin H. Garfield, *The Indian Question in Congress and in Kansas* (Kansas Hist. Quar., Feb.); M. Aquinata Martin, *Early Catholic Colonization in Nebraska* [II.] (Mid-America, Apr.); LeRoy R. Hafen, *Currency, Coinage, and Banking in Pioneer Colorado* (Colorado Mag., May); Grant Foreman, *A Survey of Tribal Records in the Archives of the United States Government in Oklahoma* (Chron. of Oklahoma, Mar.); Charles S. Walker, *Causes of the Confederate Invasion of New Mexico* (New Mexico Hist. Rev., Apr.); F. S. Donnell, *When Texas owned New Mexico to the Rio Grande* (*ibid.*); Rufus Kay Wyllys, *The Republic of Lower California, 1853-1854* (Pacific Hist. Rev., Mar.); George Verne Blue, *France and the Oregon Question* (Oregon Hist. Quar., Mar.); J. Neilson Barry, *Fort Reed and Fort Boise 1814-1835* (*ibid.*); J. Orin Oliphant, *The Operations in the Oregon Country of the American Bible Society and of the American Tract Society before the Civil War* (Washington Hist. Quar., Apr.); C. S. Kingston, *The Walla Walla Separation Movement* (Washington Hist. Quar., Apr.).

Documents and letters: Thomas F. O'Connor, ed., *Letters of John Grassi, S.J., to Simon Bruté de Rémur, 1812-1832* (Mid-America, Apr.); F. Garvin Davenport, ed., *Judge Sharkey Papers* (Miss. Valley Hist. Rev., June); *The Diary of Mark S. Davis* [May-June, 1868]: "By Spring-Wagon to Missouri and Kansas" (Indiana Mag. of Hist., Mar.); *Across the Plains in a Prairie Schooner: from the Diary of Elizabeth Keyes* [Apr. 11-June 2, 1866] (Colorado Mag., Mar.).

CANADA

The Report of the Public Archives of the Dominion of Canada for 1932, by Arthur G. Doughty, keeper of the records, is principally devoted to Series G of the Public Archives, the papers addressed by the secretaries of state for the colonies to the administrators of Lower Canada, this section covering the years 1838-1841.

The Ontario Historical Society has published vol. I. of *The Correspondence of the Honourable Peter Russell* (Toronto, 1932, pp. xxviii, 336) edited by Brigadier-General E. A. Cruikshank, LL.D., and A. F. Hunter, M.A. An introduction explains the circumstances under which Russell became administrator of Upper Canada during the leave of absence of Lieutenant-Governor Simcoe, which began in 1796. This volume covers that and the following year.

Vol. V., 1932, of *Contributions to Canadian Economics* which belongs to the series of Studies in History and Economics published by the University of Toronto, contains the following essays: The Future of Canadian Export Trade in Wheat, by D. A. MacGibbon; Construction of Railways in Canada to the Year 1885, by M. L. Bladen; A Note on the Reports of Public Investigations into Combines in Canada, 1888-1932, by V. W. Bladen. It also includes a Bibliography of Publications on Canadian Economics for June to December, 1931, by M. L. Bladen.

Articles: Donald L. Cherry, *The South Sea Company, 1711-1855* (Dalhousie Rev., Apr.); Norman McL. Rogers, *The Genesis of Provincial Rights* (Can. Hist. Rev., Mar.); J. A. Maxwell, *Prince Edward Island and Confederation* (Dalhousie Rev., Apr.); V. Kenneth Johnston, *Canada's Title to the Arctic Islands* (Can. Hist. Rev., Mar.).

Documents: R. A. Humphreys, S. Morley Scott, eds., *Lord Northington and the Laws of Canada* [text of draft instructions of 1766] (Can. Hist. Rev., Mar.).

CUBA, MEXICO, AND SOUTH AMERICA

On April 1, in New York City, a group of scholars interested in Latin America organized a provisional Committee on Latin-American Research. Professor H. E. Bolton, of the University of California, was made chairman of the executive board of this committee, while Professor Dana G. Munro, of Princeton University, was made secretary. There is a prospect that from this committee an institute on Latin-American affairs may develop.

The Academia de la Historia de Cuba has published vol. I. of the *Papeles de Martí* composed of letters which were exchanged by Martí and General Maximo Gómez accompanied by notes, an introduction, and an appendix by Gonzalo de Quesada y Miranda.

The Mexican government has printed in the Publicaciones del Archivo General de la Nación, *La Vida Colonial*, *Los Precursores Ideológicos de la Guerra de Independencia*, tomo II., *La Masonería en México, Siglo XVIII.*, and *Los Judíos en la Nueva España: Selección de Documentos del Siglo XVI., correspondiente al Ramo de Inquisición* (Mexico, Talleres Gráficos de la Nación, 1932).

Mrs. Fanny R. Bandelier has translated into English vol. I. of Fray Bernardino de Sagahún's *A History of Ancient Mexico* (Fisk University Social Science Series, Nashville, 1932).

Vol. I., no. 1, of the *Boletín de la Academia Panameña de la Historia* (Panama, Imprenta Nacional, 1933), contains articles on the following topics: the ashes of Columbus, the discovery of the South Sea, the flag of the Isthmus in the Battle of Ayacucho, and José de Obaldía.

Besides inedited letters of Gonzalo Jiménez de Quesada, no. 226 of the *Boletín de Historia y Antigüedades* (Nov., 1932), of the Colombian Academy of History, contains articles on early historians of New Granada and the relations of Colombia with the Holy See.

The World Peace Foundation has published official documents concerning *The Verdict of the League: Colombia and Peru at Leticia*, edited with an introduction and notes by Manley O. Hudson (Boston, 1933).

The Colombian legation at Washington has published (Washington, 1933) a booklet entitled *International Opinion and the Leticia Controversy*.

Vol. I. of *Escritos de Don Pedro Fernández Madrid publicados con Noticias sobre su Vida y su Época*, by Raimundo Rivas, contains material concerning the history of New Granada, 1830-1853 (Bogotá, Editorial Minerva, 1932).

Among other items, no. 38 of the *Boletín de la Biblioteca Nacional* of Venezuela contains an installment of the Diary of Bucaramanga, an article on the *Gazeta de Caracas*, and a letter of the Basque historian Mugártegui concerning the ancestry of Simón Bolívar.

Vol. XIII. of the *Archivo del General Miranda*, which is being published by the Venezuelan government, is mainly composed of letters to Miranda during the French Revolution (Caracas, Editorial Sur-America, 1932).

C. Parra Pérez has published a historical study entitled *El Régimen Español en Venezuela* (Madrid, Morata, 1933).

Professor Sturgis E. Leavitt has published *A Tentative Bibliography of Peruvian Literature* (Harvard University Press, 1932), and also *Hispano-American Literature in the United States, a bibliography of Translations and Criticism* (Harvard University Press, 1932).

Adolfo Laguna has published a treatise entitled *La Diplomacia Paraguaya en la Cuestión del Chaco Boreal* (Buenos Aires, Mercedes, 1932).

Anibal Ponce has published a volume on Argentine history in *Sarmiento, Constructor de la Nueva Argentina*, a number in the series entitled *Vidas Españolas y Hispano-Americanas del Siglo XIX*. (Madrid, Españacalpe).

The Diplomatic Protection of Americans in Mexico, by Frederick Sherwood Dunn (Columbia University Press, 1933, pp. x, 439, \$5.00) is vol. II. of a series dealing with Mexico prepared under the auspices of the Columbia University Council for Research in the Social Sciences.

Dr. Paul S. Taylor continues his studies of Mexican laborers with a monograph entitled *A Spanish-Mexican Peasant Community: Arandas in Jalisco, Mexico* (University of California Press, 1933, pp. 77, 8 plates and map, \$1.50). It is no. 4 of the series *Ibero-Americana*.

The special tribunal chosen to consider the Guatemala-Honduras boundary has published its findings in both English and Spanish under the title of *Opinion and Award* (Washington, 1933, pp. 99). It is accompanied by two maps. The opinion is signed by Charles Evans Hughes as president of the tribunal.

Articles: Roberto Levillier, *L'Amérique Espagnole: l'Histoire de sa Conquête* (Rev. d'Hist. Mod., Nov.); J. Lloyd Mecham, *The Jefe Político in México* (Southwestern Soc. Sci. Quar., XII. 4); Raymond L. Buell, *Union or Disunion in Central America?* (Foreign Affairs, XI. 3); A. H. Feller, *The German-Mexican Claims Commission* (Am. Jour. Int. Law, XXVII. 1); P. A. Martin, *Slavery and Abolition in Brazil* (Hispanic Am. Hist. Rev., May); C. H. Haring, *The Chilean Revolution of 1931* (*ibid.*); A. K. Manchester, *Descriptive Bibliography of the Brazilian Section of the Duke University Library* (*ibid.*); Jac Nachbin, *Descriptive Calendar of South American Manuscripts* (*ibid.*).

W. S. R.

Contributions to the section of Historical News have been made by T. S. Anderson, A. I. Andrews, F. B. Artz, G. C. Boyce, J. P. Boyd, T. R. S. Broughton, E. C. Burnett, L. J. Cappon, E. N. Curtis, G. M. Dutcher, H. L. Gray, J. E. Haley, R. W. Irwin, J. F. Jameson, Louise P. Kellogg, W. T. Laprade, L. M. Larson, R. F. Nichols, W. S. Robertson, Eva M. Sanford, T. H. Thomas, Janet W. Wiecking.

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- Another Dispatch from the United States Consulate in New Orleans* (doc.), 291-295.
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